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THE INTERNATIONAL REVIEW OF MISSIONS

THE MISSIONARY SIGNIFICANCE OF THE LAST TEN YEARS

VI. IN MOSLEM LANDS

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INTRODUCTION

IT is with a sense of high responsibility that we lay before our readers a missionary survey of Mohammedan lands for the past decade. The greatness of the theme; its enormous diversity; its inevitable contacts at certain points with political questions of the gravest sort; and the scruples of many in regard to the whole matter—all this deepens and rightly deepens this sense of responsibility. We neither ignore nor are ignorant of the fact that many public men, even those who are heartily in favour of missionary work and outspokenly declare its massive benefits, grow suddenly silent when that work is spoken of as related to Islam. Doubtful or definitely unfavourable to that idea, they switch off, at this very point, the current of their sympathy.

And this attitude too, though it is impossible for us to agree with it, deepens our consciousness of responsibility.

Thus it is our duty and privilege to present this survey. For, in the first place, there would be a grotesque inconsistency, which would be visible to all, in giving surveys of all the great mission fields of the world, and omitting Mohammedan lands. In the second place, we are wholly persuaded that in this matter a courage which is born of simplicity and candour is the best and safest policy. If there are two things which Mohammedans understand and respect they are courage and fidelity to principle. If there is one thing they despise, it is any wilting on principle out of respect for (*Islamicè*—'for fear of') Mohammedanism. And if there is one certain inference from these premisses it is that the respect of Mohammedans is the safe, their contempt the most unsafe, foundation upon which to build. Since then it is perfectly known to Mohammedans that Christian evangelization, however unwelcome, is the inevitable outcome of fidelity to principle, we should expect to find that Christian missionaries, and Christian missions, tend everywhere to ease and humanize the relations between East and West, and not the reverse: : an expectation which, however paradoxical it may appear to some, is amply and strikingly confirmed by the actual reports from the field, as set forth in the present survey. And for the same reason we hold the steady view that the evangelization of Mohammedan lands as part of a world-wide task should be continued, with all courage, simplicity and openness.

It is in this spirit that we present the following survey and the conclusions which it makes inevitable. The day is past for the beating of the crusading drum. There is only one possible objective for those who 'take the Cross' to-day—the Kingdom of God as inaugurated by Jesus Christ for the whole of humanity. No exceptions can be made, for to make an exception would be both the betrayal of the Kingdom, and a slight upon the thing excepted. To offer Mohammedans Christ's Kingdom of God puts us right

with truth and with ourselves. And we have it on the highest human authority that when men are but ' true to themselves ' then ' nought shall make them rue.'

The plan of the survey is as follows. We first give, for convenience and reference, a note upon the historical events of the past ten years as they have affected Mohammedan lands. We then pass to a survey of each land by itself—the missionary progress which has been made in each, and the relation of historical events in each to missionary effort. And lastly we attempt to sum up the present situation and to set forth what seems to be the duty of Christians in the immediate present in view of these facts and of the commission of Christ's Kingdom of God.

W. H. T. G.

A DECADE OF ISLAM

Looking at the history of Islam during the last decade, as well as one may under its immediate shadow, we see it intimately allied with the reaction of Asia and Africa against the domination of Europe, which has marked this century. The fruits of western civilization are desired and appropriated while the effort is made to reject the ethos and religion with which they are connected. There are two forms in which this tendency works. The movement of Pan-Islam has made for the unity of a world-wide religious brotherhood over against Christendom. But this unity has been crossed by the uprising of national movements in the East (no less than in the West) and the spirit of nationalism has been the stronger force. In the course of the great war the Moslem nations ranged themselves on either side of the conflict according to political or racial considerations. But at the close of it Islam has been drawn more and more into the orbit of a third great movement—the communistic brotherhood of the proletariat represented by Soviet Russia, which urges a universal feud of class warfare, a cleavage

Pan-Islamism, Nationalism and Communism

far more widespread than those of nationality and religion. The attitude of the Moslem nations to this last great political force is the riddle of to-day.

Moslem Populations

For purposes of comparison we may take the estimate made in 1914 by Zwemer and Westermann of Moslem populations. Out of a total of 201 million 167 million were under the rule of western states, the principal being Britain (90), Holland (35), Russia (20), France (15). Nine million were under pagan governments, mainly in China; and 25 million in Moslem states—Turkey 13, Independent Arabia $2\frac{1}{2}$, Afghanistan 5, Persia $4\frac{1}{2}$. After the war, apart from general increase or decrease of population, Turkey (on this basis) has lost about 4 million Moslem subjects in Mesopotamia, Syria and Arabia, and 10 million Moslems in Egypt are now under their own king and parliament. Compared with the magnitude of the war, the shifting of population is not great, but the changes are far wider and deeper than the mere figures would indicate, notably in the case of the Moslem community of India, which now has a political organization and influence far beyond that of pre-war days.

The Leadership of Turkey

But the centre of events has been the nation which since the fifteenth century assumed the leadership of Islam, whose sovereign was accepted by the bulk of Moslems as the Successor of the Prophet and the Commander of the Faithful, whose temporal—if not religious—authority is now being challenged by a republican assembly. The pan-islamic leadership of Turkey (Roum, as it is still called throughout the East) was fostered and developed with much ability by Sultan Abdul Hamid (1876–1909), who also did a good deal, according to his lights, to unify and organize the Turkish empire. The Sultan-i-Roum was regarded with few exceptions as the symbol and centre of Islam throughout the Moslem world. The idea was taken over by the Young Turk party who came into power with the revolution of 1908. But their tendencies were rather political than religious, and the

succeeding years brought them bitter humiliation in the Balkan war of 1912–13 which obliterated Turkish rule from Europe, except in a small area round Constantinople ; and this was accentuated by the Italian conquest of Tripoli. On the Mediterranean little remained save Asia Minor, with the control of the Dardanelles. To this their own homeland, and to its linking with the Persian Gulf by the Bagdad railway, the attention of Turkey was directed, and on this line of expansion and consolidation the Porte had the close co-operation of Germany. So in October 1914 Turkey entered the war as the ally of Germany.

From the religious side the effort was made to proclaim a holy war against the infidel powers of Britain and France, but the alliance of the Young Turk and the German failed to carry conviction to the Moslem masses in East or West. Politically Turkey forthwith claimed the status of an independent power and denounced the treaties that limited her sovereignty as to foreign residents in the matters of justice, finance, education and religious propaganda. Under German guidance railway construction and popular education were actively pushed. Not only Greek and Armenian Christians but other non-Turkish populations, Arab and Syrian were, in various degrees of harshness, forcibly turkified. The centre of nationality had shifted from south-east Europe to Anatolia : the place of an Ottoman empire, uniting various races and religions under one dynasty and administration, was taken by that of a Turkish state, stretching out its arms towards other branches of the great Turkish or Turanian stock in Central Asia and Eastern Europe.

Pan-Turanian Plans

These pan-turanian plans were dashed by the issue of the war. The Turk was shorn of practically all rule outside Anatolia and of some within it. How he set himself to recover his status among the nations the years since the war have shown. Three principal factors were at his disposal. The first, which generations of diplomacy had taught him how to use, was disunion between

Rehabilitation of Turkey

the western Allies, which broke out as soon as the war was ended, and has gone on from stage to stage till separate treaties were concluded by France and Italy with the Angora government which was withstanding the Sultan and his rule, mainly under allied control, at Constantinople. The second factor was the transformation of the Muscovite hereditary foe of Turkey into a communist state, the sworn enemy (from a different angle) of these same western Allies, and so the helper, for a price, of Turkey in her conflict with them. Third came the pan-islamic element, represented chiefly by the great Moslem community of British India, whose attachment to the Turkish Caliphate has been an effective engine of political pressure. So far the rehabilitation of Turkey through these forces after the shattering defeat of only four years ago is one of the most remarkable episodes in history. What exact shape it will take is at the time of writing uncertain. A Turkish republic seems to be emerging, claiming the temporal power of the nation and relegating the authority of the Caliph to religious matters—a very shadowy realm, for in matters of doctrine and discipline the Shaikh-ul-Islam and the Ulema are the authorities. The effect of this on the pan-islamic tendency in India and elsewhere at present cannot be estimated. Nor can the result of the emigration of Christian populations from Smyrna, Eastern Thrace and elsewhere. At present one can only say that a reduced and nationalized Turkey claims, and has made some progress towards getting, the status of a fully recognized member in the comity of nations, while treating her non-Turkish nationals according to the Islamic customs of a past age, which are yet based upon the still valid law of the Sunna.

The fate of these nationals, especially the Armenians, is tragic. Moscow has thrown its shield (or shadow) over the republics formed beyond the Caucasus. How far the Armenians of Erivan have found liberty is doubtful. For those of Erzerûm and Cilicia there seems little hope. The Moslems of Russia in Central

Armenia, Persia, Afghanistan

Asia have gradually been brought under Soviet control. Thus in Russian Turkestan, when autonomy was proclaimed after a pan-Moslem congress in Khokand in November 1917 it was ruthlessly suppressed by Red troops and the land was divided up among Bolshevist officials as the only true communists. In Persia Russian influence has gained the upper hand at Teheran, but nationalist feeling is struggling to assert itself against corruption and intrigue. Of all these countries Afghanistan is the one which has made most progress. The recognition of the Amir as king of an independent state was followed by the murder of the iron-handed Abdur Rahman Khan; but his nephew Amanu'llah Khan is a progressive ruler who promotes education, public health and other reforms, and while willing to use Russian gold or goods is in no mood to come under Russian dictation.

Moslems in India

Reference has already been made to the development of communal consciousness side by side with national feeling among the 70 million Moslems of India. The recent tendency towards union of the religious and the national factors is very remarkable. That the Pathan of Peshawar should acknowledge the same Indian nationality with the Bengali of Dacca gives food for thought. The Indian Musalman has advanced a real step as a maker of history. Religiously, during the last ten years, he has on the whole become more conservative, politically more radical. When the ferment of the Khilâfat agitation subsides he will have a great contribution to make to the national life of India, especially in its contact with the outside world.

Other Lands during the Decade

The lands of Arabic language and culture have been brought into prominence on the world stage during the last decade, especially those of the former Turkish empire; but the position of these at present is one of unstable equilibrium. The mandatory territories of Syria and Palestine, the new kingdoms of Hejaz and Iraq and the other lands of Arabia are opening up as never before to foreign intercourse and

influence. Egypt has come into the status of nationhood, but is still torn by controversy as to its implications. The rest of North Africa under the three Latin nations, Italy, France and Spain, is more settled in the centre than at the extremities of Tripoli and Morocco, both acquisitions of the last decade. Of all the powers France is the one which brings its Moslem subjects most intimately into its citizenship. Its African dominions are part of the French republic and a substantial portion of its army is recruited from among them. To the arts, manufactures, culture and religion of her Moslem citizens France devotes unremitting attention and a Moslem institute with library and lecture rooms on a generous scale has recently been opened in Paris.

With other parts of the Moslem world where changes have been less marked we cannot deal in this short review.

H. U. W. S.

(A) IN TURKEY

It is a tragic moment to estimate the missionary significance of the past ten years in Turkey. If the review seems pessimistic we can gain courage by reflecting upon the similar situation in China in 1900 and the phenomenal growth since then of the Kingdom of God in that land.

A cursory view of the missionary history of Turkey in the past ten years indicates steady retrogression and the elimination of missionary activities. If the number of Protestants is considered, the decline in missionary work has been steady and pronounced; if the number of Christians as over against non-Christians is estimated, there has been a most terrible overthrow of Christianity throughout Turkey; if we consider the number of churches established or demolished, we reach the same result; the training of native leadership went on for the first few years of this decade and then not only have the leaders already trained been cut off but the training-places have been closed; in the number of missionaries in active

Ten Years of Missionary Retrogression

service in Turkey there has been a terrible loss by death and a still greater loss by transfer of fields of service, so that the present missionary force throughout Turkey, except for the city of Constantinople, is but a fraction of what it was ten years ago.

Political Changes

Back of this cataclysmic change are political and military changes of great portent. Ten years ago the Turkish government was struggling with problems of foreign aggression and with the demands of European nations for reforms. The missionary forces were looking forward to better government, more protection for Christian minorities, and a strong restrictive influence of the foreign governments upon Turkey. The outlook was hopeful from the point of view of the establishment of righteousness and safety throughout the country. Something more than a decade has witnessed almost continuous warfare between Turkey and her enemies. Twice has she fought with the Balkan states; once with Italy over Tripoli; for nearly four years she opposed the allied governments while linked with Germany in the great war, and since the close of that war she has fought successfully and in turn with the Armenians on the north, the French on the south, and the Greeks on the west. She now has established herself in a position of securing favourable terms from the foreign powers. In the process of these wars the Christian minorities have been all but eliminated. The new revolutionary government at Angora has definitely and publicly announced that it will no more listen to any programs of reform dictated from without. In short, the situation has changed from a struggle on the part of the old Turkish government to maintain its existence with pressure from European powers for reforms in favour of Christian minorities, to an attitude on the part of the new Turkish government of successful defiance to all outward power and a definite policy of turkifying the whole population.

In considering the missionary influence of the past ten

years two definite lines of investigation will be fruitful. One is the missionary influence upon the Christian populations.

Mission Work among Christians

These in Turkey are mainly Armenian, that is, Gregorian, and Greek Orthodox. The missionary influence upon the Gregorian and Orthodox Churches has been steady and in a very definite direction for nearly a century. The ideal of the missionaries has not been the conversion of individuals from the native Church with the resulting establishment of a new Protestant Church; the ideal has always been the reviving of the ancient Churches with the true spirit of Christianity. The attainment of this ideal has necessitated the temporary formation of Protestant Churches whose membership was drawn from Gregorian and Orthodox communities, though at no time was the original hope of reviving the ancient Churches abandoned. During the sufferings of the great war these oriental Churches looked eagerly for help and comfort to the missionaries, and thus the fellowship which had been developing throughout the years was greatly increased and mutual confidence established between the members of the two Churches. Joint worship under liberal-minded individuals was conducted in places of exile, and where a remnant still existed in the old home such joint worship was common. Among the leaders of the Gregorian and Greek Orthodox Church there has come to be a new willingness to co-operate with the Protestant missionaries which is indeed significant. The general tendency of the clergy of the Church is not so liberal, and active opposition to Protestant work still continues in many centres.

Among the Christian minorities a movement in a very different direction must also be noted. The ardent and

Armenia

simple prayers of the suffering people brought no answer of protection from violence. Many have therefore lost faith in God. The fact that those who renounced Christianity and embraced Mohammedanism and those who in dishonourable ways bought their lives

have in many places alone survived, has tended to dim the faith of some who are still in the fires of persecution. A great wave of atheism has swept the republic of Armenia which is now under a Soviet government. Religious instruction in the schools is forbidden. The Church has no recognition by the state and in fact the tendency of the leadership of the Armenians in the Caucasus is against any religion at all.

Missionary work among the Moslem peoples has been for a century a distant ideal rather than an immediate success.

Among the Turks

The present Turkish triumph has not tended to simplify the problem. New laws obliging resident Americans to renounce foreign protection and forbidding the reopening of American schools seem to suggest definite opposition to missionary activity. A Turkish general recently referred to the discovery that our workers hoped to bring the Turks to Christ as more menacing than the harbouring by the missionaries of Greek revolutionists, with which they had been falsely accused. If this new zeal in opposition to the message of the Gospel were a genuine expression of the feeling of the Turkish people we should yet turn to the fourth and fifth chapters of the Acts, and gain new courage to rejoice at this recognition of the power of the Gospel. But apparently this opposition to missionary activity is not so much religious as political. The leaders of the present nationalistic government have drifted away from their Moslem faith through their foreign contacts. Irreligious themselves, they are striving to gain favour with their own religious leaders by making missionary activity an issue. Again, the religious leaders in the presence of a revolutionary government and social order have been obliged to trim their sails. A recent discourse on the rights of women under Islam shows how the religious principles of the past cannot maintain in the face of the reorganization of society along modern lines. The bright young women present were unveiled, and the hesitating explanation of why it

was necessary for them to be veiled fell flat. But deeper than the social changes which are taking place are the actual changes in ideals manifest in individuals among the Moslem leaders. Besides the internal movement in Islam there has been a noticeable increase in the opportunities for conversation with Turks on religious matters. This is true in the regions partly freed from Turkish control more than in the interior of Asia Minor. Schools are filled with Turkish pupils. Clubs organized specifically for Turks are well patronized. The reading public has increased manifold during the war years. The result of these contacts has been not only a general better understanding but an increasing number of definite conversions from Mohammedanism to Christianity.

The Kurds

The Kurds, though long regarded as dark enemies of Christianity, have suffered with other minorities through the war period and, strangely enough, are now actually eager for missionary leadership. In preparation for the day of opportunity the Kurdish gospel is newly being printed in the Turkish characters which most of their leaders can read though they have no letters of their own.

In Constantinople

Besides the contacts with Mohammedans and the new approach to the oriental Churches there should be noted a large variety of fresh opportunities created by the coming together of groups of refugees in the city of Constantinople. Russians, Turks, Greeks, Armenians, Georgians, and even Syrians, have fled to Constantinople for protection and for the possibility to express themselves. This has created an opportunity unparalleled in the history of missionary work in Turkey for its outreach upon the surrounding nations.

Missionary Reactions

Turning now from the peoples to the missionaries themselves, we note that the changed occupation forced upon many of the workers has brought them into a wider contact with the people. Many have given their time to relief work. Some whose training was for evangelism have been turned on to educational lines in

view of the restrictions upon their former work. The training in industries has occupied the attention of many not especially adapted for it. This change of occupation has meant loss in efficiency in almost every individual case, and yet it has meant a broadening of the vision of the missionaries as a whole regarding the needs of the people. This breadth of vision has been most marked in the attitude towards the great task of bringing the spirit of Christ to all the peoples of the Orient. Whereas ten years ago nearly every individual missionary was floundering under a burden of detail in sustaining a work which had become stereotyped and in some cases almost mechanical, they have during these ten years been shaken loose from the routine occupations of the past. There has consequently been a universal re-emphasis upon direct work for Moslems. Missionaries have been brought of necessity to a reconsideration of their great objective, and every missionary centre is considering its primary objective not only in a dim future but in planning for the immediate tasks of the day.

The Outlook

In summarizing this survey we may note the apparent destruction of the work of a century through the triumph of forces definitely opposed to Christian missionary progress, but at the same time the exposing of vulnerable points in this body of opposition and the definite preparation of the missionary force for a new approach to the problem which had been held in abeyance, though never overlooked, during the years of slow progress before the great war. It is not that great things have been attained; much that had been attained in the way of tangible results has been destroyed; but a new front line has been determined, a new line of activity has been begun. With new understanding and clear faith a new spirit has been adopted in pressing forward towards the winning of all the people, Turks, Greeks, Armenians and Kurds, to the gentle message of the Christ.

E. W. R.

(B) IN SYRIA AND PALESTINE [1]

NEARLY all would agree that the situation in most of the missions in Syria and Palestine was satisfactory and promising a year before the war began. It is true that the country was still under Turkey, with all the limitation and uncertainty that such a relationship implies. And yet, a real measure of freedom had been attained, and most missions were allowed to do practically all that they had the means and strength to accomplish. A first step had also been taken toward co-operation in the organization of the Missionary Educational Union, which included nearly all missionary schools in Syria and Palestine. Great hopes were entertained for accelerated advance during the succeeding years.

In 1913

The war seemingly put an end to these hopes and plans. From the first the territory was war ground. The European societies, as they represented belligerent countries, were obliged to call their missionaries home, most of the Americans being able to remain because America was nominally at peace with Turkey. As the months went on, the whole territory was practically closed to the allied world, and only rumours reached the home lands as to the true conditions. Famine and disease began early to do their work, and what remained of the missionary force and organization became the informal agents of the relief societies of Great Britain and America. During this period the young men of the country were either drafted or scattered in avoidance of the draft. Missionaries, pastors, elders, workers, succumbed to famine and disease; properties were misused; schools were closed: it seemed as though the work of a century were to be destroyed. Since the Armistice there has been a time of taking stock and rehabilitation. We may look first at some unfavourable conditions, and then at some facts that point to great promise for the future.

The War

[1] The missionary significance of the last ten years for the Jewish people calls for separate consideration and is not included in this paper.—[ED. IRM.]

Economic Changes

The economic change in the country has two phases; the continued high cost of living compared with pre-war conditions, and the introduction of new and costly wants because of the coming in of western governments and the opening up of the country. A minister who could get along comfortably on £8 or $40 before the war, now finds great difficulty in living on a salary of £15 to £25 or $75 to $100 per month. The same is true of teachers and all other workers. Of course, these increased salaries must come partly from the missionary society and partly from the native enterprise itself. But the demand comes on the native institutions just when they are least able to respond, because they too are struggling to rehabilitate their economic life, shattered by the war experience. Unless the supporting societies can furnish more funds, the work must be decreased proportionately to the increase in the cost of living; the same budget that was available before the war means a 50 per cent occupation of the pre-war field. This is not to say that the native people have not responded to the new call. In several missions they have made notable advance in self-support and promise to make new progress each year. But however much is hoped for from them, adequate occupation of the field in Syria and Palestine depends on a large increase of funds from home.

A new Sophistication

The time was when the people idealized the West and the western nations. For the most part they have been disillusioned. The sad thing is the new sophistication that has come as a fruit of the Syrian's observation of the doings of so-called Christian nations. The missionary may still be respected for his own sake, but no longer as an apostle from a land where there is no dishonesty or double-dealing, or broken faith. Perhaps it is better that the people should understand that the word Christian must not be applied to nations, but only to Christ-like characters and deeds. But a sophisticated soul is farther from the Kingdom than one who can see life in simplicity and look for good in all that claims to be good. It is to such a disillusioned people

that the missionary in the Near East must now bring his message.

Post-war Uncertainties

The post-war timidity and uncertainty which affects the missionary bodies has many causes and is in part a manifestation of the general post-armistice psychology. It is intensified by the uncertainties which have prevailed in the political situation because of the long period elapsing between the Armistice and the settlement of the mandates. The governments in charge of these territories have been most cordial and conciliatory to all mission work during this period of waiting. Yet it was only natural that missionary policies should be halting and timorous until the exact status in each of the territories was known after the settlement of the mandates. Nominally, the missions concerned in this survey are working under two mandatory powers, but in reality there are four rather distinct sections, namely Palestine, Trans-Jordania, Greater Lebanon, and the eastern part of Syria with central influence at Damascus. Each of these sections presents its peculiar difficulties or facilities for mission work, with differences in the emphasis on certain languages and the degree of freedom to prosecute work. There is no doubt also that this long period of waiting has brought discouragement to the people of the land and nothing but the new and drastic restrictions on immigration into America have prevented such an exodus from Syria as has never yet been known.

Effects of Relief Work

One turns with much more zest, however, to recount the favourable aspects of the situation as viewed from the missionary standpoint. The great work of relief carried on during and since the war by British and American relief organizations was for the most part pure Christian philanthropy, with no ulterior missionary motive. Nevertheless, it is inevitable that the people of the land should be profoundly impressed by the fact that in so many cases those who came to them with food and clothing for all and with shelter for their destitute little ones, were the same people who for years had been preaching and

teaching the simple Gospel in their midst. This effect was enhanced by the inevitable comparison they had to make between this disinterested helpfulness and the failure of their own natural religious leaders to rise to their responsibilities and opportunities—many of them were not averse even to profit from the extremity of their people. As the lean years lengthened, and life became more and more precarious, the flow of help from the West was accompanied by earnest agents who desired only to see how helpful they could be in the task of restoration. Gradually there permeated to the mind of the people the realization that here was a great drama of simple Christianity going on before them. Their prejudice and fear were gradually dissipated, and respect for these western Christians took their place.

Missionary Co-operation

Another manifest gain to missions from this relief work resulted from the calling together of missionaries from a number of societies. All the contrasting systems of belief and polity, Anglican, Quaker, Covenanter, Presbyterian, Baptist and the rest have been attracted to this little land of great significance. It must be confessed that previous to the period under review these did not always see eye to eye, and there was little in the way of co-operation. Failure to meet each other sometimes bred suspicion. An observer in certain parts of the country a dozen years ago would have concluded that Christianity as represented from the West had little to offer in the way of cure to the warring sects of the East. Then we came together to give the cup of cold water, to feed the hungry and clothe the naked. We were together in and out of uniform, on committees, on Commissions. The great unifying task of being helpful brought men to love one another. The strengthening of these bonds of friendship was the most potent cause which led in 1919 to the formation of the United Missionary Conference of Syria and Palestine. This has already justified its existence in many ways—such as the wise occupation of neglected fields, co-operation in common tasks and in certain institutions, and an intensive betterment in all our methods.

Not the least of its tasks and purposes is to protect the land of the Bible from the too earnest desire of various kinds of believers and churches to send missionaries to teach differing beliefs and to institute confusing variations in the expression of the Christian life. If the United Missionary Conference can protect the people by declaring this to be one of the occupied mission fields, it will have justified its existence.

Political Betterment

There are those who are ready at the first disappointment to long for the return of the Turk, saying that Turkey was better than what they have now. They declare that if there was bribery under Turkey, there is more now; that favouritism has become more open and shameless; that the courts are more open to influence than in the good old days. These pessimists are blinded to certain great and significant changes in fundamental life. For one thing, there is to-day essential freedom to print. This is said despite the realization that censorship has been too active everywhere, but such censorship has confined itself largely to political matters, and has left undisturbed the production of Biblical and other religious literature. What this means for the future is clear. With increased facilities in communication, and with a growing percentage of literacy among the people, the preaching of the Gospel through the printed page can easily be made the most potent agency in evangelizing the Arabic-speaking world. The Press in Beirut has signalized this new condition and promise by equipping itself with a new building and the latest type of machinery, and is now ready to be used in a great co-operative effort to issue Christian literature for Syria, Palestine and Mesopotamia.

Promise of Religious Liberty

Another new thing which still remains to be fully tested is the promise of religious freedom for the people. The interpretation of this term under the former régime was that a person was free to become or remain a Moslem. Just how far this freedom to change one's faith will result in practical, as distinguished from theoretical, religious liberty remains to be seen, but it is a great gain to have at least the theory vindicated, and

to have the great principle of religious liberty part of the fundamental law of the land.

The Moslem Mind

It is too early to make definite statements concerning the changed state of the Moslem mind, or its greater readiness to receive the truth. In the more intense nationalism we probably see a check to missionary influence. But in the new desire on the part of Moslems to become a part of the active and thinking world, we can see a God-given opportunity.

Problems of the New Day

Merely to name the problems of the new day will show the need of missionary and native leadership of a high order in the years immediately before us. There is the question of rearranging and even revolutionizing methods to meet the new situation. The new governments will open schools, and the missionary must decide whether to compete or whether to supplement and how. The Native Church is ready for rapid strides in assuming new responsibility for support and self-management, and the missionary must guide sympathetically and with great wisdom. The question of the Oriental Churches and their relationship to the historic Western Churches is becoming a burning issue; the question touches every missionary effort in Syria and Palestine. The wise missionary must be prepared with a fundamental and liberal attitude and doctrine concerning this great question. If the press is free to turn out living literature, authors must be found to prepare it. These are but a few of the major matters before the missionary societies of this Bible land to-day. Nothing is more important from the missionary standpoint than that here at the great religious centre of the world, where the three living faiths meet, and where our faith was born, there should be presented a simple and true picture and example of the abounding Christian faith. This gives tremendous significance to the missionary cause in Syria and Palestine.

J. H. N.

(C) IN EGYPT

Political Changes

No one would have ventured to expect a decade ago the political changes which have taken place in Egypt during the past ten years. When Britain took over the control of the country in 1882 it was explicitly and authoritatively stated that the occupation would cease as soon as seemed advisable. Even ten years ago the proposed object of the British foreign policy in its relation to Egypt was the gradual education of the Egyptian people so that some day they might be able to govern themselves. But the goal was not the independence of Egypt, but rather self-government under British guidance and protection. This seems to have been the official view up to November 1918.

To-day what a change we see! The demand for the absolute independence of Egypt as a foreign state, which began in a small way years ago, has, through the abnormal conditions caused by the war which have speeded up all national movements, had the appearance of being sudden. But it had been prepared for by a variety of causes; and from the day of the Armistice onwards events steadily worked in its favour. It is not necessary to allude in detail to these crowded events—from the banishment of the nationalist leader Zaghlul Pasha early in 1919, and the very serious anti-British explosions in the capital and the provinces in the spring of that year, down to the present days: the latest stage being that the constitution of Egypt as a sovereign state has been embodied in a draft, which must now be submitted to a National Assembly on the one hand and to the revision of the British government on the other. It must suffice to record that in February 1922 the announcement was made that the protectorate, proclaimed in 1915, would be terminated and Egypt recognized as an independent sovereign state, the British government reserving certain questions for further discussion: these questions included security of communications in Egypt,

defence, protection of foreign interests, of minorities, and of the Sudan, and are not finally adjusted yet.

Egypt, then, is to govern herself according to Egyptian ideals, and is free to develop herself in her own way. The future alone can tell whether the change will work for good or for ill. The omens cannot be said to be favourable. The traditions of the past have not been in the line of disinterested public service or of public integrity; and religious particularism—always the curse of the East—is still ingrained in the mentality of the nation. If Egypt's statesmen can act with unselfishness and true patriotism, seeking the good of all and not merely of any one class or creed, the future might be faced with confidence. But otherwise, only disappointment and final downfall will result.

Social and Economic Changes

But along with the political changes there have come about social and economic changes equally important and vital, which if wisely guided may have a tremendous influence for good. Through all the past years of war, unrest and political turmoil there has been running a feeling of expectancy—a quest for something. There has been not merely a dissatisfaction with things as they are, but a hope that the future would bring satisfaction. The people, through their intercourse with men of all classes and races during the war, have now a wider outlook. Even many of the fellaheen who served abroad in the Labour Corps have learned to recognize the difference between their position and that of the labouring classes in Europe and elsewhere. Again, one of the most remarkable of the social changes which have taken place is the feeling of national unity shown between Moslem and Christian. A sense of nationality is abroad. This existed to some extent in past years, but in temporary and more or less evanescent form. If the bond of nationality can really unite permanently the various sections of the community now divided by religious beliefs and customs there will be hope of real liberty and progress.

It is necessary, however, in the interests of truth, to note how weak and unformed this sense of nationality really is; how precarious is the unity between Moslems and Christians, upon the truth and permanence of which a healthy nationality must depend absolutely. When it is realized how many proofs those on the spot have had that the Christian element in this alliance was almost entirely actuated by fear, and that the secret attitude of the Mohammedans was often very cynical, it is impossible not to be apprehensive that with the removal of the anti-British motive this Egyptianism may dissolve and disappear. In this case everything will slip back into the bad old traditional course. We can only hope that Egyptian nationalism may after all prove genuine enough, and strong enough, to open fresh lines of cleavage, and to create new groupings, new categories of thought, and a new patriotism to replace the old barren loyalties and hates. This is the best that can be hoped. In fact, all depends on this.

Another of the results of this awakening to national self-consciousness has been a demand for education. For many years there has been a call for reform in the educational system of the country. Now the demand has come with overpowering force. There is even talk of compulsory education. The need for education is fully recognized by those in whose hands the responsibility of governing Egypt in the future will lie. They know that the mass of the population is far from being in a position to express any opinion as to what is or is not for the good of the nation, and that for the most part even those who have passed through the schools are in reality only at the beginning of their true education. There is a general recognition of the need for primary education on wider lines than have been contemplated in the past, and for the extension and development of higher education, which in the past has been wholly insufficient.

Demand for Education

An equally important change has been brought about by the Feminist Movement, which has taken a substantial

form with apparent unexpectedness. If in England women obtained a political standing because they showed what they could do in the way of self-sacrifice and service for the country in its time of need, in Egypt women have gained for themselves, by demonstrating their willingness to come out of their seclusion and serve what they believed was the needs of their country, a measure of freedom and social standing such as was never hoped for a few years ago.

The Feminist Movement

A survey of Christian missionary work in Egypt during the past ten years leads to the conviction that all the societies labouring there have in the providence of God and, to a large extent unknown to themselves, been passing through a time of special preparation such as will enable them to take full advantage of the opportunity which now offers itself for the presentation of Christian truth to Moslems. The following notes attempt no summary of the work done during the past decade but draw attention to a few points of significance.

Missionary Progress

Hospitals and schools have been crowded. Evangelistic work proceeds on its usual lines both through meetings and services in stated places and itinerating visits by medical and other workers in the country districts. And the cordiality of the inhabitants, both in the towns and the country, towards the workers has been nothing short of wonderful. The work of the colporteurs carried on by a staff common to all the missions steadily gains ground.

The establishment in Cairo in January 1913 of a study centre for missionaries to Moslems has marked a great step in advance. Not merely is instruction given in language study—that would be something worth while in itself—but the young missionaries have opportunity of studying the principles, practices and customs of Moslems under fully qualified guidance. They learn to appreciate the problems they will have to meet and how to approach their solution. This study centre, which acts also as a bond of union between the various missionary agencies

Preparation of Missionaries

working in Arabic-speaking countries, is progressing and developing. In 1921 it became a department of the new American Christian University in Cairo (see p. 27), under the title of the School of Oriental Studies, and was thereby given a new start in plant, organization and staff, which has already enormously augmented its efficiency and usefulness.

A further hopeful sign is the increasing desire to study Islam shown on the part of the students and of Egyptian workers in the American Mission Theological Seminary in Cairo. It is not so many years since it was almost impossible to get an Egyptian theological student to show even the least interest in the matter of work among Moslems. This apathy is passing. Indeed we might say it has passed. In connexion with the same seminary special classes for the training of evangelists were inaugurated a few years ago, and some instruction in methods of how to present Christian truth to Moslems is included in the course.

Christian Literature

The work of the Nile Mission Press in providing Christian literature in Arabic suitable for dissemination among Moslems as well as Christians in Egypt and the Near East has shown during the past ten years a marked advance notwithstanding the troublous times through which the country has passed. Special attention has been given to the question of providing literature adapted for women and children. The American Christian Literature Society for Moslems has given valuable financial assistance to all the societies engaged in literary work not only in Egypt but in Syria as well. As the question before the missionaries is not solely or perhaps even chiefly one of production but one of wise distribution it is noteworthy that in 1913 a Joint Committee was organized by the missionary societies in Egypt to superintend the work of colportage. Two Christian magazines are doing good work each in its own way and sphere: *Orient and Occident*, originally published in connexion with the Church Missionary Society, and the *Beshair es-Salam*, issued by the Egypt General Mission. The question of presenting the

word of God to the Egyptian people in the vulgar tongue has been settled by the action of the British and Foreign Bible Society in taking responsibility for the project of the translation of part of the Scriptures into the Egyptian colloquial. This ought to help all evangelistic work but especially that among the women and the fellaheen.

Survey of Moslem Literature

The great Literary Survey which has been at work for two years is about to issue its report. This enterprise does not properly belong exclusively to Egypt, but as Cairo is the chief centre on the field for the co-ordination of the work, it may be noticed in this place. The survey was planned, in a specially masterly way, in America: the questionnaires to all the fields were prepared at Cairo; and the replies were co-ordinated, and the report drafted, at Constantinople. When it appears it will be a document of the first importance. No such enterprise has ever been undertaken before for Moslem mission lands from China to the Atlantic. It will reveal weaknesses which were suspected, but also strengths that were unsuspected. It cannot fail to stimulate this work of first-rate importance—the production and distribution of Christian literature in Mohammedan mission lands.

Christian Education

During the past ten years the educational work of the missions has made great advance and the demand for it is still increasing. Though during the troublous years after the war it was at times a little interfered with, it is one of the greatest proofs of the appreciation of the value of Christian educational work on the part of the Egyptian—both Moslem and Christian—that the demand for education in mission schools has not diminished but rather increased. In 1916 the Assiut College of the American Mission celebrated its jubilee of service. The results of its work are to be found through the whole length and breadth of the country. The founding and opening of the American Christian University in Cairo is the high-water mark of progress during the past decade. Its object is not merely to supply higher education but to develop a high moral

and spiritual character, a character imbued with Christian principles and Christian ideals. The university opened with a Faculty of Arts and Science in November 1920. It is a most hopeful sign that of the students enrolled two-thirds are Moslems. Under wise guidance it is not too much to expect that in this Christian institution the character of the future statesmen of Egypt will be moulded and that within its walls the destiny of the new-born nation will be worked out.

The Outlook

In conclusion the present attitude of the Moslem in Egypt towards Christianity and Christian work must be briefly indicated. As long as there was doubt whether the control of the British government would be completely removed or not, there was naturally a tendency to believe that the work of the missionaries was in some sense political propaganda. Now that the country has obtained complete independence, there will probably be less inclination to attribute political motives to missionaries. The Christian message will thus be, in many ways, freed from an incubus. It will be received on its own merits. If given wisely and with due regard to Moslem susceptibilities, it will in some ways be more free from governmental restraint. On the other hand, the more conservative party among the Moslems may make themselves felt more prominently in their polemic against Christianity. They believe that the most effective defence of Islam lies in attack, and this attack will probably be crude and personal for some time to come, and be accompanied by an active and passive administrative opposition that may make mission work, and the position of converts, very trying indeed. All this must be expected and discounted beforehand. In reality, however, this antagonism will, if borne with patience and replied to with calmness and good feeling, be a means of drawing attention to the work of the Christian missionary, and give an opportunity for personal work which he might not otherwise have. A new spirit has passed over the land, and it lies largely with the missionary

to nurture and strengthen it. In spite of the plentiful drawbacks and dangers to which allusion has been made, the outlook has never been so bright for missionary work in the land of Egypt.

W. R. W. G.

(D) IN ARABIA

THE history of any country is the history of the men who have either made it or changed it, politically, socially or spiritually. The history of Arabia, since 1912, is largely the history of two men, Abdul Aziz Ibn Saud, Sultan of the Nejd, and Hussein, King of the Hejaz.

The Key to History

Ten years ago Ibn Saud was just beginning to attract attention. Not so many years before 1912, he was an outlaw, living in Kuweit by favour of its then ruler, Sheikli Mubarek es Subah. The old feud between the Shammars of the north and the Nejdis in the south had gone against him. His capital was in the hands of the enemy. Mubarek, however, lent him a small force of men and camels, with which (to make a long and very romantic story short) he recaptured his capital Riadh and became once more the Emir of Nejd. His power grew with wonderful rapidity and it was not long before the outside world began to hear of Ibn Saud. The province of Hassa, that strip of Arabia which lies along the central coast of the Persian Gulf, behind the famous Pearl Islands of Bahrein, was nominally in the hands of the Turks. It is one of the few fertile provinces of Arabia, especially renowned for the excellency of its dates. Ibn Saud was quick to perceive the advantage to himself of an outlet to the sea, the more so as that outlet lay through an attractive country like Hassa. In 1912 he marched on Hassa, and after a very one-sided struggle, the nominal rule of the Turk there was at an end and Ibn Saud was the richer in territory, in revenue and in tribal connexions.

Ibn Saud

Two years passed. One began to hear rumours of a

strange religious revival which was springing up in the desert. The gospel of Abdul Wahab, of 150 years ago, was once more being preached. Somewhere in the heart of Arabia, men were saying that Moslems were *de*generating and needed *re*generating. Suddenly Arabia awoke to the realization of the 'Ikhwân' or the 'Brethren,' those terrible men who in their extreme exclusiveness called all other *Moslems* 'kafirs'—infidels. The Ikhwân were out to force all men to come into their communion. The forcing was worthy of the traditions of the Prophet Mohammed, on whose actions they patterned theirs; tribes who stood out against the Ikhwân were mercilessly slaughtered. The result was that tribe after tribe gave way, culminating in 1921 with the fall of Hail, the capital city of the Shammar tribe, perhaps the largest tribe in Arabia, long dominant in the northern interior.

The Rise of the Ikhwân

Thus, in the space of some nine years, the Ikhwân have become masters of Central Arabia, as well as the province of Hassa. Their marvellous religious zeal, the greatest driving force known to men and the only spirit of unity which Arabia has ever known, had swept all before it. The religion of Central Arabia is now the very essence of Islam. It is as though the Prophet Mohammed had returned to earth. All have been swept into the rushing torrent, not only the Bedouin, but also the far more conservative men of the cities of Central Arabia. The leader of this great movement is Abdul Aziz Ibn Saud. No longer is he merely the Emir, he is Sultan of the Nejd. There is no doubt that Ibn Saud is a sincerely devout man, second to none in the purity of his religious motives, and a shining example to his followers of all that a true Moslem should be. At the same time, he knows the value of the spirit which animates his armies, and probably feels that with such an army he can realize his dearest ambitions. On the other hand, he must begin to see the difficulties of his problems. He is isolated in the centre of Arabia, with enemies all round him, save in the direction of Hassa.

Central Arabia

The coastal towns, with their hard-headed business men, have never had any sympathy with Ikhwân ideals. They have no use for a religious code which goes so far as to make smoking a punishable offence, and to forbid intercourse with non-Moslem foreigners. They resent intensely the impertinence of the Ikhwân in calling them kafirs. They rest secure in the knowledge that the exclusive treaties betweeen the various coastal sheikhs and the British government are a sufficient guarantee of their independence. The Ikhwân tested the strength of this guarantee when they came near capturing Kuweit in 1920. At that time they realized that Great Britain stood ready to act should the necessity arise; they retired into the desert and have not since returned.

The Coastal Towns

The second great Arab mentioned at the beginning of this paper is Hussein, King of the Hejaz. At the commencement of the great war, this man was merely an official of the Turkish government, engaged in the task of ruling Mecca. When the opportunity came to become the biggest man in Arabia, he took it, revolted from Turkey and won the independence of the Hejaz; all this largely with British assistance. Hussein now discarded his old title of Shereef and proclaimed himself King of the Hejaz. He also let it be known that if the Caliphate were offered him, he would not refuse. On the surface, one would have thought that here was a suggestion which would fit in with independence, with self-determination, with the will of the people, and everything else. But no. Consider the paradox. The Turks had been driven clean out of Arabia, and with the exception of Mesopotamia, the Arabs had done most of the driving. An opportunity had come to repudiate the Caliphate of the Sultan of Turkey and to give the great office to a man who fulfils in his own person all the traditional requirements for that office, qualifications which no Turkish Sultan ever had. Hussein is an Arab of the Arabs, a member of the Koreish, the Prophet's own tribe. Yet the Arabs refuse to con-

Hussein, King of the Hejaz

sider him, they prefer to retain their allegiance to Stamboul.

There are probably several reasons for this. In the first place all Arabs, except possibly the Hejazis, look upon Hussein as an upstart, whose position to-day is due to the British, and the Arab wants no Christian-made Caliph. Secondly, the Arab never wants to see any other Arab become lord of all the Arabs, let alone the head of Islam. Thirdly, the Turk is after all a fellow-Moslem, and moreover has a prestige in world politics that is invaluable in these days when almost all Moslems are under Christian rule.

The Arab is a very jealous man, he wants the power for himself and all the power for himself. He would rather surrender his rights to the comparatively impartial Turk than risk everything in the hands of a fellow-Arab, whom he instinctively distrusts. Finally, over all hangs the glamour of the glory that was Stamboul's. Ibn Saud has never had any use for Hussein. The Ikhwân do not hesitate to call him a kafir and to declare that they will kill him if ever they get the chance. More than once Ibn Saud's forces have inflicted defeat on Hussein's people. Some pieces of Hussein's artillery decorate Ibn Saud's castle at the present moment. The Arabs to-day would never elect Ibn Saud as Caliph. Their democratic instinct repudiates Hussein while their dread of religious tyranny sways them against Ibn Saud. Hussein and Ibn Saud are each of them absolutely solid with their own constituencies, but that is the limit of each.

Rivalry of Ibn Saud and Hussein

It is now necessary to consider a man who is just beginning work in Arabia which, if it be well done, will overshadow in practical importance that of Ibn Saud and Hussein. This is Feisul, King of Iraq or Mesopotamia, a man of modern education, one of the signatories to the Treaty of Versailles, and the man who has been chosen by Great Britain to work out the problem of home rule for his newly-adopted part of the world. There are points against him in the opinion of the Arab, that paradoxical personage. In the first place,

Feisul, King of Iraq

Feisul, like his father, King Hussein, has risen to power through the aid of the British. In the second place, he fought with the British against the Turk and this to the dwellers in Mesopotamia is not a passport to favour. In the third place, he is a stranger. At first success seemed impossible, but his position seems steadily to improve.

The broad policy, in which Feisul's position as King of Iraq plays so important a part, is an old one. If it succeeds, great things will be accomplished for Arabia. The Turks have now been completely driven out of Arabia; from Hassa, from Hejaz, from Yemen, from Iraq. They can only come back by defeating or winning over the rulers or peoples of the three great northern provinces of Arabia. These provinces form a mighty arch, the western pillar of which comprises the province of the Hejaz, the eastern pillar being Iraq, while the new and somewhat shadowy province of Transjordania forms the crown and keystone. These three kingdoms are in the hands of one family; King Hussein, the father, in Hejaz; the eldest son, King Abdallah, in Transjordania; the second son, King Feisul, in Iraq. We have here possibilities for combination in defence, in communication, in general progress and harmony from which great things may grow.

Hope for Arabia

We have now outlined the broad political changes. Are there any spiritual changes in Arabia? Do Arabs think as they have always thought? No, and Yes. The tremendous upheavals, political, social and religious, which have shaken the world to its foundations during the past few years, have vibrated through even to Arabia. Along the coast of the Persian Gulf, here and there thoughtful men of the best type are getting a materialistic trend. Doubts are taking the place of what used to be absolute conviction. There is a growing fear that Islam is not quite up to date. There is a feeling that the powerful nations of the West have won their place in the world in spite of the fact that they are utterly without religion—for the Arab fails to notice much of the spirit of

The Religious Situation

piety among the English, at all events. He is quick to mark their shortcomings though at the same time incapable of making a correct judgment. He sees that the average Englishman seldom goes to church, he knows that he drinks and gambles, sometimes to excess. He compares what he sees with what he has learned of Christianity from his missionary friends and, with his instinct for piety, he decides that the dominant race does not really fear God. His next step down is to copy the Westerner, and then we get the Arab who begins by doubting some of his religion and ends by doubting all of it, who begins by drinking a little and very soon ends by drinking a great deal too much. He becomes a half-baked materialist and perhaps a cynical atheist. Happily, such men are still rare, except perhaps in Iraq.

Christian Education

The remedy for this sort of thing lies in Christian education. With the exception of Iraq, there is no such thing in Arabia as education. But in Iraq, under British leadership, schools are springing up everywhere, and in the near future are going to be well manned and well equipped. Here is the opportunity for the missionary. Mission schools already suffer the handicap of being mission schools, with Christianity always in the background. Indifferent plant and equipment increase this handicap. What has been done by American missionaries in Turkey must be done in Iraq. Christian scholarship, side by side with the simple telling of ' the old, old story,' must be made the greatest power in the land.

Medical Missions

So far as medicine is concerned, there does not seem to be much opportunity in Iraq. Splendid hospitals are being put up with public money, equipped on a scale with which missionary societies cannot compete. With the closing of medical mission work in Bagdad and Basra a very valuable hold on the population has been lost. For all the rest of Arabia, it is still on medicine that we must rely for our first approach. In the Persian Gulf medical missionaries have accomplished great things in the last ten years. They have entered the very citadel of the Ikhwân and have stayed

in Ibn Saud's capital, Riadh, as guests of the great chief himself. One doctor has also travelled far into Oman; and along the inhospitable shores of what is known as the Trucial Coast he is ever welcome, because of his skill and in spite of his message. The city of Kuweit, in the upper end of the Persian Gulf, which was not so long ago a Wahabi stronghold, has opened its doors to the medical missionary; in the course of the last ten years hostility and fanaticism have given way to welcome, respect, and in some instances, affection. The moral is, that what has been done in one part of Arabia can probably be done in another. The Red Sea coast and the south coast of Arabia should be the objective of medical missions in the near future.

As an offset to the remarks on the appearance of materialism and atheism among the Arabs, it must be emphasized

Islam entrenched

that the great bulk of the population is as solidly Moslem as it ever was. In the interior, Ibn Saud has carried his followers, or been carried by them, back to the days of Mohammed. Along the coast, the average man still rests confident in the creed 'There is no god but Allah and Mohammed is His prophet.' On the shores of the Persian Gulf, Christians are understood better and disliked less than ever before, but the Christian religion, with its Trinity, with its Divine Son of God, with its Crucified Christ, is hated with still undying fervour, so far as a mere foreigner can determine. It remains for us to be faithful and to continue to pray Christ's own prayer, 'Thy Kingdom come.'

C. S. M.

(E) IN EAST PERSIA

In order to understand the changes in political and social conditions which have occurred in Persia since 1912, one

Political Situation

must go back to the revolution of 1906, when the autocratic and absolute power of the Shah was compelled to yield to the popular demand for a more democratic and representative form of government. At that

time a constitution, calling for widespread reforms and a regularly elected parliament, and granting freedom of speech and of the press and in religious matters, was given and despite various reactionary movements is still in existence. Freedom after centuries of bondage is intoxicating, so it is no matter for wonder that excesses of many kinds were committed in its name. It was, then, as a constitutional monarchy still trying to find its place and still groping amid a turmoil of new ideals and new forces, that we find Persia at the beginning of this decade. The country was dominated by foreigners. The British sphere of influence embraced all South Persia, while the Russians were even more powerful in the north. Without the expressed or tacit consent of these two governments, Persia could carry out no important measure either as regards internal or foreign policy. At the beginning of the war Persia declared herself a neutral. The Turks struck at their enemies, the British and Russians, through Persia; the country became the battle-field for three armies. The Turks were driven out and the Russians withdrew gradually as their own revolution absorbed their attention. The British armies advanced until they held all the strategic places of North and East Persia. After the war the Russians in the shape of a nondescript Red army threatened Persia and kept up a state of war until the ratification of the Persian-Bolshevic treaty and the withdrawal of the British in 1921. The fortunes of war thus resulted in freeing Persia largely from foreign influence.

Economic Conditions

The normally unstable economic balance of Persia was profoundly disturbed by the war. Commerce was stopped, the peasants were either driven from their fields or were afraid to sow; in short there were the same conditions of semi-starvation and privation as obtained in many other countries. During this whole period the work of missions was greatly disturbed, both from high prices and from the necessity of engaging in relief work. The attendance at the schools dwindled to only a small fraction of the normal, the hospitals were filled with

refugees, while the missionaries worked day and night in directing and administering the relief funds which foreign countries poured into Persia. This work, being an example on a large scale of practical Christianity, made a deep impression on the Persians of all classes. Its effect in the breaking down of prejudice and in softening hearts will be felt throughout the land for many years. Persia is largely an illiterate country and news or ideas of any kind percolate slowly if at all into the towns and hamlets off the main travelled roads. In this back country the old conservatism still lingers and with it the old ignorance and indifference. Probably the revolution and its new ideas have done more than the war to change these conditions. Even to-day one may travel through villages where the people have no knowledge of the war except that something happened to Russia which destroyed her traffic in cotton and sugar. Only as they are affected economically do the peasants take any interest in changes. In the large towns and cities, where a larger percentage of people can read and have communication with the outer world, there is desire for news and an interest in events which is gradually bringing about changes in thought, habits and in attitude toward new things. The war stimulated communications, the armies brought in good roads, improved the telegraphs and set up new standards of efficiency. The educated Persian of the city was quick to grasp the advantage of all this, and as conditions became more normal after the war he bought automobiles and more than ever endeavoured to adopt the same standard of living as his European neighbours.

The press of Persia since the revolution has developed greatly in bulk but not so much in character. Daily and weekly newspapers are published in the cities and in many towns. They are largely devoted to political news and discussion, few make pretence of literary style. On the whole they are free to publish what they please, provided they do not become too bitter against the existing order of things. Constructive criticism in the press

The Press

is absent, the characteristic most evident in Persia to-day is the lack of any adequate constructive policy. The public is quick to find fault, but slow to show a better way.

Social Life

The revolution of 1906 also introduced new ideas in sociology. Freedom meant the right to do anything one pleased, therefore why be hampered any longer by the strict laws of religion and morality? Arguing thus, public opinion permitted the introduction into the cities of many forms of European immorality in a flagrant form hitherto unknown. Prostitution, under government sanction, increased steadily and continues to grow; to-day the social evil is as widespread as in many European cities. This is a significant development because Mohammedan religious law condemns prostitution, and its introduction indicates the relatively weak hold which the national religion has on the people. In the villages, where there is still conservatism and religious despotism, immorality is uncommon. In the same way the use of alcoholic liquors increased markedly, so that a law was passed forbidding the free sale of alcohol. These degenerative changes in the fibre of Persian social life present a challenge to Christian missions which cannot be ignored.

Education

The Persian by nature likes education, although it is only within the last few years that he has begun to realize the superiority of occidental education over studies in the Koran and the Traditions. There is a constantly growing number of young men who have gone abroad for a liberal education and have returned to enter business, or else to be disappointed at the lack of opportunity to employ their training in law, economics and engineering. In the country districts, schools have been developed under Persian auspices, but as a rule they are inadequate and poorly administered. Mission schools have done much to stimulate Persian education and to set standards of attainments. It is significant that no institution of college or university grade in Persia has yet been founded. The time is ripe and the near future will see a

college under mission direction in Teheran. The leavening effect of education may be seen in the awakening desire among the women for more freedom and opportunity to express themselves. There is a definite movement in this direction with the initiative coming wholly from Persian men and women. The religious leaders are actively opposing such tendencies because the women and ignorant men are the only ones who take their leadership seriously. Let the women once become educated and have freedom of expression and the power of the mullah to sway public opinion will be greatly reduced. The Persians themselves have done little to foster schools for girls, so that this field is largely in the hands of the missionary.

The Waning of Islam

In the religious world there is a constantly growing mass of evidence to show that the power of Islam as a state religion is waning and its ability to satisfy the soul hunger of its followers is failing before the exigencies of budding civilization. Whereas in the past it was a common sight to see large numbers of the devout at their devotions as the call of the muezzin rang out, now one sees only an occasional worshipper. Among the educated, the lack of any religion at all is notorious. It is not unusual for a man to acknowledge that he no longer has faith in Mohammed, but that he is unable to accept either Christianity or Bahaism. Several factors are responsible for this decline of religion. Probably the foremost is secular education, which, showing the falseness of many of the ideas which have become grafted on to Shiah Mohammedanism, has started a train of doubt leading to religious nihilism. Comparison, on the part of the thoughtful man, of the unenviable condition of his own country with the power and prosperity of other nations, has been another cause of doubt as to the divine origin of his religion, which he recognizes to be the basic cause of his misfortune. The slow but steady increase of Bahaism and Christianity has been another influence in the same direction. The growth of Christianity and its appeal is disturbing to the mullahs and mujtahids.

The result of political turmoil, of the war and its new

ideas, of education and the impact of Christianity, is that the barriers of fanaticism and intolerance are broken down in Persia. There is such a degree of religious freedom that converts to Christianity, while subject to minor persecutions, may live in comfort and safety. In the villages as well as in the towns and cities the Christian missionary gets a respectful and often a sympathetic hearing. Although the number of converts is still small compared to those in non-Mohammedan lands, there is every reason to believe that the future will see a great increase. Emphasis is being laid strongly on the founding of an indigenous, self-supporting, self-propagating Church. That ideal is being realized even thus early and much of the evangelistic work is being done by the Church in Persia. In the past the effort has been to make an impress on Mohammedanism; in the future greater effort must be made to win to Christianity the large numbers of those who, for reasons of their own, have left Mohammed but have not found Christ.

Religious Freedom

P. C. M.

(F) IN THE DUTCH EAST INDIES

The Dutch East Indies are inhabited by about fifty million people, the greater part of whom are Mohammedans. In Java alone, the most important and densely populated island, there are thirty-five million professors of Islam. In the interior of more remote islands there are some animistic races left, but their number is diminishing. The Dutch East Indies can therefore be called a Mohammedan country, though Islam has been moderated by the animistic elements it has assimilated, and, in Java, by the influence of Hinduism, which flourished there before.

Moslems and Animists

Java in 1900 was like a calm, unruffled sea. The country is rich, but the great mass of the people stands economically low. Until a few years ago, however, they were content with their sober life. Education they did not desire. Political aspirations were unknown to them.

A Great Awakening

As for religion they lived in a sort of indifferentism. In the last ten years this has entirely changed. In influential circles there is now going on a struggle for life ; a desire has been kindled for more education ; attention is being turned to political questions ; in religion a revival is noticeable. The waters formerly so unruffled are stirred. Everywhere the symptoms of awakening life appear. This great change is not an isolated symptom, but part of a movement which is spreading over all Asia. It is only possible here to mention some points which led to the awakening of the Dutch Indies and to suggest what they signify to missionary work.

Desire for Education

The Dutch-Indian government employs not only European but also native officials. Formerly the latter only spoke their mother-tongue. But in the beginning of this century the Government made them feel that it would be highly appreciated if all officials could make use of the Dutch language. Elementary schools for natives were opened in many places, with Dutch as a means of instruction, beside existing schools where Javanese alone was used. These Indo-Dutch schools have become popular, because they open the way to intermediate and university education, and even pupils who do not complete their studies can get better paid situations. Thus, a longing for more education, a thirst for western knowledge and science has grown up, not for the sake of knowledge in itself, but because it equips for the battle of life.

The Sense of Nationality

By the side of this passion for more education the sense of nationality has been roused. Formerly the population resigned itself to the fact that it lived under the guardianship of a colonial power and had itself no say in the course of the affairs. But gradually this is changing, at least among the intellectual class. The political events of late years in Europe and Asia have no doubt had a good deal of influence. But, apart from this, the course affairs are taking might be foreseen. A nation which begins to assimilate western culture will not always submit to guardianship, it begins to strive for more political freedom

and independence. It is remarkable that this movement, which borrows its weapons from western culture, nevertheless marches under the banner of the Crescent. Political action seeks strength through the growth of Islam and Animism lives on under its cloak. Of late efforts are being made to popularize Islam, and religion, especially Mohammedanism, is the common bond in all political action.

Effect upon Missions

From the nature of the case this movement in itself is not advantageous to the missions. The desire for more education, for political independence and for the increase of Islam, is far from seeking its strength in the Gospel. Yet God uses it as a means to open doors for the preaching of the Gospel. Formerly the population listened to the missionaries but were indifferent to what was said. Now they show much more interest in everything the mission does. Medical missionary work has greatly extended of late years. Originally it was watched with distrust. The population expected much more good from its own witch-craft than from a European doctor. But Christian physicians have won the confidence of many. The missionary hospitals are much frequented and afford the missionaries many opportunities of speaking of the Gospel. School work shows a marked increase. Besides vernacular schools, many Dutch native mission schools have been established. Thousands of Mohammedan children get a Christian education. In this way the missions exercise an influence on the better educated portion of the people. Colportage work is spreading rapidly. The number of illiterates is decreasing steadily. Those who learn to read thirst for books. This affords the missions a splendid opportunity to sell Bibles and religious books.

Islam and Christianity

Finally it is remarkable that the propaganda of Islam, in part at least, is not hostile to Christianity. In Java, the centre of the native movement, some of the leading Mohammedan men are seeking contact with the missions. We may not infer from this that they wish to become Christians. But it is still a cause for joy that

convinced Mohammedans, who otherwise would simply turn their backs upon Christianity, will acquaint themselves with what Christian missions bring. If the missions to Mohammedans are to succeed, it is of primary importance for them to come into closer contact with Islam.

The Outlook

Missions in the Dutch East Indies face the future with hope. It is true they are passing through a crisis, especially financially. The German missions are in particular experiencing serious difficulties. But there is hope that this crisis will pass. In the last twenty-five years missionaries have laboured with success. A quarter of a century ago the number of native Christians was about 300,000. At present it is more than 1,000,000, that is to say, 2 per cent of the population. There are visible tokens that missions in the Dutch East Indies, if carried on with energy, will continually grow in influence.

D. B.

SUMMARY OF SURVEY: AND CONCLUSION

The Political Aspect

No one who reviews the foregoing summary of events and local surveys can mistake the fact that the past decade has been a most significant one in and for the world of Islam, and therefore for the enterprise of Christian evangelization in Mohammedan lands. Now in summarizing this significance it was impossible not to emphasize first and foremost its political aspect, just because all change in a decade which included the world-war, with its infinite national and political reactions, was bound to assume primarily a national and political complexion; and most of all in countries professing the religion of Islam, which from the first has treated the religious and political as two aspects of one thing. It has therefore been inevitable, even in a missionary and spiritual review of events in the fields of Mohammedan missions, to begin with this political aspect, and seek to estimate the effect of these outward events upon a task which for us is a purely religious one.

I

Beginning therefore with the political aspect, we have seen that the salient fact of the past decade has been the emergence of Turkey, the seat of the Caliphate, and the manifestation of a fiery pan-islamic zeal for that country and that institution over large parts—and these the most important parts—of the Moslem world. Whether the startling revolutionary act of the Angora Turks in abolishing the Sultanate, and so depriving the Caliph of his authority as Chief Magistrate, will end by cooling or destroying that zeal, remains to be seen. At the present moment enthusiasm for both country and institution is undoubtedly the chief determining factor in the general situation.

Turkey and the Caliphate

The Caliphate question has been, in fact, a manifestation rather than the cause of Islamic revival. The cause has been the rallying of Islamic peoples to Islamism and its culture against the many-sided encroachments of the West, and this once more, as has already been indicated, was just part of the general revolt against white predominance on the part of all who felt themselves victimized thereby.

Revival of Islamic Unity

Further, it is necessary to note the fact that where realized material interests are too strong, certain parts of the Mohammedan world have refused to be swept away by this pro-Ottoman Caliphate tide. The Arabs have their own ambitions, and are still anti-Turk. The Sudanese of the old Egyptian Sudan are too intensely anti-Egyptian, and remember too keenly the old Turkish Bashi-Bazouk days, to feel any enthusiasm for movements with the full triumph of which their independence and happiness would inevitably disappear. And similar remarks could be made for other parts of the Moslem world.

Still, with whatever deductions, the broad fact remains that a great enthusiasm for the Caliphate, and therefore for Turkey, has strengthened and consolidated Islamic

unity and Islamic fraternity and the Islamic way of looking at things everywhere. All of which has a direct bearing upon much that gravely concerns Christians and the work of Christianity in Mohammedan lands. Some little of that much must now be considered.

II

1. This intensification of the Islamic way of looking at things is bound to bring a general access of prestige to the Sharîat, or canon law of Islam. For the Sharîat is just the general expression of the Moslem view of things. For a temperate and perfectly-informed statement of that view, and of what Islam might fairly claim to have conceded to it, we must refer to an article in the *Moslem World* by a great French orientalist, M. Louis Massignon.[1] But there is another and more sinister side to the question. Any revival of the prestige of the Sharîat, and especially in the administrative realm of the Caliphate itself, carries with it the confirmation of the manner in which Christian and Jewish minorities are regarded: for the Sharîat is the law of God; and deep in the consciousness of the Moslem masses, and of the subconsciousness of even those who believe themselves the emancipated few, lies the thought that it is in substance as unchangeable as Islam itself. What the provisions of that law are in regard to Jewish and Christian minorities it is necessary once more to state clearly, partly because they are fact—and fact which the press, absorbed in the selfish interests of the moment, whether national, party, economic, or doctrinaire, dangerously ignores or is ignorant of; partly because, in the present settlement crisis, no settlement can avail which through baseness will not, or through ignorance cannot, take into account the rock-bottom facts of the case; and partly because of the obvious

The Significance of the Sharîat

[1] *Moslem World*, 1922 (Jan.), pp. 7–24, a translation from the *Revue du Monde Musulman*, vol. xxxix. Written June 1920.

practical bearing of these facts upon the existence, progress and fruits of Christian work in the Moslem East.

Christian and Jewish Minorities

The facts of the case, then, are these: in every Mohammedan realm, but especially in that associated politically with the Caliph, the Christian and Jewish minorities are not reckoned as integral parts of the (Islamic) 'nation' (ummah), possessed of equal citizen rights and responsibilities with Mohammedans, but as subject-aliens whom it is the duty of the Mohammedan state to protect so long as they themselves accept the position and the status imposed on them. But the moment they in any way challenge that position, much more take direct steps to make good that challenge, they lose then the conceded right of protection; they are then *rebel* aliens (mubâh damuhum wa mâluhum) 'whose blood and property are free.'[1] Yet even so they can be saved by accepting Islam.[2] This is the true explanation of the wholesale Christian massacres of the past; this is the explanation of their governmental character; and this is the explanation of the fact that they are executed with such cheerful consciencelessness, or rather conscientiousness, by the religious and estimable as well as by the riff-raff of the masses of Islam.[3] It is quite true that those who have directed these religious pogroms from headquarters have been, and to-day would be, cynics in religion. But for them these doctrines of the Islamic Sharîat on their political side were all too convenient, and the electric readiness of those who were *not* cynics in religion, and were therefore ready to execute the divine command, was all too convenient also. We say 'were' and 'was'; but the thing to seize upon with the mind is that the words must

[1] That is to say, they revert to the position of enemies at war, whose lives it is, of course, not a crime to take, nor whose property to capture.

[2] This is the explanation of that circumstance of the Armenian and other massacres which to us intensifies their horror, but which to the Moslem represents itself as a piece of extraordinary clemency.

[3] See a conversation between Miss Gertrude Lowthian Bell and an Anatolian peasant in her book *The Desert and the Sown.*

be read 'are' and 'is,' so long as the conceptions of the Sharîat, mediæval or rather old-world though they are, are considered divine and eternally valid by the huge majority of Mohammedans and as convenient by so many of the remainder.

The Line of Settlement

Without the knowledge of these facts and the determination to recognize them practically, the work of settlement must be vain. Above this old-world view of rights with its ghastly limitations must quietly be set up the higher human view—quietly set up, and fearlessly supported and ensured, as *right*. For all experience of those who know goes to show two things: first, that only this courage, moral first and physical because moral, can make a settlement which will save the ill-starred remnant of the non-Moslems in the Near East, and so the Near East itself; and secondly, that only this courage ever avails with the Mohammedans of the East; for it alone secures their moral respect, the gaining of which spells peace and safety for all: and it alone averts their contempt, which is the fertile soil for successive and unfailing crops of trouble.

Results of Islamic Revival

2. The Islamic revival will doubtless make all Christian work more difficult in various parts, and especially where the Sharîat or the Sharîat mentality is found most unimpaired. In view of that law and that mentality the active preaching to Moslems on the part of any non-Mohammedans, and especially of the subject minorities, is an unthinkable offence. It is the definite violation by the native minority of the constitution conferred upon them, and it definitely makes lawful the shedding of their blood. Equally the life and property of converts to Christianity are forfeit to the Islamic state. Of course it will not be possible actually to carry out these provisions to the letter in lands which are in touch with modern civilization; but this will be the attitude of mind; and the effect of that attitude upon Oriental Christians and upon all mission work may be imagined. Here again

the only possible policy and the only safe policy is the highest. To set over against a mistaken view of right a higher one, and make provision for it. It will conquer by its own inherent rightness. But do not these considerations reveal the utter shortsightedness and mistakenness of those who, in territory where administrators have a free hand, actually adopt the Mohammedan view of things as their own policy and try to bar out all non-Mohammedan thought as if it were hostile or harmful ? Such a policy is obviously mortgaging the future in every vital respect for the sake of making the immediate task a little easier in appearance. That way lies sterility, at best : at worst, disaster.

3. The Islamic revival will give a further access of strength to the bond of Islamic fraternity. Here we come to the feature of Islam which is the most real of all and the most worthy of admiration. For however horrible be its limitations to which we have just called attention, both in its spirit and in its application, it is, *on its own plane*, a real achievement. It does introduce a factor of practical unity amid the griding differences of colour, race, nationality and class. It is true that the light of this fraternity only shows up vividly when faced with apparent antagonism from the West. It is also true that in itself it has done nothing to stop war and human bloodshed. For apart from the terrible implications towards non-Moslem subjects, apart from the wars of conquest which were and are inherent in the whole scheme, history shows clearly that in the absence of any non-Moslem pressure, internecine wars between Moslem states can be as confidently counted upon as has been, alas, the case hitherto with ' Christian ' nations. Moslem blood, shed by Moslems, has flowed like rivers from the day of Ali the fourth Caliph down to our own. But apart from all this, Islamic fraternity as a unifying human factor is a real thing, and beyond all things in Islam gives occasion for meditation and thought to all Christians, and especially to those who see that the preaching of Christ's Kingdom of

The Bond of Islamic Fraternity

God and its fraternity is essentially universal, and that it therefore must include Islam.

III

Islam and Missions

And so we arrive at the work of missions in relation to Islam. The local surveys, and other reports received from the field, reveal to us the fact that Mohammedans are being evangelized—in China, in the Philippines and East Indies, in India, in the borders of Beluchistan and Afghanistan, in Persia, on the fringes of Arabia, in Palestine, Syria and parts of the Turkish Empire, in Egypt and its Sudan, along North Africa, in Nigeria and other parts of West Africa, and in East Africa. It is true that in some cases the evangelization is very limited—limited for example to a medical mission, or perhaps the occasional services of a medical missionary, or to some general educational work; or to quiet work among individual inquirers. Still 'in every way, whether in pretence or in truth,' the Gospel of Christ is being preached, and we as lovers of Christ and of His humanity are constrained to rejoice therein. Unquestionably the work of evangelization in Moslem lands has in the last ten years called forth a greater measure of faith, hope and love than in the decade that preceded.

Evangelization is possible

Those who care for Christ's Kingdom of God now know for certain that the evangelization of Moslems is possible. And they know, too, that the cant P. & O. first-class-passenger axiom about the impossibility of Moslem conversion to Christianity is utterly baseless, and has been confuted by contrary fact, in almost all countries, again and again. Conversions from Islam in the East Indies and parts of Africa run into tens of thousands: and in other parts of the Moslem world, such as India, Persia and Egypt, they are regular and familiar phenomena, if not yet relatively numerous. And reports which come to hand of secret conversion and secret inquiry

in lands where the penalty for apostasy is death show what would happen there too were freedom of conscience once granted and made efficacious.

Missions as Moderating Factors

But the fruits and the justification of Moslem missions are not in conversions alone. Another fallacy that has been exploded—and it is an even more obstinate one than the former — is that missions to Mohammedans are centres of disturbance, and that the missionaries are a peculiarly fiery brand of firebrand. The past ten years have been difficult years in Mohammedan countries : but the fact is that it is secular politics which have been everywhere the factors of disturbance, and that missions and missionaries have been everywhere the moderating and alleviating factors, and sometimes the only ones. The evidence for this fact comes from all sides ; and the causes for it are really as obvious as the fact itself is, to some folk, paradoxical. The causes are simply these : that missionary work and workers are free from the political and economic motives which appear to Mohammedans to infringe everywhere their legitimate interests ; that that work moves on the purely human plane of sympathy ; and that the work is therefore based on *understanding*—on the understanding of the outer language of the tongue and the inner language of the mind. Does it not stand to reason that (always apart from fomented agitation) an enterprise of this character must make for goodwill, and so for peace, among men ? And the facts bear out the reason. In the welter of acerbated relations in Turkey and Anatolia these ten years, who and what have been the one solitary rallying-point and promoter of mutual consideration, understanding and forgiveness ? The American missionaries and student workers. In Syria and Palestine, who were pre-eminently felt to be the friends of all, Moslems and Christians alike ? The American and British missionaries. From Arabia is reported a friendly tour made by a medical missionary into the heart of an ultra-fanatical Wahhabi region. In the troubled flux of things

in Persia, during and after the war, the Christian influence of the missionaries has been one of the very few stable and stabilizing factors. In Egypt, during the most violently excited times, the strangest proofs were given of how Christian missionaries had captured the hearts of the people. 'What are you booing at?' exclaimed some Mohammedans on one occasion during the anti-English outbreaks of 1919 to co-religionists who were reviling some missionaries. 'These are not English: these are *our* English (linglîz bitu'na)'—a distinction with a difference! And in India, work for Mohammedans must be accorded its share in the verdict passed recently by a prominent Indian upon Christian missions in general, when he said that what alone has saved India in this fearful time of upheaval has been Christian missionaries and their Christian work.

The Spirit of Jesus

By giving the Mohammedan East for the first time the New Testament in its own tongue, Christendom has for the first time unveiled to it the authentic portrait of Jesus Christ. Similarly, the spirit and work of evangelization have corrected for Mohammedans another unauthentic picture,—that painted by the Crusaders when they 'took the Cross.' Is there any other conceivable way of showing Mohammedans what it is to take the Cross, except by living in the Spirit of Jesus amongst them? This is what the work of Christian missions to Islam in the last analysis is; and therein is their supreme justification.

IV

The Advance of Islam

In all the foregoing it may have seemed that a too exclusive attention has been paid to Mohammedan missions in the settled, historic lands of Islam in the Near and Middle East.[1] In truth there is a natural distinction (from the point of view of this survey)

[1] Studies of Islam in Africa and in India are in preparation and will, in various forms, appear in subsequent numbers of the Review. The article in this number (see pp. 82–97) on 'Indian Moslems and the Khalifate' throws light on one aspect of the missionary significance of the present situation among Indian Moslems.

between these lands and between the countries where Islam is still advancing. These are, roughly speaking, parts of formerly Russian territory in Central Asia, and Negro Africa from the Sudan to the Zambezi. A survey of the last decade is bound to dwell more especially upon the old historic lands of the East, for it is there that the thunderous repercussions of the events of the decade have been most violent. But this survey would not be complete without some definite allusion to the lands in Asia and in Africa where Islam is still advancing.

In Central Asia

With regard to Central Asia, however, it is impossible to say anything definite. Information is almost entirely lacking. The titanic agony of Russia and the violent break-up of the old imperial regime have brought changes for Moslem Russia in Europe and Russia in Asia that can hardly have been less revolutionary than for Christians. How these changes have worked on the spirit of Islam in those parts or on Mohammedan expansion, or on the tiny beginnings of Christian work there, it is impossible yet to say. We know of one intrepid Russian Christian lady, who alone was perfectly acquainted with the whole subject before the war, and who recently bade us farewell, and disappeared into the heart of Central Asia in order to investigate what the situation in all these respects is to-day. We can but wait for her report.

In Negro Africa

Moslem Africa has been relatively unaffected by the storm and stress of the decade, chiefly owing to its independence of Turkish influence, and the comparative contentedness of Africans, both heathen and Mohammedan, with European rule. It only remains therefore to ask what the progress of the normal work of missions has been in these years. After reading a considerable number of first-hand reports from a number of widely-separated fields in the west, centre, east and south of the continent, we were left with three definite impressions: (1) that Mohammedan advance has on the whole somewhat slowed down in some areas; (2) that the adop-

tion of Islam by negroes does *very much less* for them, socially, morally and spiritually, than it has been the fashion to claim; and (3) that, given a fair field and no favour (that is to say, where the hand of governmental interference and hindrance is lifted), and given the existence of a vital Christian work, Mohammedanism does not stand a chance with the African: while as for the result of the two propaganda, social, moral and spiritual, it would be almost a cruelty to compare them, so pathetically inferior are those produced by Islam. So much for yet another popular fallacy, that Islam is more suitable for the African Negro, and produces finer results. This position can only be taken by those whose secret desire is that the African's present level of mental, spiritual and social attainment shall remain more or less fixed, *and fixed low*. But that is not what Christianity has desired, and that is not what Christianity is achieving, in Negro Africa.

V

The case is therefore irresistible for strengthening the forces of Christ's Kingdom of God in the lands of Islam. But however greatly this applies to the official forces—which are generally conceived to be the only forces when the words missions and missionaries are mentioned—it applies yet more to other forces without which the official forces will strive in vain: for however much the official forces be increased, they will never be in themselves enough to achieve the work. Our final word must, therefore, be about these other forces. Do the missionary societies really represent the whole resources of the Christian Church?

Forces for Advance

It was and is the fact that Islam propagates itself without missionary societies. And Christianity must learn once more to do so too, or at least to unlearn its mental dependence on missionary societies for the completion of its world-wide task. This means

two things: that the self-propagating character of the native Churches should be ensured and increased to the highest power; and that in the West also witness to Christ shall regain the universality and directness that it had in apostolic times.

Mission Field Churches

It is not possible to say more than a few words about the first of these two conditions. It is indeed the aim of every missionary society to raise up self-supporting and self-propagating Churches. How far this is being done, how much more might be done, and whether present methods are really leading to this end, are questions which the self-critical instinct of our societies themselves is perpetually canvassing, and, further, are questions which are being raised to-day, very drastically and radically, by some who are unconnected with the societies. It is to be hoped that the discussion will go on till truth lies bare in all its aspects; for nothing can be more certain that unless this method of self-propagation is raised to its highest power, and its permanence ensured, the whole task can never be done; heathen Africa will never be won from Islam; and Islam itself will never be evangelized.

The Witness of the Community

The second point concerns us of the West more nearly. Missions hitherto have been the work of a corps of enthusiasts at home and abroad, rather than of the Church of Christ itself; and also have been carried on indirectly by a small band abroad standing proxy for the Church, or rather for that corps in the Church at home. Now Islam, above all other movements, compels us to see the inadequacy of this method. For Islam propagates itself—as Christianity did in the first centuries—by the collective belief of the community in its message and in itself: by the universality and directness of its communal witness: and by the actuality of its brotherhood. Our present methods might well suggest that only a specialist section of Christians fully believes in the universality of the message; that direct

witness should, in the opinion of all, be left to a section of that section; and that Christian human brotherhood has first to be submitted to so many racial, national, colour and class considerations that under these violent acids it almost dissolves away altogether. But in the face of the actualized brotherhood of Islam this is simply fatal. And if this is admitted it follows that the indirectness of our present methods is fatal too.

There is not space to work out this theme as it deserves. One feels that it is almost a new philosophy of method that is involved. But two applications of it will indicate what is intended better than any enlarging on the theme itself, and with these we close our survey of the past decade and our glance forward into the coming age.

1. The future must see a great and definite increase of brotherliness at home *to the stranger within our gates*. One thinks of many Indian and Egyptian Mohammedans who returned after perhaps a prolonged residence in Christian lands as students or otherwise, more bitterly hostile to Christianity and Christians than they were when they came. The children of the Kingdom had failed to take that huge opportunity of reaching out to these men the hand of human Christian brotherhood. And the missing of this chance did not merely leave matters as they were, but definitely injured and retarded the work of evangelization. And then one thinks of just a few Mohammedans who, by chance or by the loving arrangement of friends, *were* received into fellowship—saw Christian family life from the inside, and were taken to attend Christian worship and preaching. Such men never return to the East the same. Even if they are not converted and baptized, they have seen that Christian brotherhood is a universal not a close corporation: the Gospel of the Kingdom has reached even unto them; and so the traditional attitude of Islam to Christians and Christianity can never be theirs again. Yes, and sometimes the experience has actually led to conversion and to

The Stranger within our Gates

baptism. We therefore put this question: If the Church were to give serious and practical and detailed thinking to this matter, and by corporate effort 'evangelized' these tens of thousands of the strangers from the East by means of Christian fraternity and Christian witness, would not the contribution to the evangelization of Islam be of utterly incalculable magnitude? And without this, can the task ever be done? Nay, have we even the right to expect that without this it could ever be done?

Non-professional Witness

2. The future must bring with it much more direct witness on the part of 'non-professional' Christians in those mission lands themselves. The last thing that our anglo-oriental churches in those parts suggest (we imagine) to Mohammedans, is that they are the homes of a universal fraternity which cries 'Come inside!' Rather must they appear like lodges of some close corporation, where Eleusinian mysteries of an Anglo-Saxon character are celebrated, admittance being to holders of white tickets only. And similarly 'missionary' work in these lands is left exclusively, even by the benevolent, to their proxies the professional missionaries. Personal and direct witness by our fellow-countrymen in the East is extraordinarily rare—as rare as the corresponding case is common with Mohammedans. Missionary societies are as exclusively depended upon as they are completely dispensed with by Islam.

A Case in Point

Well, what else is possible? To this question—puzzled or indignant—we would reply by giving an example which indicates that something else *is* possible. It offers a mere sample of what might come to pass were the thought of Christians at home and abroad given a new direction. We think of a certain officer in the recent war, a doctor, a layman, an R.A.M.C. man stationed in the near Mohammedan East. He knew no Arabic, or only a smattering thereof. He had a black Sudanese servant, a Mohammedan of Africa, of the kind that is usually considered in advance hopeless from an 'evan-

gelistic ' point of view. This officer was thus doubly and trebly a layman in regard to ' foreign missions ' : but he was also a Christian who considered that in the Christ life and witness nothing is ' foreign '—*nullum humanum a se alienum putabat !* We may conceive that two small black-bound books were not kept at the bottom of his kit-bag, and that the nature of these books and of their morning use was very accurately known to the black, Sudanese, Mohammedan servant. One could hardly be wrong over this guess : but the sequel is not guess-work : namely, that one day this lay, unofficial Christian Englishman presented this Mohammedan African with a gospel in his own Arabic tongue. That was all ; but it was enough. It was an act of witness ; and the African understood that the Something enshrined in that book was common to the Englishman and to himself. Some unity, divine in origin, comprehended them both. The Christian brotherhood was not a close corporation. He read the book and its message went home. And *then* came the opportunity of the mission station, of the specialized missionary who did know Arabic, and of the teachers who had the time and the training to teach. The youth was taught : he was baptized : he continued in the habit of direct witness and to-day he is bearing that witness in the peninsula of Arabia itself, the very home of the religion of the great Arabian Mohammed himself.

Could not this sort of simple proceeding be multiplied to any extent, provided that all who know themselves Christians reverted to the primitive faith in the universality of Christ's Kingdom of God, and to this primitive method of bringing it in—direct witness wherever the Christian happens to be ?

Not otherwise can Islam be evangelized—or even attracted. For not otherwise can the unnecessary human stumbling-blocks be removed which Christians have added to the inevitable divine stumbling-block of the Cross, namely, their virtual annihilation of

The Brotherhood of Christ

Christian human brotherhood. The brotherhood which Christ brought to earth is infinite and unlimited; but Christians have limited and particularized it. The brotherhood of Islam is finite and limited; but such as it is Mohammedans have universalized it. Not until the perfect thing is once more available, and offered to Mohammedans, can Islam's imperfect thing pass away. Not until the man-made fog passes away from the face of the sun, and the daylight glows afresh, will men reach out hands to the self-made lamps which seemed so bright and so necessary in the noontide gloom—reach out hands to those lamps, and quench their ineffectual fires.

W. H. T. G.

MISSIONS AND THE SUPERNATURAL

By J. H. OLDHAM

In Professor Hogg's *Redemption from this World*[1] the mission field has given us a notable volume. It is a defence of the supernatural. Belief in the supernatural is the life-blood of Christian missions. Apart from the faith that the infinite resources of God are supernaturally available for the establishment of Christ's Kingdom, the missionary movement is a futile enterprise, a crazy adventure. Yet this faith, on which far more than on material resources the strength of the missionary movement depends, has had to maintain itself in the face of widespread denial. It is the prevailing fashion in intellectual circles not merely to deny the possibility of miracle but to regard it as unworthy of serious discussion. Professor Hogg in his preface cites the fact that Benedetto Croce, the Italian philosopher, when he desires to explain what he means by a defunct or superseded conception, casually adduces 'miracle' as an illustration. None of us can wholly escape from the influence of the intellectual and spiritual atmosphere of our time. Insensibly our faith becomes chilled by the prevailing atmosphere of disbelief and less disposed to venturesome action. It is therefore of no small moment to Christian missions that a mind so well equipped philosophically as Professor Hogg's should boldly challenge the current dogmatism on this subject; should declare that in the present conditions of thought 'an attitude of easy, irresponsible unbelief in the miraculous is simply a belated survival,'

[1] *Redemption from this World, or The Supernatural in Christianity.* By A. G. Hogg, Professor of Mental and Moral Science in the Madras Christian College. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark. 7s. 6d. 1922.

and maintain that ' among the Christian verities the supernatural or miraculous is so far from being the most difficult of philosophical defence that, on the contrary, it is one of the easiest to construe in a philosophically unexceptionable manner.' No one doubts that the release of new spiritual energies would mean more for the missionary movement than if the depleted missionary treasuries were filled with abundance of gold, and if this volume helps to free our minds from the numbing influence of surrounding disbelief, gives us the assurance that daring ventures of faith are compatible with an intelligible and rational view of the world and challenges us to triumphs of faith far surpassing our present achievements, it will render a service than which no greater can be done to the missionary movement.

If a further reason besides its far-reaching significance for Christian missions were needed for dealing at length with Professor Hogg's volume in the pages of this Review, it could be found in the fact that, though concerned with wider issues than foreign missionary effort, it owes its origin and no small part of its inspiration to missionary experience. The line of thought which it pursues was first developed in studies undertaken with a group of Indian students, and the missionary experience of its author leaves its traces on not a few pages. The words which Professor Hogg has chosen as the motto of his book[1] are from the writings of one of the outstanding and most ardent missionary leaders of a past generation ; and it was in an article written by an Indian missionary that Professor Hogg first met with the passage quoted.

In his study of the miraculous and the supernatural Professor Hogg begins with Christ. It is the right starting-point. If Christ is indeed the light of the world, our task is not to find a place for Him in philosophies which have

[1] ' There is a Kingdom into which none enter but children, in which the children play with infinite forces, where the child's little finger becomes stronger than the giant world ; a wide Kingdom where the world exists only by sufferance ; to which the world's laws and developments are for ever subjected ; in which the world lies like a foolish wilful dream in the solid truth of the day.'

been evolved leaving Him out of account; we must expect that He Himself will be the surest guide to a true philosophy. The appeal to Christ is at the same time the most natural approach to the modern mind. Whatever deep distrust of organized Christianity may be found in the world to-day, never perhaps has there been such a widespread reverence for Christ Himself or such a wistful turning towards Him as the hope of the world. Mr Bernard Shaw has recently declared that the only person who came out of the war with enhanced reputation was Jesus Christ. Mr H. G. Wells has told an interviewer that for the historian setting out to write without any theological bias, Jesus Christ is 'easily the dominant figure in history.' A leading article in a recent number of the *Round Table* inquires whether there is any other road to lasting prosperity as well as lasting peace than the recognition of the Golden Rule as the standard in international affairs, and maintains that 'it is the Christian method which is fundamentally needed again to-day.' Mr Gandhi openly recognized that his message to the people of India drew no small part of its inspiration from the teacher of Galilee. Illustrations of the hold which Christ has on the mind of men to-day might be multiplied indefinitely. It is true that it is primarily as a great moral teacher, as the exponent of the only true, healthy and satisfying way of life, that men are turning eagerly to Christ. But it is impossible to stop there. Are we to suppose that One, who by the truth of what He taught and was, has now this acknowledged supremacy, was mistaken in His central conviction, the source from which all the rest of His teachings sprang, His view of God? Is it possible that only in morals, and not in the deeper region of religion also, He is the Way? It is to the most fundamental and important of all questions that Professor Hogg addresses himself when he asks what was Jesus' view of the supernatural. In seeking an answer to this question he avails himself to the full of the light which recent research has shed on contemporary Jewish thought and the apocalyptic ideas which

were the intellectual medium through which the mind of Christ expressed itself.

It is impossible within the limits of a brief article to do justice to the closely knit and powerful argument of this book. All that can be done is to indicate one or two of its salient features, and in doing this free use will be made of the author's own language, even where this is not shown by quotation marks.

To the modern mind it is disconcerting to find how large a place in the gospel narrative is filled by miracle. It does not merely adorn the story of Jesus Christ, but enters into its very substance. 'He speaks as one who both is accustomed to work miracles Himself and expects His followers to do the same; and if we were to eliminate from the record in any wholesale manner Jesus' deliberate use of powers which He regarded as supernatural, much of His most characteristic teaching would be robbed of its pregnancy, and some manifestly authentic sayings would be reduced to the level of irresponsible rhetoric.' What we have to reckon with in the gospels is not simply a collection of supernatural events, but 'a claim to human lordship over physical nature for the ends of faith.'

This lordship over nature is not something which Jesus regarded as a unique possession belonging to Himself alone. He sent out His disciples to do similar works in His name. He suffered keen disappointment when they failed. He assured them that what was true in His own experience would be true also in theirs. 'Nothing shall be impossible unto you.' It is true that in this, as in all else, the Master transcends His disciples; His achievements are ever beyond their reach. Professor Hogg holds with the fullest conviction that in Christ we have 'a unique metaphysical divinity.' But it was not in virtue of His unique divine attributes but in the carrying out of His human vocation that Christ wrought His miracles, and He bids His disciples follow in His steps. He points to His own works as illustrations of the immeasurably widened reach of possibility which

faith opens up to men. Professor Hogg breaks completely with the long-standing Protestant tradition which treats the miracles of the New Testament as belonging to an unrepeatable past. A distinguished theologian is only reproducing the original Christian standpoint when he asserts that Jesus did not demand from His followers that they should believe in miracles narrated by other people, but that they should experience and perform miracles.

The original Christian view of the meaning of the redemption brought by Christ was wider than the interpretation which the majority of Christians are content to give to it to-day. It meant for the Christians of the primitive age not only redemption from sin and from punishment, but redemption ' from the many-sided tyranny of an evil world-order, of which guilt and moral impotence were only factors, although doubtless the most outstanding and momentous factors.' Not only sin but pain and disablement and tragedy are intruders hateful to the Heavenly Father. In the words of Professor Cairns, quoted in this book, the New Testament story is an account ' of the greatest attack in all human history on sin and on death. It is only in this double context that we can really understand the story, or see the place in it of the miracles and the Resurrection. Not only unbelief, hatred, and despair but disease, famine and storm, and death itself go down before the Prince of Life.' Christianity is supernatural because, and in so far as, it is redemptive. And the redemption is, in the words which Professor Hogg has chosen as the title of his book, ' redemption from this world.'

This view is not entirely new. Many devout Christians in all ages have found it in the New Testament and lived by its inspiration. But Protestant theology has largely ignored it, and it is opposed to ideas which have exercised a dominating influence on western thought. It is well, therefore, to have this powerful intellectual vindication of its truth. The difficulties in the way of its acceptance are, however, not purely intellectual. It is too great a challenge

to indolence and unbelief for response to it to be easy. The issues raised in this volume are no questions of dry and abstract theology; they touch the deepest springs of day-to-day living. If the miracles of the New Testament are to be regarded as human deeds of faith, of that same faith which we claim to share, then, as our author says, even the most striking of Jesus' miracles may cease to burden our faith and may become its inspiration; 'for we shall begin to regard them as towering summits of that mountain range of Christian adventure and supernatural enabling which we know to be no mere arid mirage because our own feet are planted upon its lower slopes and find them solid to our tread.'

The question then is whether this view of miracle is one which we can hold to-day with a good philosophical conscience. Is the New Testament attitude to the supernatural one which can be reconciled with modern knowledge? Are we justified in this twentieth century in regarding the miraculous as theoretically possible?

We have first to be clear as to what we mean by the supernatural. It is possible to define it in such a way as to settle the issue out of hand. If we start by conceiving of miracle as involving a breach or suspension of the real laws of nature and not simply of what our present knowledge takes for such, the idea ceases to have religious value and intelligible meaning. From the religious standpoint it is difficult to reconcile with any worthy conception of the divine character and majesty the idea that God should first impose rules on Himself and then wish to change them. And from the scientific standpoint it is now generally recognized that what are called natural laws are in the main descriptive formulas, and that for scientific purposes 'matter *is* what matter *does*.' Hence to affirm that matter can break real natural laws is to assert that matter can at one and the same time both be and not be itself.

But it is not to such futile conceptions that we are led by the New Testament attitude to the supernatural. In

Jesus' view the miraculous involved a breach not of the natural order itself, but only of a barrier within that order. Within the universe which God has made there is a partially isolated realm in which, as the result of human sin and unbelief, His wealth of resource and benevolence of purpose are very inadequately displayed, and the miraculous is the irruption into this realm of some of the reserves of God's cosmic energies which do not ordinarily have free operation there. In Jesus' teaching the real natural order, the powers and principles which ultimately control the course of things, are on the side of all that is good for man. When faith allows them to operate they become invincible. Faith enables men to escape from that realm of frustrated hopes and baffled energies with which long experience has made them painfully familiar and to enter into 'God's wider empire of reality, which no intelligence can know as a closed system unless it can sum up and exhaust the infinitude of Deity.'

There is nothing in this view that is inconsistent with sound philosophy. What we know of the universe can be nothing more than 'an illuminated patch within the dark immensity—a kind of enclave within the real universe. Contraventions of seemingly established scientific laws are nothing but interferences on the part of the real cosmic order with the success of our theory of that order in passing itself off as practically adequate. The circumstance which actually calls for surprised attention and inquiry is not that such contraventions should occur, but that they should appear to be relatively so infrequent.' There is no space here to follow out the powerful development of this argument or to touch on the question why it is that our scientific generalizations, while too artificial in method to represent the ultimate truth about the universe, do in actual fact work so well on the whole.

So far we have been concerned with the purely intellectual conditions which prevent what our present knowledge takes to be the cosmic order from coinciding with the real cosmic

order. These are the limited range of actual human experience at any given time and the schematic character inseparable from scientific knowledge. But what if besides these there are other conditions producing a similar effect which are not inevitable but are due to moral and spiritual faults? What if there be principles of the real cosmic order which moral and spiritual unfitness have hidden from our ken?

> In that case the cosmic order as scientifically apprehended would be a mere enclave within the real cosmic order in a much more radical and practically important sense. For in that case a mere change of spiritual attitude in one man or another might at any time release into redemptive activity cosmic agencies whose principles of operation science has had no opportunity of studying, and which might occasion seemingly inexplicable departures from routine in the natural processes which have long been familiar.
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> Whether this possibility is no mere possibility, but actual fact, is fundamentally an experimental question. . . . But while we may therefore have to wait for adequate experimental demonstration, this does not imply that in the meantime we are restricted to unsupported guesswork. That faith should bring into perceptible operation cosmic principles which otherwise lie outside human experience may be, in the abstract, only an undeniable possibility. But there are broad religious grounds which render it much more than a bare possibility, which render it, indeed, extremely probable. For the spirit of faith is a childlike spirit, and the wisdom of the Divine Father can trust the childlike with tasks and resources which may not fitly be committed to the hands of the wilful and self-confident. If the evolution of sons of the Heavenly Father be a central feature of the purpose of creation, surely the subtle texture of the cosmic order must be shot through with potencies which only the touch of filial fingers can evoke, and which only a spirit of confiding trust and eager loyalty is competent to direct.

There is thus no ground for doubting that in the real cosmic order there exists an unexhausted margin of divine energy beyond what our knowledge at any time has discovered and construed as the order of nature. The more truly we conceive of the universe as an integrated whole the more natural does it appear that when the necessary conditions are present there should be irruptions into the restricted world with which human experience is familiar of the reserves of God's cosmic energy which do not ordinarily function there. But we have not done justice to the religious meaning of the supernatural or miraculous when we have

vindicated the possibility of preternatural occurrences. In religious experience the miraculous is not merely something mysterious and unfamiliar, going beyond or contradicting our past experience. In experiencing the miraculous man is aware of God as self-evidently present. Hence in Jesus' view of the supernatural there is a further element besides the one we have been considering. The miraculous is in a special degree the act of God; in it we may recognize His work in a more eminent sense than in the natural.

It is not possible here to follow out the line of reasoning by which Professor Hogg establishes the conclusion that all events may be justly held to be the work of God. But however true it may be that God is actively present in every experience and that every event is the expression of a divine will, in our apprehension all events are certainly not equally the utterance of a present divine will. This is due in the first place to the fragmentariness of our experience. While all things work together for good, it is in their 'togetherness' that they do so. A painful tragedy or wicked deed can express for us a divine will only when we learn to apprehend it in a wider setting as part of a purpose which for man's ultimate good grants to him a freedom that involves the possibility of such evils. But apart from the fragmentariness of our experience the necessity imposed upon us by our finitude of construing our experience in an abstract and schematic way gives to events the appearance for us of the working of a natural order. The order which science spells out is, we must believe, only a rough mechanical approximation to the reality of that present active will by which God responds immediately and directly to each individual situation.

By the way of science which rests upon generalization we can never get near apprehending this ever-present and active divine will. But in another way we can.

Now and again there occur events, the perfectly unique appropriateness of which to the peculiar needs of some individual human situation seems to leap to the eye. This recognition of a unique appropriateness is matter of intuition;

it is neither helped nor hindered by the degree in which we are able to discern in the event an exemplification of general laws. No matter how many be the laws to which such an event conforms, we realize intuitively that it was not for the sake of such conformity, but for its own sake, or to render its own uniquely individual service, that the event took place.

Religion has its own name for events which we seem able to understand in this intuitive or individual manner. It calls them 'special providences.' . . . A perfect mind, which apprehended in its real significance all that transpires, would see 'special providences' everywhere; but it is not so with our minds. And if by 'events' we mean 'occurrences as *we* perceive and understand them,' we may say that 'special providences' are acts of God in a much more direct or obvious sense than other events; in them the ever-present, ever-active will of God comes out into the open, as it were, instead of screening itself from our living apprehension behind a system of general laws.

Anyone who has had vital experience of the life of prayer, and of answers to truly serious and childlike petitions, should easily realize the relevancy of what has here been said about 'special providences.' He will remember how certain he has felt that something which occurred was really an answer to prayer, really an act of God; and he will also remember how difficult he has felt it to give anyone else adequate grounds for believing that his certainty was justified. The certainty was an intuition, born of the uniquely individual appropriateness with which what happened fitted into the context of his own peculiar needs and of the idiosyncrasies of his spiritual attitude. And the incommunicableness of this certainty was due to the impossibility of conveying to any other mind an understanding of those needs and idiosyncrasies intimate enough to make it evident how uniquely appropriate was the event, and how unthinkable is the idea that so perfectly individual an adaptation could be the outcome of merely general laws.

Here we have the Christian view of miracle. Miracles are 'special providences' which reveal the individuality of God's wisdom and grace, of His understanding of our need and readiness to meet it; and which at the same time are preternatural, going far beyond and even contradicting all that past experience might have led us to expect.

As Christians, then, we must believe that in the hands of the infinite Father there is an inexhaustible reserve, transcending so greatly the range of what our knowledge has mapped out that it makes all things possible for those who are sent on the King's business. Jesus, in deciding on the boons He might supernaturally bestow, never paused to weigh the 'natural' possibilities.

> And this attitude of sublime indifference to the teachings of past experience about the limits of the possible was not merely an attitude which Jesus adopted for Himself, but was one which, in well-known utterances of characteristically startling boldness, He repeatedly enjoined upon His followers. Not in degree, then, but absolutely the Christian is set free from subservience to past measures of the possible. He may learn wisdom from the past as to the difficulties to be faced, and the sufficiency or otherwise of tested ways of dealing with them, but he must never treat the past as capable of indicating with authority the limits of possible achievement. It is not for him to measure his duty by past experience of the practicable, but to estimate the practicable by his independent knowledge of what God lays it upon him to undertake.

It is in many ways a startling doctrine that is here set before us. Its consequences are far-reaching. It implies a revolution in current ways of thinking and living. Professor Hogg refuses to allow the principle that human faith gives God greater freedom to act redemptively or supernaturally to be translated into a rule bearing indifferently on all cases of a defined class; for such rules belong to the natural, not to the supernatural, plane. He is doubtless aware also that by the thoughtless and the presumptuous the truth which he is expounding may be turned to dangerous uses. Great truths are apt to be dangerous. St Paul's gospel of salvation by grace lay open to the charge of antinomianism. But for Professor Hogg the principle he is enunciating is a truth to be spiritually discerned. 'He who would know himself at liberty to invoke the supernatural must be learning to live the life of the infinite God, which is victory through self-immolation, life through death; he must sanctify himself to take of the cup of which our Lord drank and to share the baptism wherewith He was baptized.' There is only one way by which we can learn to lose ourselves in the will of God and come to know it with definiteness, step by step. It is by treading 'the soul-tasking path of intuition.' Those who steep their minds in the historical revelation of God in Christ Jesus will gain something of their Master's sureness of intuition. As they seek to know and do the will of God they will learn to distinguish between such

intuitions of His mind and the creations of their own desire. They will know whether the mountains in their path are God's finger-post, prescribing a change of route, or are God's challenge to their faith to cast them into the sea. 'What is indispensable is the schooling of mind and heart, the habit of prayerful reflection on daily life, the disciplining of the will to the obedience of Christ, and patient study of the Word. For while intuition adds something which the other rational faculties cannot supply, without their collaboration it can never reach the truth.'

The view of the supernatural expounded in this volume is congruous with the revelation of God's purpose to make men His sons, which is the core of the New Testament Gospel. It is in harmony with St Paul's view that the end of the long travail of creation is the achievement of the glorious freedom of the children of God. It is not easy to conceive a loftier view of the meaning of human life and destiny, or one that reflects more accurately the fundamental conceptions of the New Testament than that which is expressed in the following passage:

> If I am really, and exclusively, on the business of the Divine King—and as a Christian I have no right to be on any other business—and if, further, I go upon that business in the capacity not of a mechanical or manipulated instrument, but of a son, trusted to use with eager loyalty my powers of thought and decision—and for me to fear to go in that capacity would be, under the terms of the 'New Covenant,' to wrap my talent in a napkin and bury it—then all the resources of our Father's empire of reality must needs be at my call for the legitimate requirements of my errand. That he who is on the King's business should have the right to work miracles at need is thus no subject for surprise or incredulity. The real marvel is elsewhere; it lies in the fact that we mortals should be more than *used in*—that we should be actually *entrusted with* the King's business. And this fact, spite of all its marvellousness, what man will challenge who has met in Jesus Christ the distinguishing, individual love of God? In the truth of this fact the whole Gospel is at stake. For it tells us, 'Now are we children of God' (1 John iii. 2); it discharges us from law that we may 'serve in newness of the spirit' (Rom. vii. 6); it bids us gaze 'into the perfect law, the law of liberty' (Jas. i. 25); it calls on us to abide in Christ, so that we may ask whatsoever we will and find it done unto us (John xv. 4, 7), and it singles out such asking and receiving as pre-eminently the kind of fruit-bearing for which the Christian has been individually chosen

and appointed (cf. in John xv. verse 16 with verses 7, 8). For the Christian, then, on the King's business, no needful requisitioning of supplies or facilities can be presumptuous. But how shall he know what particular errand is the King's business for him, and how shall he win to sure judgment of what is really needful for its execution? How shall he let the Spirit of God so fill him that his mind, moving with its own freedom and individuality, may never lack true intuition of the next adventure of faith in which the genius of the Divine universal order seeks expression at his hands?

The answer to these questions is to be found in the New Testament ideal of prayer. Professor Hogg rightly asserts that prayer according to that ideal is confident asking and actual receiving. Definiteness and confidence in petition, so far from being a crude and unworthy form of prayer, as so many people imagine, require for their exercise the highest development of filial intuition.

It is not to be expected, as has been said already, that the main contentions of this volume will meet with immediate acceptance. They run too directly counter both to the prevailing beliefs and attitudes of the time, and to the natural indolence which makes us disinclined for heroic adventures. But there is no body of people for whom it is more important to know whether these things are true than missionaries and the supporters of Christian missions. For if this be the truth about God and the universe, there are available resources of strength and supernatural enablement that far more surely than any increase in silver and gold can hasten the coming and triumph of the Kingdom of God.

J. H. Oldham

RELIGIOUS EDUCATION AS A PROBLEM OF CHRISTIAN MISSIONS

By GEORGE A. COE, Ph.D.,

With the Co-operation of Certain Missionaries

If the task of Christian missions, as we now commonly assume, is not only to rescue individuals from evil but also to assist in the transformation of national and racial cultures, it behoves us to know how cultural types arise, how they are transmitted, why they are so resistant to change and how modifications may be made most economically. Unless we grasp, in particular, the process of transmission and of resistance to change, we shall arrive at no just notion of the place of religious education in the missionary programme. For a culture is handed down, not primarily from adults to adults, but from adults to children and youth. Before childhood is over one is already steeped in the customs and modes of thought of one's own people. A national or racial type of civilization is not a self-existent or pre-destined thing that persists because of some inherent momentum; no, it is kept alive because it is constantly renewed through the influence of the social environment upon children and youth—that is, through education in the broad sense. The children of every race are plastic, capable of assuming any sort of civilization, so that, if we could educate the young of any people in the mass, we could transform their culture in a generation.

Even if we can reach relatively few children, still education, in the nature of things, is the most effective and economical of all the processes for modifying a civilization —our own or another—without the use of force. For the plasticity of childhood quickly gives way to the relative

rigidity of adulthood. Maturity is governed chiefly by habit, custom, presuppositions already formed; wherefore the ways of one's own people seem to be self-evidently reasonable, while contrary ways—of speech, of dress, of worship, of moral conduct—seem 'outlandish,' absurd, perhaps immoral. This is why national cultures are so resistant to change. The resistance is re-created in each new generation during its plastic years. To modify these 'sets' in the adult mind is expensive work at the best; the tough fibre bends reluctantly, but with ease goes back to its old form. To form mental 'sets' in children is easy.

One hesitates to utter such platitudes—the merest a, b, c's of social psychology—yet they must be stated because the plainest implications of them for Christian work are largely ignored by Protestantism both in the home field and in missionary planning. No one who studies our budgets, our programmes for work, the training of workers, our reports of progress, our discussions of problems, or our appeals for the enlistment of workers, can say that we have as yet a habit of thinking of these great human forces in their reality. We fatuously assume that the chief mode of Christian advance is some sort of appeal from adults to adults, and as a consequence we never have set ourselves with seriousness to the study of religious education. We have Sunday schools, to be sure, but how slightly are they controlled by scientific insight into the educational process in religion.[1] On the mission fields we have day schools also, in which the Bible is taught and attendance at worship is usually compulsory, but how rarely are these guided by anything better than traditional notions and guess-work.[2]

[1] A conundrum that was heard in the United States not many years ago runs as follows: 'When is a school not a school?' Answer: 'When it is a Sunday school.'

[2] This judgment, as far as it concerns mission fields, is based upon information given me by missionaries on furlough from many lands. There are signs of an awakening with respect to the Sunday school in China, India and Japan, but the depths from which the Sunday school has to be digged both at home and abroad testify to the lack of Christian strategy up to the present time. I should like to make clear that I have no disposition to take conditions in the United States as a model or guide for missions. A recent writer declares that among us 'A church organized for educational purposes is

If we are to define the place of religious education in the missionary programme, not only must we understand how the culture of a people is transmitted and modified; we must also cease to think uncritically of religious education. I mean, first, that we must know and apply whatever the general sciences of education have to teach us, and second, that we must scientifically study the problems that are peculiar to the Christian educational purpose. The point may be partly illustrated by reference to conceptions of religious education that have been growing during the last two decades of attempted reform in this country. Influenced partly by the contemporary ferment in general educational thinking, but partly also by a direct analysis of the Christian experiences of children and youth, students of religious education among us are generally agreed upon such conceptions as these: Christian education should by no means be identified with instruction in the Bible or in Christian beliefs—instruction is only a part. There must be likewise education in and through worship, by which is implied that children should be led into the actual experience of worship, yes, a graded and growing experience. Further, the 'applications' are not to be postponed; rather, children are to be engaged constantly and growingly in active Christian service and in the entire struggle to live as children of God. Instruction, training in service, and training in worship, are three terms that now go together as representing the minimum of Christian teaching.

One is tempted to go into the philosophy of this new mode of thinking. One would like, for example, to develop the thesis, now held by various leaders of our reform, that within the pupil's mind the religiously educative process is religious living itself rather than something external to religion and merely preparatory for it. To learn to pray by praying; to learn to love by loving here and now; to

the exception. . . . The evidences of this are found in the meagre programme, lack of trained teachers, and the absence of any semblance of effective supervision' (J. E. Stout, *Organization and Administration of Religious Education*, New York, 1922, 277 f.).

learn to think by thinking here and now; to develop sturdy reliability by carrying present responsibilities and exercising present discretion—this is the revolutionary conception that we have now to face both at home and on mission fields. But the purpose of this article is to take note of the specific problems of religious education in mission lands, not to explain a new philosophy of religious education.

In order to apprehend actual field situations with directness and certainty, the following questions have been put to seven missionary religious-education workers who somewhat recently have had more or less training in religious education in the United States:

1. In respect to religious education what are the outstanding needs of your field? Your reply will naturally indicate what you think should be made the objective of religious-education endeavour.

2. What particular processes, methods and institutions work best or, in the light of experience, promise most?

3. What other practical suggestions grow out of your observation and experience, as, e.g., dangers, mistakes or misunderstandings to be guarded against?

4. What light do your experience and observation throw on the problem of the content and the method of missionary preparation?

The seven missionaries referred to are: The Rev. Homer G. Brown, of the West China Union University; the Rev. H. E. Coleman, Secretary of the National Sunday School Association of Japan; Mrs Dorothy Dickinson Barbour, of the Peking Christian University; the Rev. Warren S. Dudley, of the West China Union University; the Rev. W. F. Hummel, of the Nanking University; the Rev. S. H. Leger of the Foochow Theological School; and the Rev. B. F. Shively, of the Doshisha University, Kyoto.[1]

It is not to be supposed that in every detail a report on China and Japan will fairly represent missions as a whole. Nevertheless, through extensive intercourse with mission-

[1] The fact that only China and Japan are represented is not significant. The inquiry was addressed to these workers because of what was known of their training, and in the belief that this training would have opened their minds to the educational problems of their respective fields. The fact that they are recent recruits does not lessen the likelihood that their observations will be accurate.

aries on furlough I have received information that corresponds so closely with that from the correspondents who are about to be quoted that I cannot doubt that the field in general is in substantially the same condition.

What, then, are the outstanding needs of mission fields with respect to religious education? First of all, *more religion in the teaching of religion—more in the content and more in the method.*

'The outstanding need in our West China mission field, . . . strange to say, is a clearer idea as to the meaning of Christianity. Is it a way of living, . . . or an intellectual assent, . . . or does it simply involve membership?' says Mr Brown.

'The outstanding need in religious education in our field,' says Mrs Barbour, 'is not more men or money or equipment, serious as is the shortage of these. It is for radically different use of those we have. Our purpose is to train Christians—people who live a life like Christ's. At present, however, attention is centred upon the teaching of ideas. And right ideas are by no means sure to result in right life.' Our training, she explains, must include opportunities to carry out Christian activities under conditions as similar as possible to those of the rest of daily living. Further, there must be training in Christian motives. 'Much study is needed in order that we may learn how motives are influenced.'

Speaking of Christian day schools, Mr Leger says: 'There are large numbers of children and youth in our schools and under our control six or seven days each week, and we are doing pitifully little to give them a sound and adequate religious education. The outstanding needs . . . are a real, living, abiding sense of God at work in the world, and a vital, outgoing, loving spirit of service. . . . The real sense of God as a person to be reckoned with in the practical affairs of life is distressingly infrequent.' Mr Leger infers the need of genuine training in worship, that is, in the meaning or experience of it. 'Compulsory church attendance usually fails to reach the student in any vital way, and often does harm.' He points out, too, that the spirit of service is not sufficiently cultivated. 'The outstanding need seems to be to make clear the close connexion between the Bible study that we have (and call religious education) and the spirit and practice of service—which is hardly recognized as education at all, to say nothing of being considered religious—to the end that in the blending of these two elements boys and girls shall come to know the God who is revealed just as truly in every act of loving service as in the Bible itself.'

Mr Shively finds the same needs in Japan. He places first the need of cultivating a keen sense that God rules, and that he cares for men. 'Then we must cultivate a thoroughly socialized will as it relates to the other man.'

All this means, of course, that the real significance of education in and for religion has not fully dawned upon the missionary consciousness.

'Not a few missionaries,' says Mr Hummel, 'openly lament the use of educational methods as tending to detract from the principal work of the Church which, in their opinion, is to "save souls." . . . This attitude on the part of some missionaries is no doubt responsible for the fact that the supervision and financial support of Sunday schools is such a halting affair. For this reason also many missionaries do not take the pains to become familiar with the scope and the methods of religious education.' There is needed, likewise, he says, 'a generation of native pastors and teachers who understand the significance of religious education as a means of establishing a Christian community, and who are competent to lead in work for children and youth. . . . In a certain church an assistant pastor who had manifested unusual enthusiasm and skill in Sunday school work was told by the pastor, "Why waste so much time with children? We must get more adult church members." This particular church has been in existence for at least fifteen years, but is still called by some people in the immediate neighbourhood "a foreign business." In the opinion of the assistant pastor it will still be so designated fifteen years hence unless it reaches the homes of the community by way of the children.'

In this testimony to the lack of religion in religious education American workers will find nothing surprising. For our fundamental contention for these many years has been that current methods in our own country have the same defect. We have services of worship in which the pupils do not learn how to experience worship for themselves; we have lessons on prayer with no practice in prayer; we talk endlessly about following Christ but have few methods for immediately practising it; and we inculcate beliefs and biblical lore as though the possession of them were the prime essential.

The need is more religion in method as well as in content. That is, we must not only go with greater directness toward the central issues, but the method for doing so must be actual practice in Christian living. The whole notion that education is a thing *per se*, to be acquired in a school and later put into real life, should be thrown upon the rubbish heap. Let us think of religious education as primarily growth in Christian living here and now through guided

practice therein. And in respect to Christian living we must put the emphasis, as Jesus did, upon serving God by loving service of one another. We need not fear the effects upon other aspects of religious life. As Mrs Barbour remarks, 'Bible study and worship will become even more important than at present when they provide the answer to the pupil's questions as to what God wants done.'

Making the method as well as the content religious is more technical than at first sight it may seem to be. Far beyond anything that the old pedagogy required for transmitting a set of pre-determined ideas, are the new demands for intimate acquaintance with the pupil's inner and outer life, the transformation of his valuations, the formation and execution of purposes, the building and the breaking of habits, the assumption of ever growing responsibilities. Hence, the just emphasis of my correspondents upon the need for more leaders who are technically trained.

Mr Coleman wants more courses on psychology and general religious education in the theological schools of Japan. The college in Kobe and the Doshisha at Kyoto have already begun to give such courses. He desires also more trained teachers. To this end the summer school at Karuizawa is already making a notable contribution, which could be multiplied, however, if funds could be secured for dormitories, a meeting hall and scholarship aid.

Mr Brown says that the second pressing need is 'a clearer knowledge of the Chinese way of looking at life, and especially that of Chinese boys and girls. . . . We do not know exactly what to work for. . . . Our indefiniteness as to aim, and our slight insight into the lives of children as they are make the problem of method the more difficult. . . . The most important work to be done at present in West China is the training of teachers and preachers.'

Particular stress is put by several upon the training of native teachers. 'Given the proper training,' says Mr Dudley, 'the Chinese teacher can teach his own people better than the foreigner can ever hope to do. Besides, it is impossible to secure enough foreign teachers even now while the Chinese Church is in its infancy. . . . The old type of teacher . . . is wholly unfitted for the modern task of teaching. . . . The most important function of the missionary educator is to supervise sympathetically and helpfully the work of the Chinese teachers and to train up supervisors to take his place. The skilled and friendly supervisor is perhaps the last foreigner the Chinese Church will wish to dispense with.'

The untrained Chinese teacher (like the American) tends to lecture or

preach. 'Left alone, the usual Sunday school teacher,' says Mr Leger, 'will exhort and harangue for an hour without thinking of requiring any contribution from the pupils.' Mr Hummel says that 'in villages where Sunday schools have little or no supervision they tend to become expository preaching services with little or no organization. The result of such preach-Sunday schools is to build up a listening, rather than a studying, working and worshipping church.'

Mrs Barbour points out that 'if Christian activity and training in Christian motive are to be the centre for the teaching of Christian ideas, more time and thought must be spent upon each person to be trained. This may mean more concentration of workers,' and possibly limitation of the number of pupils to be received. 'Not much can be expected of a man whose religious-education work must be done in the time left from administering single-handed a school of 200, teaching English thirty-two hours a week, and training his Chinese teachers.'

One might say, for short, that religious education should cease to be a mere appendage of missions. The plain truth is that at the present moment the general assumption, though not the invariable one, is that any intelligent Christian can teach the Christian religion to children and youth if he is so disposed, and that little or no technical supervision or financial outlay is essential.

Mr Hummel, speaking of the need for adequate funds, remarks: 'So long as it is the policy of missions to establish many preaching centres, with a school in each centre, just so long will *all* schools suffer from lack of financial support, and be inefficient.' Again he says: 'One of the most common mistakes is the failure of many missionaries and pastors to regard the Sunday school as a school. Hence most Sunday schools have no definite times for enrolment of pupils, no division of pupils into grades, no adequate arrangements for promotion and graduation, no definite means for leading pupils into church membership, no records and reports, and no adequate financial support.'

Mr Coleman indicates that church buildings are still being built upon the old plan, though some are being provided with kindergarten and other equipment on modern lines. 'We had a good exhibit of modern building plans in our World's Convention exhibit, and some of these plans are a part of the exhibit that we take to our summer school and Sunday-school institutes. Some have been made into stereopticon views, and are being used in a general lecture on Sunday-school work all over Japan. An article on this subject appeared in the *Japan Evangelist* for February, with four pages of illustrations.'

The need for improved courses of lessons is obvious. And the manner of securing properly adapted courses is

likewise beginning to be obvious to workers in the field. The haste that was made a few years ago to translate certain American lessons for use by children whose experience is utterly unlike that of American children is now sufficiently recognized, at least in China. The National Sunday School Association of Japan has undertaken to secure the needed adaptation by combining material from three American graded series, the International, the Scribner and the University of Chicago Press. The China Sunday School Union lessons are still ungraded, and they are exclusively biblical, though under the leadership of Mr Tewksbury a fairly well-directed effort is being made to improve the method of presenting them. In the end nothing will meet the need short of lessons and courses devised by native leaders who know the lives of the children and feel the native culture within themselves. Much the same can be said, too, concerning material for the training of teachers. The many translations that have been made will doubtless perform a service, but ultimately the educational system must become self-perpetuating. This will involve, as Mr Hummel points out, setting aside a group of qualified native as well as missionary educators for the purpose of preparing literature for both pupils and teachers. It should be added that this group should have the benefit of experience in free experimentation in the teaching of children and of teachers. It is a mistake to suppose that anybody, however learned, is competent to create the necessary literature ' out of his own head.' Indeed, one can think of few measures that would do more for missions than the maintenance in every mission field of a few experimental schools with technically trained educators.

Limitations of space permit only a summary of certain remaining comments by my correspondents. In Japan the kindergarten appears to be conspicuously successful ; likewise, both here and in China, the Christian all-the-week school, from which most of the Christian leaders come. These schools, it appears, might begin the work of teacher-training

as a part of the regular school curriculum. Mr Dudley remarks : ' Any method which gives the students a maximum amount of time in contact with the teacher works best. Any method which gives the teacher a maximum amount of time in company with the supervisor works best.' Doubtless this is the principle that chiefly accounts for the favour that the Daily Vacation Bible Schools are meeting in the Orient. At the present moment a peculiarly pressing problem grows out of the transfer of western customs with respect to free association between the sexes during childhood and youth. A peculiar opportunity arises in China, likewise, through the growing spirit of self-sacrifice for the nation. For this spirit can be made to interpret the larger Christian principle of unselfish service.

This brief study of the situation casts light—a piercing light—upon the problem of the training of missionaries. I should like to quote from my correspondents, but must content myself with a brief declaration of conviction. First, all missionaries and all native preachers and helpers should be taught enough about religious education to enable them to understand both its importance and the necessity for technically competent guidance. For our duty will be by no means accomplished until we place religious education upon a plane of scientific insight and control not at all inferior to that of our best secular schools. Second, technical professional training should be provided for some missionaries and for some native workers, and these persons should specialize in education in the field. An essential part of this professional training must, in the nature of the case, be secured in the field itself, in contact with children and with the native culture.

Our deepest needs are always religious. Underlying all specific measures that are required for the improvement of religious education is educational conscience. We have been slipshod and easygoing. Our efforts have not been worthy of children or of God. Repentance is the next step.

GEORGE A. COE

INDIAN MOSLEMS AND THE KHALIFATE

By WILLIAM PATON

Ever since the entry of Turkey into the war the question of the Moslem attitude to the Khalif has been urgent, but nowhere, for reasons which will be suggested later, has there been greater turmoil and debate than in India. For many months now the atmosphere of Indian life has been embittered by the virulence of anti-western feeling, and the main reasons for this are well known. There is much difference of opinion as to the degree to which the grievance about the Khalifate enters into this complex of feeling, and it would be rash to suggest that to the average Hindu the Mohammedan claim is at all passionately felt as being his own. But what seems undeniable is that the feeling of Mohammedans towards Britain has undergone a very great change, and that this change is not to be found merely among those who have entered most whole-heartedly into the nationalist movement in its recent form, but among the body of Moslems, including a great mass of those whose traditional attitude has been one of friendship towards and reliance upon Britain.

'Any Muslim who does not hand over the old (foreign) clothings and wear khaddar, will be considered to have elected to prefer, with grim satisfaction, the destruction of Khilafat, the dishonour of the Holy Places of Islam, the thraldom of Muslim kingdoms, the sighs and groans of millions of Turkish orphans and the pitiable tears of thousands of Turkish widows. Now in India there is only one alternative for the Muslims; either to bid good-bye to the love and honour of Islam and Khilafat by holding the foreign cloth dear to their heart, or to wear a dress of pure khaddar. If after the first week of September any Muslim, male or female, be found with a single piece of foreign cloth, he or she will be considered as a declared enemy of Islam.'

During recent months this kind of thing has been said in mosques and in meetings of Moslems and in the press, all over India. No doubt a statement such as that just quoted, if shown to a great many moderate Mohammedans, would simply provoke a smile, but it is not to be disregarded for all that. Fanatical statements about the outrages of the British in the holy city of Mecca itself and the Union Jack that is said to wave over the Kaaba, and wild statements about what the Quran requires of the faithful, find many to listen, and there is created even in sober minds a conviction, not easy to trace to any definite grounds, that Islam is in danger and that the danger is the encroachment of the Christian powers.

This paper is not an exposition of the history and meaning of the Khalifate. I am not competent to undertake that, and the main facts are well known. It is rather an attempt to set out some of the different strains in the present feeling of Indian Moslems about the Khalifate, and especially to show the bearing of the movement upon religion, and the problems it raises for the student of religious development and still more for the missionary. What is written here is based upon a considerable number of conversations with Moslems and those who are in intimate touch with Moslems, and upon the study of the current literature of the subject, so far as one could gain access to it.

The link between Indian Moslems and the Khalif has not been made much of until quite recent times. It is too much to say that there was no consciousness of it until the late nineteenth century, as some antagonists of the Khalifate movement hold. But there does seem a good deal of probability in the view that it was actually British influence that first brought the Khalifate to the attention of Moslems in India as a practical reality. When we were engaged with Tippoo Sultan in South India the Earl of Mornington (later Lord Wellesley), secured from the Khalif in Constantinople a letter urging Tippoo to have nothing to do with the

French, as enemies of religion, a letter which had apparently some effect on Tippoo's policy. At the time of the Mutiny similar use was made of the Sultan, and in the Crimean war Indian Moslems were encouraged to show sympathy and support to Turkey as their kinsmen by religion. More recently, at the time of the Balkan wars, an ambulance was despatched by Indian Moslems to aid the Turks, and Dr Ansari of Delhi, now a leading Khalifate worker and non-co-operator, went with it. But the link was not a very living one. At the Friday prayers in the mosques the Khalif was mentioned, and those Indians who went on the Hajj to Mecca would be made conscious of the existence and significance of the Khalifate by seeing the caravan which came to Mecca from the Khalif in Constantinople, and would be reminded of the meaning of his title—'Servitor of the Holy Places.' But there was little beyond this, until the decline of Turkey as a great power and her successive humiliations at the hands of Christian powers gave rise to an uneasiness in the Moslem world, and not least in India.

This uneasiness is perfectly intelligible. Turkey had advanced once to the gates of Vienna, and all Europe had been made to tremble. But now Moslems saw her not merely reduced in Europe to a fragment of her former might, but despoiled in Tripoli, and in the Balkan wars almost, at one point, driven out of Europe altogether. Along with this fear for the temporal prestige of Turkey went a growing criticism of British policy.

The following extracts are taken from an article written before the war by a prominent Punjabi Moslem, Mr Jafar Ali Khan, and quoted by Mr Bepin Chunder Pal in the Bengali organ, *Sanjibani*:

'Nowhere have these events [i.e. those above referred to] been followed by an outburst of feeling so genuine in its manifestation and so universal in its character as in India, and it is no exaggeration to say that the bombardment of Meshed by the Russians, the descent of Italy on Tripoli, the onslaught of the Balkan allies on Turkey, with all its attendant horrors, have made the

Moslems of India a changed people. They are not what they were two years ago. . . . The combined attacks of Christian Europe against the integrity of Islam and the covert and overt designs of Western Powers against the remnant of Turkey have made too deep an impression upon the mind of Moslems to be easily effaced. They have accordingly made up their minds to stand by Turkey through thick and thin, and . . . they will do all that they can to co-operate with Turkey, whose political extinction means their own annihilation.'

Yet it is safe to say that nothing that happened in modern times before the great European war gave the Moslem world anything approaching the shock which it received when the Turks were beaten in Mesopotamia, Palestine and Syria; the Turkish power was drastically reduced by the proposed terms of peace; and parts of the Turkish empire were handed to France and Britain to be governed under mandate. 'We regarded the Sultan,' said one Moslem to me, 'as an institution established and unquestioned.' The fact that Moslem soldiers took a very large share in the operations against the Turks does not really militate against the truth of this statement. I have been told that Indian Moslem troops have been heard singing songs of Turkish victory on the very battlefield from which they had just driven the Turks, and that they did not believe that the persons they had just vanquished really were—Turks! The Turk occupied a partly legendary, partly symbolic position in the Moslem mind, and when once the fact became apparent that his ancient position was gone and that the power and prestige of the Sultan of Turkey, the Khalif of Islam, was in the mire, a painful impression was created among Moslems of all classes. So we reach the present time, with the almost universal demand among Indian Moslems for the revision of the Treaty of Sèvres, and the growth of a Khalifate movement of considerable dimensions.

Like other movements, the Khalifate movement in India has its right and its left wings; there are those who hold the distinctive view-point of the Khalifatists in its extreme and logical form, and those who are more mindful of what is both probable and practical, and model their

demands accordingly. It is no part of my purpose in this paper to discuss the moral sincerity of leading exponents of the movement. Some of them I know to be men of sincere religious spirit; others may, as is often said, be primarily anti-British and not moved by a genuinely religious motive. About this I cannot speak. In any case it is unimportant for our purpose here, for we want to discuss what it is that Moslems are thinking and saying about the Khalifate, and that question is not affected by the *bona fides* of certain of the leaders.

The extreme Khalifate movement makes three demands. The first is that the temporal power of the Khalif shall be restored in an 'adequate' degree. The second is that the Holy Places shall be restored to his jurisdiction—not only Mecca and Medina, but Jerusalem, and the lesser shrines contained within Bagdad, Kerbela and other places. The third demand is for exclusive Moslem control, preferably by the Khalifa himself, over what is called by Moslems the Jezirat-ul-Arab, the 'Island of Arabia'—Arabia, that is, as bounded not only by the sea but by the rivers Euphrates and Tigris, and including Mesopotamia, Syria and Palestine. These three demands virtually amount, and are openly stated to amount, to the restoration of the *status quo ante bellum* so far as the Turks are concerned. I now proceed to amplify these statements by quotations from the speeches and writings of the leaders in the movement.

'The preservation of the Khilafat, as a temporal no less than a spiritual institution, is not so much a part of their [i.e. Moslems'] faith, as the very essence thereof; and no analogies from other creeds that tolerate the lacerating and devitalizing distinction between things spiritual and things temporal, between the Church and the State, can serve any purpose save that of clouding and befogging the clearest of issues. Temporal power is of the very essence of the institution of the Khilafat, and Mussulmans can never agree to any change in its character, or to the dismemberment of its empire.'[1]

'It is necessary for the Khalifa to have a certain amount of temporal power for the defence of our faith, and, although it may vary from time to

[1] Address presented to Lord Chelmsford by the All-India Khilafat Conference, Jan. 1920.

time according to the strength of his possible enemies, there must always be a minimum which cannot be reduced with safety. We consider, generally speaking, that the Khalifa's power had been reduced after the Balkan war to about the minimum with which a Khalifa can maintain his dignity and act effectively as Defender of the Faith.' [1]

'The Khalifa . . . was not the Pope, and the moment he would consent to be "Vaticanized" he would cease to be the Khalifa.' [2]

So much for the temporal power of the Khalif. Now let us consider what is said of the Holy Places.

'The custody of the Holy Places has ever since the establishment of Islam been under the Khilafat, and unlike the boundary of the latter, which has fluctuated from time to time, has never suffered any diminution whatever.' [3]

'. . . duties assigned to the position of the Khilafat, the most necessary of which is to be the guardian of the Holy Places and Holy Lands of Islam, to keep them free from the possession and control of non-Muslims.' [4]

'The Holy Places include the three Sacred Harems, namely, Mecca, Medina and Jerusalem, and the Holy Shrines, namely, Najaf, Karbala, Samarra, Kazimain and Baghdad.' [5]

These are the claims made in respect of the 'Island of Arabia':

'To European geographers Arabia is only a peninsula, bounded on the fourth side by land. But to Mussulmans it has always been an island, the fourth boundary being the waters of the Tigris and the Euphrates. It thus includes not only Hedjaz, Yemen, Nejd and other provinces commonly included in Arabia, but also Syria, Mesopotamia and Palestine. It is a religious obligation, based on the dying injunction of the Prophet, that within these limits there should be no non-Moslem control of any kind whatsoever.' [6]

'Even if Constantinople went out of Moslem hands, it would not have the same effect as if any portion of the sacred territory of the Jazirat-ul-Arab went out, or was placed under a non-Moslem mandatory. This tract, for the most part barren, has been marked out in a special manner in the various Scriptures as being the land of the Prophets, and it is probably on that account that control over every part of it is required by Islam to be entirely

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[1] Deputation to Mr H. A. L. Fisher, March, 1920.
[2] Mr Mohamed Ali, in a speech in London, 1920.
[3] Address to Lord Chelmsford.
[4] Remarks on the Viceroy's Message to Muslims. Shaikh Mushir Hosain Kedwai.
[5] Address to Lord Chelmsford.
[6] Deputation to Mr Fisher.

Moslem. We who consider ourselves to be the spiritual heirs of Abraham and Moses and Jesus, consider that this is a land apart and consecrated in a special degree and reserved for us. We are charged with the duty of maintaining its sanctity inviolate, of keeping it peaceful and tranquil, a Sanctuary for the Faithful, and safe for Theocracy.' [1]

It is important to grasp the fact that the ground on which all these claims are made is declared to be neither sentiment nor expediency, but religious obligation. This is made abundantly clear, over and over again. It is a religious, not a political, object with which the deputation of Indian Muslims goes to London to see the heads of the Government. These matters are not to be regarded as raised by 'Muslim sentiment, but by Islamic faith.' We are told categorically that such questions as the sanctity of the Holy Places of Islam are 'declared and defined by Islam, and placed by it beyond the uninformed interpretation of people of alien faiths.' [2] It is claimed that the convictions of Moslems should be respected not because Moslems are discontented with the worldly prospects of Islam, but because they are moved by a distinctively religious certainty, which they are not at liberty to disregard.

It is very easy to pick holes in this series of claims. There is, for example, something wholly ludicrous in the claim that the Khalif is to have such power as will enable him to 'defend' Islam. A writer in the *Servant of India* puts cogently what many people feel:

'Does it mean that the Sultan of Turkey (or whoever the Khalif may be) is to be given his big army in order that he may protect his religion in his own country—say in Turkey—or outside of it too? If the latter, which seems the natural explanation, it implies that if, say, a Buddhist mob in China attacks a mosque, a Turkish army should be able to restore order and protect the rights of Moslems attached to that particular mosque. . . . The simple fact of the matter is that in a modern state there is no room for any theocratic power such as the Khilafat stands for. . . . If every aggrieved Moslem, instead of whistling for a constable, can call in his Khalifa, every Hindu would certainly be entitled to call in a special Hindu Defence Corps, the Christian his

[1] Deputation to Mr Fisher.
[2] All-India Khilafat Conference Manifesto.

crusading knights, and we suppose nowadays there would even have to be a flying squadron of Zionist braves, ready at a moment's notice to go to the succour of any victim of an anti-semitic press attack.'

In an article in the *Civil and Military Gazette* of Lahore, Nawab Sir Sahibzada Abdul Qaiyum, after giving some personal experiences of the Hajj, which he had made under the new conditions in Arabia, and stating his own strong hope that a strong Khalifa would some day be restored, expresses his conviction that the 'defence' even of the Holy Places is impossible if an attack by any of the modern European powers should be contemplated, for Mecca itself is within range of naval guns from the Red Sea. But, he adds ironically, there is one factor which is potent enough to secure to the Hejaz the desired immunity. It is that 'Arabia is so barren that it cannot excite the greed or the lust of the Europeans for its conquest and exploitation.'

It is also open to raise a question, as we shall do presently, about the truly astounding claim that on matters such as the government of Arabia and other mundane and temporal questions the religious conscience issues direct and unmistakable commands, and that the religious certainty which accompanies these claims is of the same kind as the certainty with which a devout man states the fundamental attributes of God. But I venture to urge that it is unprofitable to pick holes in this Moslem case on grounds of abstract Moslem theory.

When we come to consider the claims made by more moderate Moslems (and as a matter of fact endorsed practically *in toto* by the Government of India) we find the distinctively religious note much less strongly in evidence and a temper of reasonableness replacing the intransigeance of religious fanaticism. Roughly, the Indian Moslem who does not subscribe to the Khalifate propaganda in its fuller form, wants to see Asia Minor restored to the Turks, with proper safeguards for non-Moslem minorities such as the Armenians (though he would probably add that in his opinion such safeguards can only mean that Turkey is

trusted and helped in her development as a government and so enabled to learn how to behave to dissident minorities); he wants Thrace to go to the Turks, and Constantinople, and he would like to see some kind of suzerainty for the Sultan of Turkey over the Holy Places, but he would be content with a very nominal one. He is aware that the government of Arabia is Moslem and that it is not at all likely ever to be anything else, and he does not care greatly about the sovereignty of the Turks over the Jezirat-ul-Arab. But that does not mean that he is enthusiastic about the mandates that have been given to the European powers in Syria and Mesopotamia. I think it is well within the truth to say that there is a marked lack of enthusiasm for the mandates on the part of Indian Moslems, because they do not believe in the genuineness of the professions made. They are inclined to think that Mesopotamia is really being administered in the interests of Britain, and they do not quite believe what they are told about the freedom of the government of Iraq. But there is no extensive demand that the Turks should reassume control.

In suggesting that the religious plea is less in evidence among what might be called 'moderate' Moslems than among those who advance the extremer views, I do not for a moment suggest that they are more lacking in the religious sense. It is rather that they are not convinced that Islam requires them to make those professions. The fact is that the ardent Khalifatists are a good deal more Mohammedan than the Quran. One asks in vain for the Quranic basis of the claims that are urged so solemnly and with so great religious earnestness. A Moslem leader told a friend of mine, an Islamic scholar, that the Quran enjoined 'Obey God and the Prophet and the Khalif upon earth.' My friend was unable to verify the quotation (so, it may be remarked, was his informant), and on application to a Moslem scholar I find that the passage quoted really reads 'Obey God and the Prophet and those who are in

authority over you.' I write with hesitation on this point, having no pretensions to scholarship in these matters, but I can testify that a number of Moslems with whom I have discussed this question deny that the Quran or the Traditions justify the claims that are made in their name, and that all that Islam can be said to require is that where something is demanded by a non-Moslem government which is contrary to Moslem faith, obedience should be withheld.

At the same time it would be unwise to represent the divergence between different schools of Moslem thought on this question in India as being greater than it is. A missionary of considerable experience in North India said to me that he found the opinion of all Moslems to approximate towards the extremer views, and that at heart they all feel the same. Some, more moved by practical considerations, refused to ally themselves with the advanced propaganda, but they have secret sympathy with it. I have not enough experience to be able to offer an opinion as to whether this is typical or not, but I suggest that it is true in this sense, that it is the extremer propaganda which is most distinctively Moslem and most represents those elements in the movement which owe their origin not to mere sympathy with the Turk but to specifically Moslem sentiment.

Let us now attempt to estimate the factors that compose this Moslem attitude. First, I would draw attention to a fact which I believe to be true, that in no part of the world is there a more *religious* Moslem population than in India. It is not by accident that while other parts of the Moslem world are apparently unmoved by the woes of the Turkish Khalifa, the Indian Moslems are his champions. Neither can it be ascribed merely to the machinations of agitators. Even if this latter hypothesis were true, it would still be significant that in India it is the Moslem's religious convictions to which appeal is made. The claims that are urged are said to be based on religious sanctions and to be supported by the immediate voice of conscience.

I do not believe that this is make-believe. In a city of North India I found that the Khalifate workers were devoting their activities among other things to getting Moslems out of bed to say their prayers in the mosques, and there was general testimony that one effect of the Khalifate propaganda had been to increase the amount of the public observance of religion.

Consider, moreover, the truly remarkable phenomenon of the migration of the Muhajirîn to Afghanistan—a movement to which it does not seem that enough attention has been paid. It has ended in terrible tragedy, and it was always an enterprise of madness; but do the Christians of Britain and America realize that thousands of these Moslems, holding that because of the wrong done to the Khalifa, India, under the British, was no longer a country in which a Moslem could honourably live, migrated with their families and their goods to Afghanistan, meaning to wander farther west or to settle there, but at least to find some place where Moslem honour would be untarnished? I spoke with a Moslem in Peshawar who had seen the remnant of these poor people chased through the streets of Kabul, and how many must have died we do not know. But it is only the fanaticism that springs from religion that is capable of urging men on to this kind of adventure.

Contrast this religious temper with the attitude of other Moslems. The Afghans have no such fervour. They are playing a game of ordinary imperialistic politics. They see a new future before them, with recognition from the Great Powers, and the chance of further extension of territory. They pay lip service to the Turkish Khalifate, but they are straining every nerve to attract to Afghanistan the money of Indian Moslems, suggesting that it is they who can help, not the far-away Turk. But they have no love for the Indian Moslem, and I have yet to meet the Indian who, having known the Afghan in Kabul, desires to return.

Is the Angora Turk different? The Turkish victories

in Asia Minor and the successful rehabilitation of Turkish military prestige by Mustafa Kemal Pasha are hailed with delight in India among Moslems, but by all accounts it appears that Kemal is a Nationalist, a believer in the 'Turanian' policy, and far away from the Islamic passion which inspires the Indian Moslem.

A second feature of note is the Moslem insistence on the union of temporal and spiritual power. 'Islam, as we understand it, is not a set of doctrines and dogmas; it is a complete outlook on life, a moral code and a social polity. It recognizes no lacerating and devitalizing distinctions between things spiritual and things temporal, between Church and State. It looks on life as one unity, as one indivisible synthesis, and it purports to provide divine guidance for all the affairs of mankind.'[1] Sir Sydney Olivier, in the course of remarks discussing (and rejecting) the claim of Islam to be the religion of Africa, admits that it is 'a fine synthesis.' To the Moslem, the whole trend of western religion in the direction of separating Church and State, and limiting the temporal powers of the Church and the interference of the State with religion, is on the wrong track. They do not regard their ideals as an imperfect approximation to ours, they are convinced that theirs is superior. One would except from this the Aligarh school of Sir Syed Ahmed and his followers, but the temper of which I am writing is one to be studied and understood, for explicitly or implicitly it dominates the thinking of many Moslems.

It has often been conjectured in writings upon the Moslem problem, that the lessened prestige of Islam (militarily speaking) in the present century might have the effect of sending Islam out upon a new period of increased missionary and universalist expansion. Any such movement, just like any attempt to make the Khalifa into a sort of Pope, can only succeed if the structure of Moslem thought is radically changed.

[1] Interview of Khilafat Delegation with the Prime Minister, March 1920.

The third element in the Moslem attitude to which attention should be drawn is the regard for prestige—the prestige of Islam as represented by the principal Moslem power. There are Moslems who openly mock at the religious claims of the Khalifatists but are just as keen as any about the rehabilitation of Turkey. Neither are they Turanians—far from it. But they are conscious of the solidarity of Islam, and they are not going to see the chief Moslem power degraded by Christians. It is this that renders somewhat fruitless the Government's appeal to Indian Moslems to remember that it is not the first time that the Khalifa has suffered military eclipse. 'No,' they reply, 'but it is one thing to acquiesce in the defeat of the Khalifa when he is defeated by another Moslem power, or when there are other Moslem powers, great and strong, which can represent the honour of Islam. That is not so now.' Where the purely religious ground is taken, this prestige idea is of course embraced in it, but where the religious motive has less force, whether it is that its dubious foundations are perceived, or that faith and passion are not present, still there is this motive of prestige to be reckoned with.

It may be said that this is a purely human and general emotion, quite as much in evidence among Christians as among Moslems. I should admit it, if it were a case of either racial or national prestige. But no one can say with any plausibility that the feelings of Christians in Europe about the military defeat of the Greeks are in any respect the same as those of the Indian Moslems about the military defeat of Turkey. There is something in Islam which peculiarly fosters this spirit of prestige, and it is, I think, the insistence on the union of the temporal and the spiritual to which reference has been made.

I should conclude, therefore, that, whatever may be the case with Moslems in other lands, the Indian Moslem attitude on this question of the Khalifa is religious at bottom; that in its most advanced manifestations it is

born of white-hot religious passion, and that even in its moderate guise it is to be traced ultimately to elements in Islam which are fundamental to it.

This paper may be concluded with some observations on the Christian attitude to this Khalifate movement. In the first place it seems to be an obvious duty on the part of Christians, just because they are Christians, to insist that right should be done to the Turks and that the settlement of the Near East should be such as to give them their just dues. It is not out of place to mention this, in view of the very widespread Moslem conviction that the Christian powers are actuated by religious jealousy and hostility towards Islam and that no justice can be expected from Christians where Islam is concerned.

But far more important than this is the challenge contained in the Moslem insistence on the temporal power of the Khalifa. I suggested above that the most remarkable part of the Khalifatist claims is the claim to be able to settle on grounds of religious duty the earthly government of certain parts of the world. There is something here fundamentally alien to the spirit of the modern world. Europe has decided against the temporal power of the Papacy, and those who defend it to-day do so on ideal grounds and out of deference to the principle of the unity of life, which the Moslem is rightly keen to uphold. But if Christians, or Jews, were to say now that because Jerusalem and the Holy Land are the scenes of the most sacred events of all history, they are moved by a direct religious impulse, to which all men of religion should pay respect, to claim this land as Christian and to be always under Christian (or Jewish) government—if this, or anything like this, were to be said, it would be regarded as a form of lunacy. Why ? It is not that Christians or Jews are deficient in the sense of what is proper to religious duty. It is that Europe at least has become convinced that such questions are to be settled by the duly constituted authority, taking every consideration into account, with a

view to the greatest good and expediency of all concerned. We hold that there is a spirit of justice and truth, in essence religious, which should be brought to bear on these and kindred questions, but we simply do not understand what is meant when we are told that religious conviction precludes the discussion of such issues.

But this is the claim which is made in the name of Islam, and it is not enough to dispose of it as mere fanaticism. It springs from a different view of life and society, and one may be grateful to the Khalifatists for having raised the question if only to get this principle made clear. One may smile at Mr Mahomed Ali's bright remark about a world made safe for theocracy, but here is something to be reckoned with, and a theory of life held, consciously or not, by many millions of our fellow human beings.

What is the Christian answer to this claim ? Is it not an essentially sound instinct which demands the unity of the temporal and the spiritual ? The Moslem solution is to insist that the spiritual shall wield the sword of authority, and as we have seen it is at least a synthesis. One reads with misgiving contemptuous Moslem remarks about the divorce between religious principle and social practice in Christian lands. Is not the actual, as distinct from the ideal, solution in Christendom far too often a mere acquiescence in the complete sundering of religious standards from practical life ?

Moreover, our own record is not quite free from traces of the Moslem spirit. One recollects speeches made not so very long ago about the ' last and greatest of the Crusades '—every one of which has been quoted over and over again in Moslem writings and speeches. I believe that Moslems enormously overestimate the amount of this medieval spirit which exists, and that they lay far too much emphasis on speeches made in the heat of warlike excitement. But it is impossible to overstate the importance of the record of Christians being kept entirely free

from anything which looks like a military self-assertive Christianity.

For I would venture to urge that the Christian solution to the problem of the uniting of spiritual and temporal is the opposite of the Moslem, and that it is because it is a good deal harder to live up to that it is so little apprehended. It is of the essence of Christianity that it embraces the whole field of human endeavour, and provides guidance for all the chances and changes of mortal life. Is there any note so conspicuous in recent progressive Christianity as the demand that the Christian ethic, the Christian spirit, shall be applied to all departments of life, including those which have longest and most stoutly resisted it? The Church is in the world not as an ark to which the despairing and disillusioned Christian can flee for refuge from a society that is impermeable by his message, but as the very brotherhood of the Kingdom, containing within itself the germ and the presage of a new order of life. But its influence is to be exerted by persuasion, by example, by suffering where need be, not by worldly power or political influence or any such thing.

Islam has girded the Church with a sword; it is for Christianity to lead the kingdoms of the world into the kingdom of love.

WILLIAM PATON

NOTE.—This article was written when the Kemalist victories over Greece had begun. The subsequent course of events raises problems of the very highest importance. Already the announcement that it is proposed to separate the temporal from the spiritual power of the Khalif has caused great perturbations among Indian Moslems. It is nevertheless to be remembered that Indian Moslems can more easily be got to accept a Khalif whose temporal power has been removed by *Moslems*, than one who had suffered diminution at the hands of Christians; and that with a strong Moslem power assured, the question of prestige would not arise.—W. P.

SOME AFRICAN WOMEN

By JEAN KENYON MACKENZIE

I. Ngana

When I pass from the shadow of the forest into the village of my enemy Nso Akuk I hear him pounding at a bark cloth. To this he has been brought by the war, with the headman of many another little hamlet of latitudes 3 and 4 and longitudes 12 and 13 on the map of Africa. From the dimmest corner of the hut they have rescued the old ivory mallet, worn smooth by the hands of their fathers; they have trimmed a log to their uses and between their mallet and their log they pound out the squares of bark cloth that must replace the trade cloths that were once their pride. Busy at this obsolete craft they remember yesterday, when they passed in patterns bright as the Russian ballet on the trails of the Southern Cameroun.

I put my head in at the door of Nso Akuk's hut and there is the big body of him crouched before his log and the strip of bark spread on this. The pallid pulp of it widens under the blow of the mallet. The horrid incessance of those blows is interrupted with the falling of my shadow, Nso Akuk looks up at me in a delicious immediate silence. We pass the word of greeting and I sit down on a bit of firewood under the eaves. Beyond the shade of these the hour of ten is written golden on the clay of Nso Akuk's little clearing; all the bark huts of his village are closed and his women are away harvesting their peanuts. Silence ineffable and healing is everywhere—in the great leaves of the banana trees back of the houses, in the forest back of the banana trees and in the little dark shelter where Nso Akuk observes me with his bright unfriendly eyes. And

having found nothing to say to the white woman—or more perhaps to say than is expedient—he strikes a blow at his strip of bark.

In spite of the war between us, business, it seems, is to proceed as usual. I ask news of his wife Ngana.

Aha ! This gives pause to the sartorial labours of Nso Akuk. With the portentous deliberate gesture of a violent man he lays his mallet on the ground. He prepares to tell me what he thinks of his wife Ngana. And I prepare to listen. From the quickening of that black face above that powerful body I infer that we are tuning up for what will be more than chamber music. And presently the symphony of Nso Akuk's wrath fills the clearing. I make out from those trumpetings and drummings and wailings and thin pitiful pipings, the theme of what Nso Akuk thinks of his wife Ngana. And I get this recurrent phrase—

' Do you think you are free ? *Ye wo buni na o ne flee* ? '

Now this word ' free ' is a word grafted into the vernacular ever so recently, on the lips of Nso Akuk it has a note of fury and of scorn.

' Many times I tell her,' yells Nso Akuk—and I believe him—' Many times I tell her, " The ivory I gave your father when I gave the goods for you was an extraordinary ivory. And you—what kind of extraordinary woman are you ? With your dead child ! And your runnings after the Word of God ! Do you think you are free ? " When she wants to go to hear the Word of God I ask her " What do you think you are ? Do you forget the dowry I paid on you ? Do you think you are a girl ? Are you *flee* ? " '

The only woman within hearing of this habitual distressful outburst from Nso Akuk is myself. And I am certainly free. There is nothing novel in his style to hold my thoughts, they are free and they wander. I think of Ngana. She comes into my head, as the Bene say ; I see her at my own door on an afternoon of the last dry season. There she stands with her little air of distinction, her quality—not to be attributed to her dress, which is a bustle

and a green leaf apron—of elegance. Like many another woman of thirty odd years, Ngana is unhappy. Her face under its mesh of tattoo is sad. The things of her life, says Ngana, are things of nothing; 'like food that is eaten'—and she passes her hand over her mouth with the old Bantu gesture of annihilation. I look at her, so sleek and slender in her tattoo and her beads, and I wonder what is the worm at the heart of the apple. Has her husband tired of her? But no, she tells me, this is sorrow for a dead child. Now that her child is in the ground Ngana's heart sits in the dark. Never a word to help her but the word of the women of the Tribe of God; and they tell her of the resurrection.

'It is a strange word,' says Ngana, 'but I believe it; I keep it in my heart. Yet how can I keep it in my heart while I live in my husband's town and am ignorant? Give me leave to stay in the clearing at the foot of your hill where you keep the school girls, until you have taught me the words of God, and the way of the path to the Town of God where my child has gone! My heart,' says Ngana, 'is a deserted clearing!'

Poor Ngana, does she think she is free? 'And is the white woman a stealer of women?' I ask her. 'And are you the only woman whose husband hates the Things of God? Many a woman finds a way to learn the new things while she cooks the food for a cruel husband in the kettle of her own house. Take example by such women. But for to-day, sit down with my girls at the foot of the hill until your husband looks for you here, as he will surely do.'

And so he did. When I come out from supper it is moonlight in the mission clearing and there is Nso Akuk under the moon—very tall, very angular in his bark breech-cloth,—his spear, with its brass tip, like an exclamation point to all his rhetoric. He is hunting for his wife Ngana, that ungrateful woman for whom he gave a mammoth ivory and who has vanished—as I must surely know, since I am a person of the Tribe of God and she is a person of the Tribe

of God !—the two of us together members of one tribe! Where is Ngana ?

I send a messenger down the hill to call her. Nso Akuk, who has much more to say, cannot think why I have cut him short like this, with all the riff-raff of the station gathering to hear the rest. Anti-climax is, after all, what he might expect of a white woman. But here is Ngana, very still in the moonlight, her head with its dressed hair drooping above her dispirited body. And Nso Akuk rallies to his part again. He is very eloquent, with his spear he strikes for his altars and his fires and his sires and all the rest of it. His technique is good, the long line of Bene buyers and masters of women is vindicated in him. And the pose of Ngana is correct. The old moon has never looked on a better show of the sort.

' What do you think you are ? ' roars Nso Akuk. ' Do you think you are a girl ? ' And then he says—' Do you think you are *flee* ? '

Flee ? Flee ? Flee ? What is this new winged word that has flown off into the forest and away down the ways of it ?

Does she think she is free ? What does she think ? She does not say what she thinks.

' And whom do you want to love,' wails Nso Akuk, ' do you want to love God or do you want to love your husband ? '

' I want to love God,' says Ngana, ' and I want to love my husband.'

Now what are you going to do with a woman like that ? So little sense ! You take her home, putting her before you in the trail and declaiming as you go, until your voice faints away among the trees of the forest. You leave the white woman to her own thoughts, one of which is a sudden wonder if there is a love affair between Ngana and her husband Nso Akuk.

But this was last dry season, and here we are, no forwarder ; and when Nso Akuk draws breath midway of

his domestic complaint I tell him 'Yes. I believe you have said all these words to Ngana—many times, as you say. And when she dies, and goes away on the old path from your town to Beyond-death, still you will be calling after her—"Where is the dowry I paid on you? You who run away so lightly—are you a girl? Are you free?"'

Nso Akuk looks at me in a sudden calm—his face is left empty. We look at each other. Under his low roof-tree he rises and from a dark corner he brings out a little broom of rice straw, very dainty. He presents it to me. I am sure he thinks it a proper gift for any woman, black or white. I go away with my little broom and I leave Nso Akuk with his inward look, sitting above his log and its strip of bark. I am a little way on the trail before I hear again the dull thudding of the ivory mallet his father used before him.

On Sunday, when I sit on the platform under the great thatch that is the House of God at Metet station, I rake the hundreds of crowding bodies that are brown with violet lights, for the body of Ngana. But she is not there. I do this for many Sundays, she is never there. So I am sure she is not free.

II. Lisa

At eight o'clock of this Sabbath morning it is breathless in the village of Mejio. The goats lie in the middle of the street under a bright sunlight. From the huts, that would be closed at this hour of a weekday and the women in their gardens, there comes a murmur of voices—the people of Mejio are oiling themselves and combing themselves and borrowing one of the other the kerchiefs and the loin cloths and the sumptuous raiment with which they will honour the day that Mejio himself, good mild old man, may almost be said to have made. For Mejio is the pioneer Christian headman of this part of the forest; he has ordered his village after the law of God these fifteen years, and he and his people have a questionable sense of being letter-perfect.

At eight o'clock of a Sunday morning the people of this village know exactly what to do.

And presently from the manse behind the palm trees Luanga, the wife of the preacher, sallies forth to call upon the white woman. For I am lying ill in that little cabin which the impeccable Christians of the town of Mejio have built for their occasional missionary guests.

I observe Luanga to be rather grand—grander far than her husband Bekalli, whose ambitions have not developed with his great reputation. That little figure of a servant of God has not altered its fashion since the day, long ago, when he went about our neighbourhood with a lantern, calling his fellow-Christians—so few in number then—to come that night to the house of God, where with him they must give thanks because he had at last finished payment on a wife—and that was Luanga. Where was Luanga that night? She was not of the party—she who has never missed a party since. And here she is to-day in the town of Mejio, with the busy air of a minister's wife—calling on the sick, with a cloth about her body and a kerchief on her head. Only the pattern of her tattoo has not changed—it is still dark between her eyes that are wide apart, and upon her upper lip there is as ever the tattooed similitude of a moustache.

I lie on my old camp cot, surrounded by the table and the stool and the lantern and the pails of bright spring water which are the deliberated and ostentatious luxury with which the so-practised Christians of the town of Mejio are pleased to furnish their visiting *minisi*. I know I need not talk—Luanga will take care of that. Lying there in silence—my silence—I contemplate the truly Ngumba face of Luanga, for she is an Ngumba. And the Ngumba, I think to myself, are a plain folk. They incline, like the Scots, to the unco' guid. But they are steady and faithful, their emotions run deep. I think about Luanga, how happy she is to be the wife of Bekalli, who has the virtues of his tribe and not the vices; I remember her tragic youth and

her first marriage—before she heard the word of God. And I ask her when did she first hear of the things of God.

Luanga, it seems, first heard the word of God from a black woman, and this was before the white man had brought the news to our part of the forest. In those days the Mpongwe people from the beach used to come up from their grand towns in Gaboon to trade with the forest tribes. Two of these traders were partners, and one had a wife. Her name was Lisa. She was a beautiful woman, Luanga says, and I, who know the Mpongwe, believe her. She wore bright cloths about her body, and a chemise, very white, beneath these. The ivory combs in her hair were cunningly carved and she had other ornaments of the yellow metal. She had many little bowls and dishes with the very image of a kind of flower on them—never was the like seen in the forest before, nor after, until the white man came. Luanga knew all these cloths and combs and dishes by heart because she was the little handmaid of the admired Lisa. 'I was then,' says Luanga, 'as big as your wrist,' and this is to say that she was between eleven and thirteen. I think I can see the little Luanga of those days, and she wears a green leaf apron and bustle of dried grasses; there is a belt of leopard skin about her middle and a stain of tattoo between her two bright eyes. She is washing her mistress's cloths, that are gay as flowers, in a stream. All the other little damsels hang about, bursting with envy of the uplifted Luanga. She drives them away from her mistress's door. She polishes the steel knives and the flowered bowls. She spreads the table with a clean cloth, as Mpongwe people do. Presently her lady sits down to meat, and Luanga is there. 'We first thank our Father for the food he has given us,' says Lisa—oh, how long ago! And this is the first word ever heard by Luanga of Zambe the Creator, known ever to the forest tribes,—that He takes thought of the needs of men.

Luanga does not remember how long she served that gentle person—a dry season perhaps, or more. But she

remembers a day when Lisa had been crying. Her husband was away on a journey, he had gone on the path of the rising sun to hunt an ivory. And on this day when Lisa had been crying, she told her little Luanga, speaking the forest tongue in her broken way, that her husband's partner had evilly enticed her—but she had not consented. Christian women, she told Luanga, do not consent. Rather, she had run away into the forest, spending the night there in a great horror and fear. This was one day, and on the next, when the little maid servant came to the door of her mistress, there was the partner; he stood at the door; he forbade Luanga to enter. Lisa had a headache, she was ill, she must not be troubled. And the next day—none having seen her for these many hours—Lisa was dead.

Luanga and I look at one another. And, 'What did you do?' I ask.

'We buried her. When her husband returned with the ivory his partner told him—"Your wife is dead, we put her in the ground." This is what the partner said, and the people of the forest said the same. I alone had another word to say, but I was a child, no bigger than your wrist. I feared to say it. I never said it. Eké! The many days since I have forgotten these things! Only the question you asked has made me remember.'

The drum beats the call for church, and Luanga, suddenly reminded to look like the wife of a much admired minister, bustles away. The people of the town of Mejio, in every kind of Sunday finery—from a new leaf apron to the most impressive calico toga—flock up the hill to the church. Fellows of the baser sort—passing carriers, their loads on their backs, themselves and their loads smelling of dried fish and camp fires—follow after. The Mvele people from the valley pass my door. Presently I hear them sing and I know by the volume of that sound that Mejio himself will be telling me, before the sun sets, that the people in the house of God to-day were many tens; and that one of his accomplished grandchildren will have counted them

accurately, and to the number of five hundred or more. In the silence after the singing I hear the voice of Bekalli ; I cannot distinguish his words, but well I know he will be telling them of the things of God and the things of the heart—tapping his throat with his fingers, as he invariably does when he speaks of the heart. And Luanga I know will be sitting among the women with her too, too complacent aspect. And all the many of God's children in the shadow under the thatch they have built in the clearing, will be fed—I am sure of that.

For myself, I lie thinking of the Mpongwe woman who fought the good fight and most certainly resisted unto death. How far away must have seemed to that poor woman the mission station down in the Gaboon, and those white friends of hers, the fellowship of the Mpongwe people of God and the little church at Baraka, filled always with the wind from the sea. Where were then her mother and her brethren ? Where was the cloud of witnesses ? Only one little witness, and she no bigger than your wrist !

And I think too of the many white women who have asked me, looking at me with incredulous eyes : ' And do you truly think that they are Christians ? '

III. The Novices

It is a Saturday before Communion Sunday at Metet station. There will be two thousand people at that service, and there have been times on Thursday and Friday when the missionaries have felt that the entire two thousand have arrived from their backwoods villages, and have come in mass to call on us.

On this Saturday morning I am sitting in the lean-to back of Metet church—it is the session room. The elders of the church are here and those of the Metet evangelists whose turn it has come to be—they, and their applicants for baptism. We have sixty outposts from this station and as many evangelists.

The applicants for baptism—a most motley crew—sit along the wall; they brood. They are like patients at a clinic. Now and again a young mother with a baby in a leather sling at her side is prodded by the baby; she rises and sways about to hush those cries; one of them confides to me that truly since this child was born she has not sat down. 'Some babies are like that,' she murmurs, but her mind is for once not intent on her little tyrant; like all the other applicants for baptism she is preoccupied with her own case that will presently come up before the wise ones in the Tribe of God. Will they think her a person to be baptized?

Well I know that among the youths and the men who are there with their backs to the wall, are those who ask themselves, 'What about Philip and the eunuch? What about that baptism? Who ever said to the eunuch—"Wait three dry seasons and four dry seasons in your village and do the Things of God there before you ask to be baptized?" Who ever plied him about his debts, and his quarrels, and his reputation in his own town?' The eunuch—riding so grandly in his wagon, and reading so wisely from a book, and baptized so immediately in the first water by the way—has ever been the envy of the convert in our forest.

Gayle Beanland sits apart at a rough table, his head bent over rows of dirty cards; he is for all the world like a man playing Canfield. But no, he is pondering the records of his parish as kept by his evangelists. With an inward look he fingers the grimy little card that is the outline of the religious aspiration and the known history of the woman who stands by the table. She is answering his questions in a voice too low for any ear but his, her eyes are on her dark finger that travels the length of the edge of the table. Back and forth the finger travels, and the soft woman voice goes back and back to the dark things of the past, and forward and out into the new things of self-possession and self-discipline and good report. I cannot hear her—but oh

the thousands I have heard! We have six hundred outposts in our West Africa Mission.

I sit down near Engola. It is a long time since I have felt terribly interested in Engola and this is because he has been a long time self-sufficient. And I have the vices of the pioneer. I think, when I see him going about his duties of evangelist with an air so self-contained, and his flock of country folk trailing him so close—like perfectly trusting chickens,—I think, or something stirs in my heart that is not a thought but a feeling—'My word, Engola! And yesterday you were a lad in a bit of bark cloth and you had the itch. And you sat before a chart saying b—a ba to your alphabet!' This has been my feeling for Engola this long time, but to-day when I sit beside him and watch his methods with his children—who are mine—I agree in my heart that he is a far cry from the lad who sat before his chart saying b—a ba, like a lamb. This is a shepherd of sheep.

I pretend that I am writing a letter, and by this act I cease to exist in this room of many confessions and trepidations. I listen to the questions of the emancipated Engola and to the murmur of one and another who come to sit beside him, and to whom he says—'Take your card to Beanland'; or 'Go back to your village and settle your quarrel with your mother-in-law, or your debt to your father-in-law'; or, 'Your heart is still in the dark, sit down in your town and learn more of the new things, and come again when the peanuts are ready for harvest.'

I like to see how, when he has satisfied himself of the rote knowledge and the good conduct, he presses out into the region of the spiritual apprehensions of these poor children.

Here is a girl who is saying the commandments backwards and forwards. She is thinking hard to remember how many days our Lord lay in the grave,—I wander from these mechanical tests to where Mr Beanland is dismissing a little boy because he is too young. 'You

are all right,' says Mr Beanland, 'but you are too young—come again after two dry seasons. Don't cry!' begs Mr Beanland, who himself is not so young as he was before the beginning of the Communion season. And I come back to my young woman, who is telling Engola what she knows about the sacraments. 'The service we call the Table of the Lord,' she tells him, 'is an *ndem*'—and that is to say, in the Bulu tongue, a sign or symbol.

'If,' says Engola, 'the flour of the white man's grain and the juice of the white man's fruit—if these things of the white man should fail, what then? Could we then have the service?'

'We could use corn, Engola,' says my girl, with an air of the most helpful attention to what has seemed to her a semi-domestic difficulty. 'The flour of corn we could use, and the juice of the ngong fruit!'

'But if it were not the season of the ngong—or of other fruits,' hastily adds Engola to meet the answer that shines in those eager eyes.

'Then water!' she cries, 'good water from the spring—we could use that!' and she is triumphant. It is evident she has her opinion of men and the difficulties they make about matters that are so simple to a woman. And she says in a tone of mild and maternal patience:

'Ah Engola, it is no more than a symbol of the Lord Jesus, His death, His body and His blood.'

She goes with her card to Mr Beanland. This harassed chief is listening with one ear to a man who protests with ardour that he will refrain from beating his wife. No matter what the provocation, once he is baptized he will not beat her—never again. And the other ear leans to the account of a young buck who enumerates the amount of the dowry paid on the girl he has married, claiming that the payment is complete. 'Go out to the black people of the Tribe of God,' says Mr Beanland, 'go before them with witnesses, count it over to them, and they will tell me if the payment is complete.' But the fate of the wife-

beater I miss—I am intrigued by an old lady to whom Engola is saying, ' The commandments were made to bind people together; the thing that severs people is the breaking of the commandments.'

Apropos of what ? I look at the old lady to see whether she is a captious old person, that she should have drawn this pearl from Engola—but no, her face is not scarred by that vice. She has the face of kind old age. And she has her little treasure of Christian wisdom. She is quite wise about the talk of the woman who is a person of the Tribe of God—and the talk of the other woman,—how different they are! If you don't believe it, listen to my old lady. And the journeys of these two women—how they differ! She is explicit about the adulteries and the thefts and the back-talk of the one,—the honest dealings, the words of God dropped by the way and the discretions of the other. Yes, she has the daily walk and conversation of the Christian woman at her tongue's end. This, you would say, has walked straight out of *Pilgrim's Progress*. But when Engola asks her, ' When you ask God to turn the heart of a wicked person do you believe that He is able ? And that He will ? ' Then my old woman is staggered. And with a most amusing effect she says to Engola, ' What do *you* say, Engola ? Ah Engola, do *you* think He can and will ? '

' This is the day,' says Engola, ' when I ask the question and you make the answer. It is not as other days, when you ask and I answer.'

' Ah but, Engola,' she coaxes, ' it is like this—the child asks the elders for wisdom, and you were the first-born because you are a man—to whom shall we women go with our questions if not to man, who was the first-born ? '

When I go out into the sunlight it is midday. Hundreds of people are abroad in the bright light that is in the clearing before the church. They wander like the crowd that is on Fifth Avenue at the noon hour. A boy who has washed his shirt that he may shine on the great day that is Sunday, has hung it on a stick across his shoulder. He is a marked

boy—known as ' the boy with the shirt.' An old woman who appeared before Engola this morning, and who answered not a word to any question whatever but came to an end in tears, has waited for me at the door ; she waits to tell me that ' truly I am a clever woman, though you cannot know it.' And sweet old Atyam Nlam, mother of Ze the evangelist, seeks me out to beg for my prayers. ' I am going in for examination, and I always fail. All the Christians of my household have done all they can for me. But when I was a girl I could never dance like the other girls—I was too stupid ! '

And yet they did, on the very next day, and in the face of the great and the good and the wise of the neighbourhood of Metet, baptize the happy Atyam Nlam, mother of Ze.

Jean Kenyon Mackenzie

RELATIVE RACIAL CAPACITY

By D. J. FLEMING, Ph.D.

The scope of modern missionary thought does not stop with the individual, nor with smaller group relationships, but extends to the Christianization of international relations as well. Especially urgent in these days of increased communication between the peoples of the earth is the necessity of the discovery of facts with reference to the various races and the application of Christian principles to the different problems arising from their contact with each other. All who are working for the growth of a Christian world will want to give increasing attention to the whole problem of racial relationships. This brief article takes up one aspect only of a question that must be approached from many angles, by many people of many races with steady, humble and open minds.

As a preliminary study we may consider the question of relative racial capacities. In thinking of this problem it is helpful to carry certain graphic figures in mind. The group capacity of a people is best represented, not by a dot or line but by an area. Suppose all the individuals of a group have been examined and their capacities determined. If a curve of the results were plotted, with the vertical co-ordinates representing the numbers concerned, and the horizontal co-ordinates the various capacities, we would secure a characteristic area (Fig. 1). For example, it would be found that comparatively few individuals (AB) have a very high capacity (OB). Also comparatively few individuals (CD) will be marked by

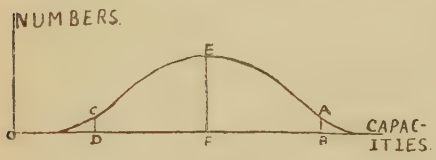

Fig. 1.

a very low capacity (OD). In other words, there would be relatively few individuals of genius, and relatively few imbeciles. The greatest number (EF) would have a central capacity (OF).

The relative capacities of two groups could be compared by the shape and position of two areas. Conceivably the results might be as in Fig. 2. Here the capacity of each individual in group A is greater than any individual in group B. Many a slave holder used to think of his slaves as constituting a group wholly beneath his own in human faculties. Such a diagram could picture the way a Brahman has been accustomed to think of the pariah. There are still many who think of their own race as so markedly superior to another that this diagram could fitly represent their thought.

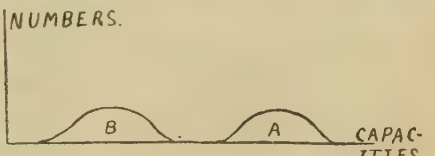

FIG. 2.

The overwhelming expert opinion, however, is that there is a very considerable amount of overlapping between the races in the matter of ability (Fig. 3). Group A has a few individuals superior to any in B. Group B has a few individuals inferior to any in A. But the amount of overlapping in the shaded portion is proportionate to the amount of common ability. For every individual of group A within the shaded portion, an individual in group B can be found with exactly equal capacity.

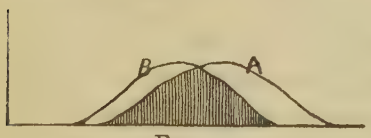

FIG. 3.

The actual determination of relative racial capacity is an exceedingly complicated problem. Popular judgment on this question is apt to be led astray in a host of ways. Differences in civilization and attainments seem so manifest that few hesitate to deduce from these things corresponding differences in hereditary capacity. And yet there are many factors which must be weighed in order to arrive at any fair estimate of relative racial capabilities. There

are considerations which go far toward making it possible to explain differences in attainment and civilization without making the hypothesis of mental inequality between races and peoples.

The naive assumption—an assumption very often made by whites—is that any superiorities in a given civilization are due to superior native capacity. But the whites must remember that it is only during the past few hundred years or so that they have attained a dominating place in the world. This is an exceedingly small fraction of man's history on this planet. Seen in this perspective it is easy to believe that present white superiority may be due to opportunity and historical events, and not to inherent ability. When we realize that during nine-tenths of his existence on this planet, man has been ignorant of the art of smelting copper from its ore, and that for ninety-six hundredths of his existence man has been ignorant of iron technique, we can see how modern are these things that we count as western achievements.

FIG. 4.

Range of variation is a complicating factor in judging relative capacity. A small group is not as likely to have as great a variation from the average as a larger group. If you were hunting for a person six feet two inches tall, you would be more likely to find him in a town chosen at random than in a single family chosen at random ; in a nation rather than a town. Hence it might be possible to find a small group (B) with higher average ability than the larger group (A), and yet with certain individuals in A surpassing all individuals in B (see Fig. 4).

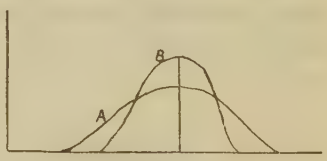

FIG. 5.

Or take two groups of the same size (Fig. 5). They might have the same average ability, but if the range of variability in B is less than in A, then A would manifestly

contain a talented group, each surpassing all in B. At the lower extreme A would also contain individuals of decidedly inferior intelligence to any in B. But it is those highly gifted individuals who are significant, who most make group progress possible. They can be of great value to their group. A nation's welfare may be derived from a score of highly gifted men, more than from some thousands of average citizens. Social progress has ever waited on the men of genius. Discoveries and inventions have been the work of the few. The greater the inherent variability of a race in mental qualities, the greater will be its chances of producing those who can be ranked as men of genius. The superior attainments of one race may be due, therefore, to the greater variability in the production of highly gifted men, not to a higher average ability. Such a condition would give a given individual of the race in question little claim to look down upon members of another race.

Popular judgment with reference to relative racial capacity is still further confused by the fact that a relatively small increase in hereditary ability may produce a relatively great social result. One group may develop only a little greater capacity for administration, and yet this difference may be enough to enable it to be victorious over its rival, and to found a great state. The differences in results are vastly greater than the differences in the endowments responsible for the results. A little greater mechanical ability might enable one race to invent and accumulate machines which would produce results which would give an impression of superiority vastly greater than the difference in inventive ability would justify.

When it comes to actual measurement of differences many technical difficulties present themselves. That races do at the present time differ greatly in their *attainments* is unquestioned; but this does not settle the question of *native ability*. It has been customary for many to assign these differences in attainments to original differences in nature. But thus far it has proved almost impossible to

separate the effects of original nature from the effects due to social environment and training. Any exact measurements of the differences between two groups has to be interpreted in the light both of original nature and of training.

There is, furthermore, the difficulty of examining fairly large numbers of individuals in order to get any adequate cross-section of a given race. Vast strides have been made in the last ten years in the development of mental tests, but we are still inadequately provided with the technique for making satisfactory scientific examinations of relative racial capacity.

Let us bring to bear upon the problem, however, the best available judgment. There are those who tend to minimize the differences in capacity between races. Professor John Dewey says : [1]

> Careful study has made it doubtful whether their [savages] native capacities are appreciably inferior to those of civilized men. It has made it certain that native differences are not sufficient to account for the difference in culture.

Professor Robert E. Park, of the University of Chicago, says : [2]

> The difference between a savage and a civilized man is not due to any fundamental differences in their brain cells but to the connections and mutual stimulations which are established by experience and education between those cells. In the savage those possibilities are not absent but latent. In the same way the difference between the civilization of Central Africa and that of Western Europe is due, not to the difference in native abilities of the individuals and the peoples who have created them, but rather to the form which the association and interaction between those individuals and groups of individuals has taken.

Professor Franz Boas, head of the Anthropological Department of Columbia University, writes : [3]

> The differences between different types of man are, on the whole, small as compared to the range of variation in each type. . . . We are not inclined to consider the mental organization of different races of man as differing in

[1] *Education and Democracy*, p. 43.
[2] *The Principles of Human Behaviour*, pp. 5–6.
[3] *The Mind of Primitive Man*, pp. 94, 123.

fundamental points. Although, therefore, the distribution of faculty among the races of man is far from being known, we can say this much: the average faculty of the white race is found to the same degree in a large proportion of individuals of all other races, and, although it is probable that some of these races may not produce as large a proportion of great men as our own race, there is no reason to suppose that they are unable to reach the level of civilization represented by the bulk of our own people.

On the other hand, those who have been most closely in touch with the extensive psychological tests carried on among the recruits to the United States Army, during the few years after mobilization in the recent war, are inclined to place average Negro ability as markedly inferior to average white ability.[1] Perhaps the most wise and conservative statement would be that of Professor L. Thorndike :[2]

Calling the difference between the original capacity of the lowest congenital idiot and that of the average modern European 100, I should expect the average deviation of one pure race from another in original capacity to be below 10 and above 1, and the difference between the central tendencies of the most and the least gifted races to be below 50 and above 10. I should consider 3 and 25 as reasonable guesses for the two differences.

If we express this judgment graphically Fig. 3 would indicate the probable difference between races. We have to acknowledge, however, that careful and adequate scientific data on this question do not exist. There is a great field here for research by those qualified to use modern psychological tests.

Several important observations for missions come from a consideration of our subject thus far. One is that *we should not think of ourselves more highly than we ought to think.* There should be a certain wholesome humility. This is a lesson that the Anglo-Saxon especially ought to take to heart. It is very easy for the white race to assume its superiority as a matter of course, and to do without thinking a multitude of little things which rankle harm-

[1] See the 'Report on Psychological Examining in the United States Army,' in *The Memoirs of the National Academy of Sciences*, vol. 15, pp. 705–772.

[2] *Educational Psychology*, vol. iii. p. 224.

fully in the hearts of another people. Consecration on the part of the missionary does not necessarily protect him from this. Let him sink into his consciousness that there are many ways of accounting for superior achievements without assuming superior capacity. The rapid development of self-consciousness in Asia, and in parts of Africa, has so heightened sensitiveness to attitudes of superiority, that western peoples must shake themselves out of objectionable ways that have become unconsciously habitual. Just as we have given up the idea of the divine right of kings, and are giving up the age-long conception of male superiority, we will very likely have to give up the flattering delusion of decided racial superiority.

We can see, also, *the right of each person to be treated as an individual and not classed in a group.* The human mind has a distinct tendency toward classification. We tend to select the dominant traits of another race ; associate these traits with certain external racial marks such as slant eye, dark skin, black, straight hair ; and then assign the traits to every individual who has the given external marks. We tend to set up a set of mental pigeon-holes, each the abstract average of a group, and then we dump individuals into these pigeon-holes on the basis of some external sign. We forget that when we talk about the characteristics of a race as a whole, we are dealing with an abstraction that has no existence in nature.

In this way peoples have made such generalizations as that all Hindus are untruthful, all Westerners are materialistic, all Japanese are tricky, all Chinese are honest, etc. Many do not realize that there is a distribution curve for any race with respect to any quality, such as in Fig. 1. The particular individual before you may be in the line AB or the line CD, i.e. he may stand extraordinarily high or extraordinarily low in capacity, or honesty, or dependability, or whatever quality is being considered. It is a mark of psychological immaturity to think of numbers of another race as though they had a common conscience, a

fixed sense of honour, a unified financial interest, a single head, or heart or life. As missionaries we must not hang labels on a complex people, and then ever after interpret them by the label instead of by the individual reality. We must be on our guard against this insidious habit of men's thinking.

Another significant conviction for missionaries comes from a study of the extensive overlapping in ability between any two races (Fig. 3). This overlapping is so decided, even when we allow for the more extreme judgments of inter-racial differences, that we can repudiate the idea that one race is ordained permanently to be hewers of wood and drawers of water for another. One race, supposedly inferior, will not permanently need a different type of education from that of a race, supposedly superior. Each will need a type of education suited to its present needs, but we should not think that education for negroes must always and of necessity be industrial, while that of the whites may be more literary. There is too much overlapping between the races for this. There is a need of various types of education, involving more or less head or hand work, but from Fig. 3 it will be seen that for any given type suitable numbers of each race should be selected.

Again, if we were wishing to select a hundred people who are to be quite superior to another hundred, one of the most foolish ways would be to choose them by race. Selecting one hundred persons at random from one race supposedly superior, would by no means give you a group uniformly superior to another hundred chosen at random from a supposedly inferior race. Missionary moderatorships and chairmanships and secretaryships do not need to go to whites as whites. There must not be the assumption that of course the missionary is a natural leader just because he belongs to the white race, or that almost any white university graduate can in a mission college teach almost any subject to almost any member of darker race.

The selection of leadership by means of race alone would be a very inefficient method of procedure. If we want to select youths for training in India, we will not reject every mass movement convert as such, and accept every individual who has sprung from a higher caste as such. It will be vastly more efficient to apply some of the methods of selecting superior individuals regardless of race or caste. Progress in the use of psychological tests for such purposes is one of the marked features of modern mental science.

This discussion may make us *more ready to see the good in another people.* If the facts as to the difference in racial capacity could be correctly represented by Fig. 2 instead of Fig. 3 we might justifiably be blind to the attainments of another people. But a realization of the extensive overlapping may strengthen in us 'the will to believe' with reference to aptitude in another people.

Lastly, the present stage of psychological tests should give us great *confidence that, given the right sort of training, we can find in any group the leadership it needs.* All tests point toward a 'probability curve' similar to Fig. 1. Each group will have its AB men and women. And these AB individuals will be much superior to the *average* person belonging to another group whose average capacity may be greater than their group. The mass movement Christians in India, for example, must not be thought of as uniformly inferior. With scientific certainty we can expect to find among them men of superior gifts, men of marked ability, the raw material for leadership. The existence of AB men in every group should give us a sure basis for stimulating the faith and courage, not only of Asiatic and African peoples in their struggle, but (lest we be thinking only of the motes in others' eyes) of the West in the vast social and ethical problems which they face. Instead of doing everything for people in mission lands, or taking everything to them, we will continue all the more hopefully to draw forth all that is latently present within.

The conviction that God-given leadership can be found in any people is an additional assurance of the reasonableness of the missionary enterprise. It encourages us to aim at a program that is big and worthy of the persons with whom we are working.

D. J. Fleming

THE RELATION OF MISSIONS TO THE HISTORY OF INTELLECTUAL DEVELOPMENT

By R. F. MERKEL, Lic.Theol., Dr.Phil.

The close connexion which binds together the intellectual life of mankind, quite apart from all political and national considerations, is continually gaining clearer recognition. We stand amazed as we see how with the decay of the ancient world its intellectual heritage was handed on to the missionary Church, the latter in turn drawing from it the elements needed for the upbuilding of the new western culture. Where there is life there is movement, and a living Church can never be out of touch with the intellectual movements which succeed one another in different epochs of time.

The humanist movement and the dawning empiricism of the later days of the Middle Ages, which extended far into the period of the Reformation, gradually led to a separation between the domain of the secular and the religious and to the secularization of learning hitherto bound up in the Church. Nevertheless the dividing lines converge again later, their contact resulting in a mutual exchange which has never been fruitless.

It has never been widely enough understood that missions have played no inconsiderable part in the enrichment of scientific knowledge and in the quickening of intellectual life. I have elsewhere endeavoured to show [1] the part played by missions in the discovery of unknown countries and peoples, as well as in furthering intimate knowledge

[1] In my opening lecture at Halle, published in 1921 by the Missionary Press of the Moravian Mission at Herrnhut under the title of *Mission und Wissenschaft*.

of their languages. The geographical discoveries of great missionary pioneers, such as David Livingstone, Ludwig Krapf and Johannes Rebmann, filled their contemporaries with admiration. The geographer Oskar Peschel admitted this with commendable frankness in his *Abhandlungen über Länder- und Völkerkunde* (1877), in which he writes: 'Geographical science stands deeply indebted to missionary institutions . . . and a history of explorers is a history of missions.'

Missionaries were also the earliest pathfinders in the linguistic sphere. The first attempt to bring some order into the illimitable number of African languages was made by the Württemberger W. S. Koelle, who was sent to Sierra Leone by an English mission, and who, as early as 1854, published his admirable *Polyglotta Africana* in London. The Leipziger sinologist, H. Conon von der Gabelentz, who, after W. Humboldt's first attempts, subjected the Melanesian languages to a comparative analysis (1861–73) acknowledged also that an immense quantity of material needed for the more intimate knowledge of the languages of the South Seas was obtained through missionaries who had devoted care and zeal to the compilation of grammars and dictionaries, and more especially to the translation of the Scriptures.

In our own time we look back on all that the Baptist missionary, William Carey, with his wonderful gift of languages, was able to accomplish with the help of faithful companions, working from the small Danish mission at Serampore. In his mission press Carey produced two out of the seven books of the great Indian epic poem the Ramayana, with text, translation and interpretation (1806–10). In 1798 he began to translate the Rig-Veda and the Puranas, and compiled from six manuscripts the text of the Hitopadesa, a collection of fables. He assiduously collected ethnological information respecting the Indian races, and published it in volumes which are still of value. He studied the rich Indian flora and laid out a botanical garden which was celebrated at that time.

Moravian missionaries in the Western Himalayas were to a marked degree pioneers in the realm of science, from the beginning of their work among the Tibetans in 1853. H. A. Jäschke published books which formed the foundation for study of the Tibetan language; Dr A. H. Francke earned recognition for his researches into the history and literature of this race, while the finding of old manuscripts by Missionary Weber led to the discovery of the famous centre of world-wide civilization in ancient Khotan and in Turfan by the explorers M. A. Stein, A. von Le Coq, and A. Grünwedel.

In the eighteenth century a particular predilection for Chinese taste and culture became noticeable, especially in France. Rooms were furnished with tapestries and wall-papers of Chinese design and so-called Chinese towers were erected in the parks. This curious development can clearly be traced to the fact that the Jesuit missionaries were at that time in close touch with the distinctive art and culture of China, to which they gave great publicity. A succession of splendidly equipped men lent to the Jesuit mission at that time a scientific lustre which it had not possessed until then. From their reports, letters and communications, Pater Du Halde took the material for his widely read book *Description de la Chine*, from which again Voltaire drew the theme for his drama *L'Orphelin de la Chine*. The first translation of classic Chinese writings, *Confucius Sinarum Philosophus sive Scientia Sinensis Latine Exposita*, which appeared in Paris in 1687, and with the preliminary stages of which the above-named missionaries were much concerned, had no small influence on Christian Wolff, the typical representative of the German rationalists. In his celebrated academic oration *Oratio de Sinarum Philosophia Practica*, on the occasion of his resignation as vice-principal at Halle on July 12th, 1721, he declared that ' the morality of Confucius departed very slightly from his own, from which he concluded that one could attain to a sound code of ethics entirely through human reason, and independently of revelation.' It would be illuminating to find out whether

rationalists in England took note of these important missionary publications, and to what extent they were influenced by them in their opinions.

Too little attention has hitherto been paid to the fact that particularly valuable contributions have been received through the co-operation of working missionaries in the direction of oriental knowledge. If the Russian orientalist G. S. Bayer (1694–1738) was regarded as the greatest authority of his time in the knowledge of Indian languages, he owes this largely to his connexion with the missionaries of the Danish-Halle Mission, who were working at that time in the Danish colony of Tranquebar in South India. Their reports, and their answers to his inquiries, enabled him to enter this hitherto unexplored field of knowledge which was thus opened to wider circles. The earliest information concerning India and its culture is due to the Dutch preacher and missionary, Abraham Roger, who worked for more than sixteen years in India, on the Coromandel Coast and in Batavia. He was also the first to make known through translation an actual portion of Sanscrit literature, the Spruchedes Bartrhari, in his posthumous work *De open Deure tot het verborgen Heydendom* (Leyden : 1651), from which Herder took extracts later on for his *Stimmen der Völker*. The far-reaching effect of this work can be seen from the fact that a few years later (1663–70) a German and a French translation appeared, and not long ago, in 1915, the Utrecht authority on India, W. Caland, in co-operation with the Linschoten Association, produced a new and very attractive edition. From the same press in 1917 a new edition also appeared of the compendious treatise of Philipp Baldäus, who had been a preacher and missionary in colonial service, *Van de afgoderye der Ost-Indische Heydenen* (1671), edited by A. J. De Jong, which may be regarded as one of the earliest trustworthy and independent statements on Indian religions. Baldäus appears to have been not without some knowledge of the Puranas, the Ramayana and the Mahabharata.

Just as Europe is indebted to missionaries for the first accurate information as to the Indian and Far-Eastern group of religions, so also in later times the most exact statements, especially with regard to primitive religions, have been published by missionaries or men who had been missionaries. Their long sojourn among the native races naturally brought the messengers of the Gospel into close touch with religious life. Through contact with converts from heathenism who became their fellow-workers they gained such insight into the mythology and worship, especially of the illiterate races, as hardly ever falls to the lot of an explorer. It is therefore to be regretted that for many years no attempt was made to place at the disposal of those engaged in research work the rich store of knowledge pertaining to religions which missionaries possessed. Such fundamental works as J. Spieth's *Die Religion der Eweer in Südtogo* (1911) and latterly D. Westermann's *Die Kpelle, ein Negerstamm in Liberia* (1921) are a contribution towards making up for past neglect in this direction.

The influence exerted on the philosopher Arthur Schopenhauer by the writings of the Russian orientalist Isaak Jakob Schmidt, shows how the sending forth of a merchant to missionary work and his connexion with Buddhism were destined to have a far-reaching effect on intellectual development in Europe. The fact that the British and Foreign Bible Society took the celebrated philologist into its service made it possible for him to carry on his researches into Buddhism and to publish what at that time ranked as fundamental treatises on the subject. Schopenhauer turned with special interest to these treatises on Buddhism (1828–36) and read Schmidt's presentation with evident agreement. One of Schmidt's treatises was the last work read by the philosopher before his death. It was Schopenhauer who first made Buddhism known in Germany as a philosophic system, and in that way he exercised considerable influence on contemporary literature and art, especially on Richard Wagner's musical dramas. In what a wonderful way

missionary enterprises, scarcely noticed by the world, may become the foundation of far-reaching intellectual movements. The comparatively insignificant work of the Moravians among the Kalmucks of the Volga steppes, through enlisting the services of the merchant Jakob Schmidt, became of unexpected importance, not only in the direction of theological research, but also as contributing to the intellectual development of Europe.

It must also never be forgotten what gratitude is due to English Protestant missions from a humanitarian point of view. It was thanks to the tireless representations and solemn warnings of missionaries such as Livingstone that on August 1st, 1834, the decision was arrived at to release all slaves in English colonies, and this was carried into effect in 1838. The work of that noble humanitarian and friend of missions, William Wilberforce, was thereby consummated, and at the same time a deed was done which showed in the clearest possible light the importance of missions in the history of mankind. Thus the work of missions has not only its intrinsic value as bearing the message of the gospel of Jesus Christ, but it has also in its wider working become a factor in the intellectual and religious life of humanity and a helper in its social needs.

R. F. Merkel

REVIEWS OF BOOKS

THE EDUCATION OF AFRICANS

EDUCATION IN AFRICA. Being the Report of the Phelps-Stokes Education Commission in Africa. New York: Phelps-Stokes Fund, 297 Fourth Avenue. $2. 1922.

Now that the attention of the world has been turned toward the great continent of Africa by the events of the world war, those who are concerned about the future of that country and its vast population, whether from political, commercial or humanitarian motives, will find much food for reflection in the recently published Report of the African Educational Commission. The work of this Commission, involving a study of educational needs and activities among the natives in West and South Africa, was conducted under the auspices of the Phelps-Stokes Fund of New York with the co-operation of the mission boards of North America, Great Britain and the Continent.

The title of this Report is *Education in Africa.* It is a manual for those who look upon foreign mission fields with something more than a zeal for self-sacrifice; for those who look upon colonial service as something more than a well-paid attractive adventure.

The personnel of the Commission assures the sympathetic nature of the approach to its work: Dr Thomas Jesse Jones, the Chairman, who had made a similar study of educational work among Negroes in the United States, published with the title of *Negro Education* under the patronage of the United States Bureau of Education: Mr J. E. K. Aggrey, a native African who has had the best American training and extended experience in educational work in the States: Dr H. S. Hollenbeck, a medical missionary at Angola under the American Board: Mr and Mrs Arthur Wilkie, missionaries of the United Free Church of Scotland now in charge of the Basel missions on the Gold Coast, and Mr Leo A. Roy, who was associated with Dr Jones in his study of Negro schools in America. Such a personnel is in itself a guarantee that suggestions and criticisms made in the Report are offered in the spirit of sincere

appreciation for good work already accomplished, and with a view to constructive helpfulness.

The Report falls into two sections: the first—containing five chapters on Africa and Education, Adaptations of Education, Organization and Supervision, Education of the Masses and Native Leadership, and Co-operation for the Education of the African—presents the angle from which the Commission approached the study of the existing state of educational work for native Africans; the second is a systematic inventory of facts with respect to each mission station and school of importance in the several countries on the West Coast and in South Africa. Of the two the first section is of outstanding importance because of the penetrating analysis which it makes of educational principles. The Commission evidently feels that the work of modern missions has gone beyond the stage of heroic self-abnegation and that its future value must be measured in terms of efficiency rather than of sacrifice. With this idea in mind the Report makes a careful analysis of the aims and accomplishments of missionary activity and suggests standards for the guidance of future policy and method. It is the kind of criticism that one feels many missionaries would themselves make of much that they are required to do and leave undone because of the restraints and limitations imposed upon them by limited resources.

One does not read many pages of the Report, however, without getting the distinct impression that what is recommended would apply just as well to the educational work of missionary societies in other parts of the world as to mission work in Africa; indeed in some paragraphs if the word 'missions' and 'Africa' were deleted, one could almost as well substitute the words 'schools' and 'America or England.' To one who is himself seriously and intimately engaged in educational work for Negroes in America it is most gratifying to observe that the Commission cherishes as high ideals for the educational progress of the native African as it manifestly does for any other group of the world's needy children.

At the same time the Report is specific in its discussion of the problems of educational work for Natives in Africa. In this respect two chapters are of outstanding importance. Chapter II on 'Adaptations of Education' and Chapter IV on 'Education of the Masses and of Native Leadership.' In the former the point is made, and I think justly, that the educational program of missionary societies working in Africa does not take sufficient account of the

conditions of life by which the Native is surrounded, either with a view to the improvement of native life along lines of natural development as suggested by the common social needs, or of using village life as a field for the direct application of educational effort centering about the school.

The basis for this suggestion, and the recommendations growing out of it, lies in the fact that the school has come to be considered a social agent for the improvement of community life as a whole rather than for the special development of a few favoured individuals. In terms of current thought, the school along with other institutions has become democratic, not simply because it is open to all who may come, but because it has a social mission of its own and is really not a success unless it actually touches and vitalizes all phases of community life, including all ages and classes. In Africa this implies greater respect for and familiarity with native life and customs. It also means a greater effort to win the confidence and co-operation of the Natives themselves. No one can deny that this last is a difficult task. The work of Negro education in the Southern States of America has distinguished itself in just this way. There in the last twenty or twenty-five years the program of education has provided not only the traditional elements of education, but also an organization that utilizes the school as a base for reaching out into the community for the improvement of home life and the stimulation of all classes to better living. These schools not only 'teach the young idea to shoot' but the older ideas how to grow better crops, how to can the surplus vegetables, how to find entertainment at home, and how to secure funds for improving the church. Admittedly the task will be harder in Africa, but the ideal is the same for both places. Christianity is more than a profession, it is a life; and in Christian civilization the Christ motive and idea touches all phases of life.

The Report of the Commission discloses the magnitude of the task yet to be accomplished in making Africa Christian. Encouraging as past attainments have been, missionary work is still at the beginning, and the recent missionary Congress at Glasgow warned us that if more rapid advance is not made Africa is in danger of being Islamized. With the claims of mission work all over the world, it is not likely white missionaries coming to Africa will supply the need: the only adequate alternative is the training of Natives for leadership among their own people. In the chapter devoted

largely to this subject, the Commission strongly urges that the neglect of this phase of educational activity is perhaps the most serious weakness in present missionary policy. The fitness of such a program is apparent to the unprejudiced on psychological grounds; but outweighing all other considerations is the fact that the supply of workers necessary to so stupendous a task is nowhere else available. The struggle for the redemption of Africa must always be a losing one unless the Christian force is greatly multiplied, and the only available reserves are those who have the advantage of kinship with the peoples of the land. When once such a policy is undertaken, recruits will be found faster perhaps than resources are available to send them forth. The right kind of men and women, however, will often find the way to provide their own support.

But racial sympathy alone will not suffice to enable Africans to help their own people. Years of experience in dealing with a similar problem in America show that the most effective work is done by men and women who have been trained specifically for this service of ministering to the people in the mass. Tuskegee Institute has for the last ten or fifteen years been laying great emphasis upon this. Men and women are not only trained in the technique of trades and vocations, but also in the forms of organization necessary to make their more technical training of effective service to the community. Thus farm demonstration work, health service, home demonstration work, club work for both boys and girls, Sunday school and church work are all made a part of the equipment of the graduates.

This aspect of educational work has been the aim of those who have done most for Negro education in America during the last fifty years. And it is interesting to observe that Africa is beginning to follow much the same course. In the early seventies the first educators among Negroes in the States were white men and women, who under a great missionary impulse dedicated themselves to the education and advancement of the freemen, and for a long time they were practically the only teachers among Negroes. But they made a definite object of training young people to return to their own race as leaders. To-day these white workers have been almost entirely replaced by leaders from the Negro race itself. These leaders go among their people as teachers, physicians, ministers, lawyers, business men and merchants and the great progress which

the race has made in the years since emancipation has been practically the fruit of the policy. The career of Booker T. Washington, the product of the labours and training of General Armstrong and Dr Frissell at Hampton Institute, is the outstanding example of this. And beside him, many others have gone out from Hampton and Fisk, Tuskegee and Atlanta, Howard and Meharry and literally hundreds of other schools, constituting a body of 'native' leaders among Negroes of whom any race might be proud.

Dr Jones further, in recommending a program of training Natives for leadership among their own people, makes a point of the eminently valuable service such leaders may render in promoting harmonious relations between the Natives and the whites who dwell among them. It is undeniably true that the problem of race relations is as acute in Africa as it is in America, possibly more so. It is safe to say that it has passed the critical stage in the United States. Careful investigation of the facts will reveal that the strongest single factor in producing this result has been the leaders among the Negroes themselves. With a few exceptions the overwhelming majority of Negroes with systematic training and advanced education have been consistent advocates of a policy of conciliation and co-operation with the whites. A certain type of white man in America, whose influence, never widely extended and now rapidly diminishing in power, has in times past urged that the education of Negroes made them unsafe as leaders of their people, but through a period of years facts have most emphatically disproved that assertion. Nowhere in America are Negroes of skill and training more welcome as leaders of their race than in the Southern States where they live in largest numbers. In fact it is impossible to supply the demand for capable Negroes to direct the work that both state and municipal authorities are undertaking for the benefit of their people. Colonial governments have everything to hope for in encouraging the development of a native leadership. The danger rather lies in denying to these people the leadership of their own race. In view of the natural sympathy between the masses and leaders of their own kind, it gives rise to a natural suspicion when those who have all the power and authority in their own hands cannot see their way to trust a share of active administration to fit and capable members of the race which they desire to help. In the midst of unrest that is world-wide it is safe to say that the Negro peoples of the world, while wholly conscious of their disabilities, are the least

threatening in their attitude toward the governing races. It is obviously safer to trust leadership to a trained group than to await the chance development of impulsive leadership spurred on by ignorance and resentment. Leadership must inevitably develop from within the race; the question that remains is, Shall it be trained or untrained ?

R. R. Moton

Tuskegee Institute, U.S.A.

A STUDY OF 'PRIMITIVE' MENTALITY

La Mentalité Primitive. By L. Lévy-Bruhl. Paris: Felix Alcan. F. 25. 1922.

Dean Inge has said that researches into the psychology of savages 'would have some importance to the student of comparative religion, if we could have any confidence that European travellers can ever really understand the mentality of primitive races.' [1] We all know that the subject is a difficult one. Even missionaries of long experience, to say nothing of travellers, acknowledge that they have not succeeded in getting to the back of the black man's mind. One of them, with thirty years of study behind him, said recently that he would willingly give five years of life to be able to get into a native's skin for an hour and see the world through his eyes. M. Lévy-Bruhl, member of the Institute, professor at the Sorbonne and author of several philosophical works, has set himself to study this so-called 'primitive' mentality. In an earlier work, published some twelve years ago and now in the third edition (*Les fonctions mentales dans les sociétés inférieures*), he insisted upon the law of participation, considered in its relations with the principle of identity, and upon the fact that the 'primitive' spirit is little sensible to contradiction. In the present volume he continues his analysis with the object of showing what causality is to the natives and the consequences that proceed from their idea of it.

The author finds that savages are not stupid but have, on the contrary, considerable mental capacity, although they are averse from discursive operations of thought. Our difficulty in understanding them arises from the fact that their mentality is pre-logical and mystical, while ours is logical and conceptual. Our daily

[1] *The Philosophy of Plotinus*, vol. ii. p. 29.

activity implies confidence in the invariability of natural laws; they see in things and events the manifestation of occult and invisible powers, the immediate action of which is evoked by their 'collective representations.' What we call causes are to them an instrument in the service of these powers. Instead of seeking secondary causes they seek to interpret, regularize and where possible even provoke the manifestation of these powers. The mode of activity of the 'primitive' mind is a direct apprehension, an intuition; it does not argue from cause to effect as ours does; at the same moment that it perceives what is presented to the senses, it represents to itself the mystical powers which are so presented.

What are these *puissances occultes et mystiques*? They are arranged in three categories: spirits of the dead, nature spirits, and the charms or spells accruing from the action of sorcerers. In common with other anthropologists of the Durkheim school, M. Lévy-Bruhl derives these all from Mana, the mysterious influence which emanates from every living thing, every human being, and which is particularly strong when the persons are chiefs, ancestors, sorcerers.

This in brief is the thesis which M. Lévy-Bruhl develops with remarkable ingenuity, eloquence and wealth of illustration. He is a diligent student of missionary literature, Roman Catholic and Protestant, and draws his facts from a very wide field.

We have no space to follow his argument from point to point as he seeks to interpret omens, ordeals and other divinatory practices, etc., in the light of his principle. Incapable of conceiving a regularly ordered future, savages assign a capital importance to omens, which, however, do not simply reveal coming events but have an essential part in producing what they announce. *Prédire* is not to be separated from *produire*; 'presages are causes.' Not only outward acts, but also unexpressed desires, are effective as vehicles of the mystic powers; thought may have the same effect as action; covetousness acts like the *jettatura*. Questions such as, Why is it that women do the field-work? Why is there so much apparent ingratitude on the part of natives towards the missionary doctor? Why do patients expect to be paid? What is the reason of the misoneism of the natives?—all these, and many more, are answered by the author of this brilliantly written and fascinating book.

Fascinating—yes; one is so charmed that the critical faculty is put to sleep. But on reflection one is not quite so sure that M. Lévy-Bruhl has proved his point. Is it really possible to draw a

hard and fast line between the mentality of ' primitive ' and civilized men ? Is there really so great a gulf between the average European and the average African mind ? Granted that he has established this, does he not err in seeking to explain too much on his principles ?

Readers will disagree on such matters, but it could not but do good to raise a discussion on M. Lévy-Bruhl's book wherever in the wide world missionaries foregather.

EDWIN W. SMITH

DOVER

AN HISTORICAL SURVEY OF MISSIONARY DEVELOPMENTS

DIE EVANGELISCHE MISSION: URSPRUNG, GESCHICHTE, ZIEL. Von Dr HEINRICH FRICK. Bonn und Leipzig: Kurt Schroeder. M. 50 geh. 1922.

THIS book, by the author of a paper on the Nationality and Internationality of Christian Missions, published in 1917, is a valuable addition to missionary literature. Its treatment of a number of questions makes a real contribution to the science of missions and will at the same time create interest in wider circles by its broad-minded manner of looking at the development of missionary work. The author takes a wide view of his subject ; while he seeks to be just to those forms of missionary life which do not coincide with his own views, he brings warmth into his living and rounded presentation by his identification of himself with the development he describes. From the scientific side the work is important because it draws upon sources which have not before been tapped for the study of missions in the cognate subject of the history of religious life. It also marks a step forward by suggesting new points of view. The arrangement of the material is chronological. The chapters are—Period of the Reformation ; On Calvinistic Soil ; Downfall and Reconstruction in Germany in the Seventeenth Century ; Missions and Early Pietism ; The Turning-Point in the Eighteenth Century ; Protestant Missions under English Domination in the Nineteenth Century ; Americanism. This plan allows the author in his descriptions of the different periods to trace the characteristic peculiarities of each. Dr Frick advances the proposition that the different types of interpretation of the missionary message which appear in the course of the centuries can only be rightly understood when they are studied in relation not merely to the general church life but also to the cultural development and religious movements of the times. In

this connexion one has only to compare his book with the well-known *History of Missions* by Dr G. Warneck to recognize at once that in this important matter we have advanced appreciably—Frick's book is a noteworthy contribution to this future development of missionary history. By this method it becomes easier to understand how the attitude of evangelical Christians to missions has shown such great variety and that this duty itself has been conceived in different ways, even when the missionary obligation was recognized.

If I may draw attention to special points I would mention the rise of interest in Jewish missions; the criticism of the complex relation of Lutheran orthodoxy to missions; the thorough examination of the 'Aufklarung' (age of enlightenment), and not least the treatment of the great problem of the present day, namely the question of the nationality and internationality of missions; the decisions of the Versailles Treaty regarding missions and the importance of England and America in the shaping of Protestant missions. I might also mention the sketches of individual personalities such as John Eliot, Leibnitz, Zinzendorf, Herder and Max Müller. Reference to these points merely means that they deserve serious consideration but not that one would agree with them without further question; the book is written from too subjective a standpoint for that. But it rouses thought even where it calls forth opposition or needs amplification.

The book does not give a history of missions, as the title would lead one to expect, but only a historical survey of the attitude of the Protestant peoples to missions. It is not a history of what has actually been accomplished in missionary work, but a history of the evangelical conception of missions in Christendom at home. We must go a step further and say that even this theme is not fully handled. The author takes his stand so definitely within German Protestantism that, though he certainly includes all the main aspects of German missionary life, he does not, it seems to me, do justice to the history of missionary life in other Protestant countries. The plan of the book does not justify this procedure, as the author speaks (and with justice) of the English leadership in the history of Protestant missions in the nineteenth century and of the Americanism of the later régime.

Finally, the distinction frequently drawn by Frick between mission and propaganda is doubtless the outcome of true observation, but it is pressed too far. Closely bound up with this is the

fundamental conception of the essence of evangelical missions which is formulated by Frick in the sense conceived by Herder and Max Müller and so far adopted by him that missions are conceived not as the work of conversion and the founding of churches, but as the projection of the Christian life into non-Christian lands and in the exchange of the best between the rival religions. If this view were true, Protestant missions would be bound to subject their whole missionary methods to a comprehensive and far-reaching revision. The witty and stimulating expositions in this book thus rest upon premises which do not coincide with those on the basis of which the great majority of missionary societies of all lands proclaim the Gospel.

GÖTTINGEN CARL MIRBT

AN INTERPRETATION OF HISTORY

WESTERN RACES AND THE WORLD. Essays arranged and edited by F. S. MARVIN. London: Milford. 12s. 6d. 1922.

THIS is the fifth volume in the Unity Series, the printed record of courses of lectures delivered in successive years at Woodbrooke, near Birmingham. The courses, as the collective name of the published volumes suggests, are based on a definite view of human history, namely, that the whole of mankind is advancing 'as one army, though at various rates, towards an end of growing perfection; and of this advance the West, through its geographical position and its historic advantages, becomes for the time the natural leader.' Previous volumes have dealt with the Unity of Western Civilization, Progress and History, and Recent Developments in European Thought; this one extends the view to consider the relations of the assumed vanguard of civilization with less progressive races.

The first six papers are mainly historical; the remaining six deal with present-day problems. In the historical group there are two brilliant and suggestive papers by Mr Edwyn Bevan on Greeks and Barbarians, and Professor H. Stuart Jones on the Roman Empire. Dr A. J. Carlyle writes on the Influence of Christianity, and Mr S. H. Swinney on the Humanitarianism of the Eighteenth Century.

The interpretation of history which provides a framework for these different essays is not one which will command universal assent. In view of the increasing tendency to question the worth and permanency of western civilization, the lowering of its prestige in the eyes of eastern peoples as a result of the war, and the doubt in many serious minds whether it rests on any abiding and unassail-

able spiritual principle, the fundamental assumption of the volume would need a fuller defence than is provided in these pages. This, however, is obviously precluded by limitations of space, and, the editor of these essays might add, has been furnished elsewhere. Every serious and honest attempt, moreover, to view human history as a whole, and to discover its deeper purposes and meaning, whether it commands our complete assent or not, is stimulating and helpful, and this collection of essays is all the more valuable that it represents a definite point of view.

In two respects the plan of the volume seems to take for granted a larger degree of unity than the facts warrant. The treatment of the subject suggests greater historical continuity in the relations of the western world with oriental peoples than really exists. Great as is the debt of western civilization to Greece and Rome, the problem of the relations of modern Europe and America with Asia and Africa is quite distinct from that of the contacts of Greece and Rome with the East, however valuable and instructive may be the analogies which the earlier history can furnish. Again, at some points in the general treatment, there is a tendency to lose sight of the truth expressed by Mr Bevan in his essay that 'the term "western" has a positive meaning because there is a distinctive western culture, but oriental peoples have in common only the negative quality of not being western. There is no such person as "the Oriental."'

It is noteworthy that there is no paper dealing with Japan—the article on the Far East is confined almost exclusively to China—though a study of the differences between Japan and the West, notwithstanding the Japanese assimilation of western knowledge, would have been peculiarly illuminating and instructive. The editor in his introductory essay refers to the Japanese as 'now fit to be called the Westerns of the East.' But this surely is to ignore vital differences. Will China and India also become western when they have learned how to harness the forces of nature and to build railways and battleships?

The essays cover too wide a field to make it possible to comment on them individually. They are not all of equal value. But most of them are suggestive and stimulating, and taken together they bring into a single volume a considerable body of information which is a welcome contribution to the study of one of the most important and difficult questions in the world to-day.

LONDON J. H. OLDHAM

EDUCATION IN INDIA

ASPECTS OF INDIAN EDUCATIONAL POLICY. By W. MESTON. Madras and London: Christian Literature Society. R.I.S. 2s. 1922.

MR MESTON'S careful and scholarly presentation of certain aspects of Indian educational policy has a real practical as well as historical value at the present time. Now that education is removed from the unifying control of the Government of India, it is important that the Provincial Governments to whom the care of a school-going population of some thirty-six millions has been transferred, and the Provincial Legislative Councils, who will ultimately determine the mode of catering for their needs, should at least understand clearly what the policy of the Government of India has been up to this time. It is equally important that all agencies at work in the field of education should appreciate the part hitherto assigned to them by this policy and discuss with reference to their resources and local conditions the possibility of development or change. In his very clear analysis of the 1854 Despatch from the Court of Directors, the 1882 Report of the Hunter Commission (with the Secretary of State's orders therein) and the 1904 and 1913 Resolutions of the Government of India, Mr Meston has rightly emphasized the persistent wish of the highest authorities to unite all forms of educational effort in a truly national system, a point of no small importance at a time when the educational perils of non-co-operation have not been finally or satisfactorily relegated to ancient history. And, at a time when the improvement and extension of education is of supreme importance for the progressive evolution of self-government, he has pointed out one obvious but not always sufficiently acknowledged way of ensuring such improvement and extension with due regard to economy, namely the development and encouragement of private enterprise incorporated in a carefully organized state system. The Madras Christian College to which Mr Meston has devoted his life is a noble and living monument of such enterprise.

Mr Meston rightly draws attention to the tendency, dating from 1913, to develop Local Board elementary schools, possibly at the expense of private management schools of similar grade. He points out that, as these board schools have been extended by means of provincial subsidies rather than by local taxation, there has been no real encouragement thereby of local enterprise nor stimulation of local generosity and zeal. He pleads for a more real encouragement

of local effort and a closer application of principles most emphatically laid down by the Government of India by making the grants to local bodies, as to private agencies, to a larger degree dependent on the funds provided locally. But this principle though sound must, it is suggested, be supplemented by the principle that the Provincial Government is responsible for determining the minimum educational facilities to be provided in all parts of the Province. This it cannot do unless it gives to the more backward areas grants out of all proportion to the products of local enterprise. The correct formula would therefore appear to be 'to every area according to its needs, as determined by Government, up to a required minimum. To every area which is ready to go beyond that minimum according to its willingness to provide funds.' The application of this formula would justify the assignment of grants, in backward areas anyhow, out of all proportion to local contributions. Mr Meston's further contention that private and board schools alike should receive such grants and such inspection as will ensure a steady increase in efficiency is unassailable. It remains to be seen whether ministers and Provincial Councils will have the courage to impose the taxation such a policy demands.

The recommendations of the Village Education Commission are analyzed sympathetically but the inadequate treatment of the basic problem of the training of teachers for the scheme is properly criticized. An unhappy reference to 'two systems of education, government and mission,' is appropriately trounced and the omission of facts and figures which might have emphasized achievements up to date is deplored.

There are some illuminating references to the probable attitude of the reformed governments to education. We share the writer's anxiety lest the claims of humane and cultural education, which hardly exists at present in India, be subordinated to the much canvassed claims of vocational education. If any schools are 'vocational' in character, Indian high schools, which prepare almost exclusively for the clerical professions, surely deserve that name. Of that good and sound general education on humane lines which should serve as a basis for vocational education we have all too little. The need for a really strong and permanent body of educationalists to advise the ministers and councils and express in educational form their policy is properly emphasized. The analysis of the Madras Elementary Education Act, which, it is claimed, not only sets up such

bodies but also goes far towards solving the financial and the conscience clause problems, is of great practical value.

The story of the Missionary Educational Council of South India is a surprising record of sound and cautious work at a trifling cost. Though the Council has always been militant its relations with educational officers have been and remain happy and stimulating. Its successful campaign against the government model high school scheme is recorded and Mr Meston takes the opportunity of impressing the need for the establishment, by co-operation of missions, of really good model high schools in selected centres. Throughout the book in fact he emphasizes the imperative need for inter-mission co-operation in all branches. It is difficult to see how in its absence the pressing claims for higher efficiency can ever be met, more particularly perhaps in the training of teachers.

Though some statements in the book ought not to pass unchallenged the general impression which it creates is such that the reviewer's aim throughout has been to advertise its wares rather than to submit them to detailed scrutiny. All who are zealous in the great cause of Indian education will be glad that Mr Meston has found time, among all his other occupations, to send it forth on its errand.

A. I. Mayhew

THE MORAVIAN BICENTENARY

Die Anfänge Herrnhuts. Ein Buch vom Werden der Brüdergemeine. Von Lic. Gerhard Reichel. Herrnhut: Verlag der Missionsbuchhandlung. M.30, geb.M.45. 1922.

Zinzendorfs Sendung. Ein Rückblick zur Orientierung über die Kirchliche Lage der Gegenwart. Von Friedrich Adolf Voigt. Berlin: Furche Verlag. M.36, geb.M.60. 1922.

The celebration of the 200th anniversary of the founding of the Moravian community in Herrnhut was held this year on June 17th. Among the books prepared for this occasion the two mentioned above deserve special notice. They are both concerned with Count Zinzendorf, but in quite different ways. Gerhard Reichel, a lecturer in the theological seminary, treats his subject historically. He describes the growth of the community in a graceful narrative which maintains throughout its interest for the general reader. Under the shadow of a great lady, the Countess Henrietta Katharina von Gersdorf, his grandmother, and of a great man, August Hermann Francke, we see

the young Count developing; as a schoolboy making friendships with Friedrich von Wattewille and Georg Wilhelm von Söhlenthal; founding the first associations and going on through hopes and disappointments until he is able to found his home for disciples in Dresden and Hennersdorf. The settlement on the Hutberg comes into being and the Berthelsdorf Herrschaftshaus becomes the moral and spiritual focus of the Herrnhut community. All this is described from the original documents and illustrated by so many delightful incidents that it is easy to transport oneself to those halcyon days of early love and fully to understand and appreciate the rich variety of the inner life of the young Count.

Voigt is in quite a different vein. His book, though written with the most thorough knowledge of the history of Herrnhut and of Zinzendorf and also of general church history, does not aim at presenting the past, but rather, with that as a background, at forming an estimate of the ecclesiastical situation of the present day. The book has only 108 pages, but it is strong and full of wit and wisdom. It is divided into the four parts: the Overthrow of Confessionalism; Community Life, Congregation and Church; the Attempted Conquest of Pietism; and lastly, Concluding Observations on Zinzendorf's Programme and Work within the sphere of Protestantism. The book is summed up in the following sentences:

> Where the Gospel is preached and accepted in faith, and has thus established fellowship, there the people of God are called together from dispersion and gathered and rallied for the work among themselves and in the world; there is God's Kingdom established which for us men must manifest itself in visible and comprehensible forms. The fact that the Church of the Brethren stands for the work of godly union and for the showing forth of the one holy Church is simply a result of its work among heathen peoples away beyond the bounds of its own little church, and also within the national Church through its pastoral activities and among the children entrusted to its institutions. Hence to reach a fair estimate of the Church of the Brethren over and above the actual communities must be reckoned the number of those who are spiritually influenced by this work. That evangelical Church which has been able to preserve the holy heritage of the faith through its struggle with the world, is thus our inheritance from the past, our consolation in the unhappy present and our task for the present and the future.

Voigt's book is not always easy to read, but it is always stimulating and deserves thorough study.

M. Schlunk

Hamburg

THE WOMEN OF NEW CHINA

STUDIER OCH BILDER FRÅN DET NYA KINA. By INGEBORG WIKANDER, B.A. Stockholm: Sveriges Kristliga Studentrörelses förlag. Sv. kr. 8.25. 1922.

DURING recent years an increasing number of books on missionary subjects have been published in Sweden, and the quality of the missionary literature has improved greatly. Among this new literature *Studier och bilder från det nya Kina* holds a prominent position.

Miss Wikander, one of the pioneers of the Church of Sweden Mission and of the Swedish Y.W.C.A. in China, was a delegate at the World Student Conference in Tokyo in 1908, and then came into touch with the missionary problems in the Far East. In subsequent years she studied them still further while acting as travelling missionary secretary in the Church of Sweden. The bibliography at the end of her book gives evidence of her thorough study and knowledge of recent literature. In 1916 she took up work in Changsha, in Hunan province.

The first part of the book deals in turn with the popular religion in China, the rites and customs connected with Taoism and the lower forms of Buddhism; the spiritual thoughts and real religious forces in the teaching of Confucius; political events and conditions in China during the last twelve years and the national student and renaissance movement. The latter part of the book is, however, far more interesting. Miss Wikander has had the opportunity afforded to few missionaries of to-day of living in one of the families of the ancient nobility who opened their doors to her and invited her to settle on their estate when she was about to establish the Y.W.C.A. centre in Changsha. In the remarkable story of this episode we get many interesting glimpses into the life of the Chinese aristocracy both in everyday life and at times of special festivals. We are introduced to some Chinese women, both Christian and non-Christian, whom Miss Wikander met. The illustrations in this chapter and others are very interesting, many of them taken by the authoress herself.

In the chapter on The Social Revolution in China and still more in the last chapter—Tasks before Evangelical Missions in China To-day—the authoress emphasizes the urgent need of increasing missionary efforts in evangelistic and educational work. She continues:

In dealing with these eastern peoples, we must give up our belief in the necessity of introducing western civilization along with Christianity. No doubt much in our civilization will appear good and useful to the East as well as to us, but there is a great deal that will not. Already the East has become possessed of western technique, or will soon acquire it without our help. It conquers because it is superior to their own. It is, however, technique not civilization.

The East has another world of its own, a spiritual world, the world of its own thoughts. It has a soul of its own, its own ideals, children born of the best aspirations and efforts of its highest life. Our task is not to tear the East away from its natural spiritual atmosphere but to bring all that is best and deepest in eastern thought and aspiration into the light of the presence of Jesus Christ to be sanctified, purified, and uplifted by Him. Thus the East will learn to know Him whom it has unconsciously been seeking and longing for, Christ the accomplisher, the revealer of God.

SIGFRID ALM

TANJORE, SOUTH INDIA

DEMONISM IN CHINA

DEMONISM VERIFIED AND ANALYZED. By HUGH W. WHITE, D.D., Yeuchang, Kiangsu. Shanghai: Mission Book Co. $2.20 Mex. Richmond, Virginia: Presbyterian Committee of Publication. $1.25. 1922.

A SMALL book of some 155 pages obviously cannot treat fully a subject so complex in its bearings, so difficult in its diagnosis as is that of demonism. Yet this slight volume, by a missionary of twenty-eight years' experience, has its value in drawing attention to a subject which alike for its practical import and its theoretic interest demands far more study than has yet been given to it.

The author begins by stressing the wide-spread existence of the evil, which on his reckoning affects some 120,000 of the Chinese population, as well as countless people in other non-Christian lands. That Dr White has given detailed study is evidenced by the fact that his records contain careful accounts of 304 cases observed in his own field (Kiangsu), 64 cases reported by other missionaries, some of whom were doctors, besides hundreds of cases incidentally referred to in his book. Dr White shows how demonism differs from the known insanities; rather is it of the nature of dissociation, a form of hysteria primarily of psychic origin based on a perverted form of religion, this perversion or superstition leading by the law of sugges-

tion to demonism. He then leads to what to him has become patent from the evidence—the Satanic origin of demonism. There must be an original source of evil in the world, the author holds, who is the ultimate source of what he calls 'Satanic dissociation.' Through this personal power of evil, human beings are influenced by volitional suggestion, and dissociation of personalities takes place. From this conclusion many readers will undoubtedly dissent, yet they cannot but respect the careful method of inductive reasoning by which Dr White arrives at his position which 'confirms' the teaching of the New Testament. The closing chapters on the practical question of Treatment and Prevention will be welcomed by many. It is not only the missionary who believes in faith-healing and the value of suggestion: Zurich and Geneva, Nancy and Harley Street are all witnessing to the power of mind over body and the strength of spiritual forces. The missionary in China has a field for experimentation which the psychological expert might well envy. In demonism the human spirit falls to its nadir: through the power of the God whom Jesus Christ revealed the diseased mind is enabled to rise to the heights of conscious sonship in the great family of God.

H. G. Hewat

Manchuria

SHORTER NOTICES

China To-day through Chinese Eyes. (London: Student Christian Movement. 2s. 6d. 1922.) Many books about China have been written by foreigners, and the end is not yet. In recent years Chinese writers have themselves undertaken the interpretation of Chinese history and present-day life and thought to the western world. It is extremely important that the churches in the West should become acquainted with these Chinese interpretations in order that they may successfully and fruitfully work for and with the Chinese churches in their task of shaping the future of China on Christian lines. All but one of these seven essays are by professing Christian Chinese writers. Two of them, 'China To-day' and 'The Impression of Christianity made upon the Chinese People through Contact with the Christian Nations of the West,' are reprinted from *The Life Journal*, the organ of a group of Christian leaders in Peking. In 'China's Renaissance,' Dr Timothy T. Lew, Dean of the Theological Faculty in Peking University, analyses the development and meaning of this movement and its relation

to the Christian movement. 'The Literary Revolution in China' is written by one of its ablest leaders, Professor Hu Shih of Peking University. The two essays on 'The Confucian God-Idea' and 'Present Tendencies in Chinese Buddhism' by Dr Y. Y. Tsin, of St John's University, one of the first Christian theologians in China, are scholarly and illuminating. Finally, Dr C. Y. Cheng, who knows his subject better than anybody else, writes on 'The Chinese Church.' This series of articles is bigger in content and meaning, more stimulating, and ought to be more useful than many other larger books on China. A. L. W.

The New Zambezi Trail. By C. W. Mackintosh. (London: Marshall. 10s. 6d. 1922.) This well illustrated volume is published at an appropriate time. It is written by a niece of the great French missionary, François Coillard, and appears just when the Paris Missionary Society, under which he served, is celebrating its centenary. The story of Coillard's life ranks high in missionary biography and his vivid personality adds colour to every reminiscence of the Africa he loved. Miss Mackintosh travelled with him up the Zambezi and through North-Western Rhodesia in 1903 and again, after his death, traversed the same ground in 1920. The record of her journeyings, given for the most part in extracts from notes written at the time, shows a clear insight into African conditions and a lively appreciation of Africans, from canoe paddlers up to paramount chiefs. The book is fresh and attractive in literary style and is full of missionary interest. G. A. G.

The Story of the Santal: With an Account of the Santal Rebellion. By James M. Macphail, M.D. (Calcutta: Thacker, Spink. R.1.8. 1922.) The somewhat unattractive appearance of this small flat volume serves only to enhance its interest, for it was produced on a little Mission Press in Santalia, by Santali workmen to whom English was entirely unknown. Yet careful reading has discovered only one printer's error, and that merely a letter misplaced. It is difficult to know whether the book should be classed as a village idyll or as a serious contribution to social anthropology. It is really both. With the detailed and accurate observation which scientists delight to find, the writer—a medical missionary of the United Free Church of Scotland who has lived among the Santals for over five and thirty years—records the life history of Manka and his wife Maku from

cradle to grave, with all the setting of village custom and religious rite. To the present reviewer, with memories of happy days of rice harvest in the Santal parganas, every page has lived. The record of the Santal rebellion of 1855 is a tragic one, but the close analysis of the causes which led to it should lessen the danger of situations growing up which would lead to like occurrences elsewhere.

G. A. G.

A History of Trinity College, Kandy. By Valesca L. O. Reiman, M.A. (Madras : Diocesan Press. Vepery. 1922.) Written by a member of the staff and published for use at the jubilee celebration of the College, this unpretentious volume wins the sympathy always accorded to a record of growth. Those who know what great public schools have meant to England will be quick to read between the lines what Trinity College has been and is in the life of Ceylon. In Mr Reiman's simple pages, packed full of details concerning principals, staff, extension of buildings and functions of various sorts, there are welcome signs that fifty years has seen the beginnings of a rich heritage of tradition and a healthy *esprit de corps.* The spiritual influence and results of Trinity College have long been recognized ; its jubilee history creates a further sense of the extent and value of the contribution which it is making to good citizenship and social reform, and demonstrates, quite incidentally, the fine qualities of the ' Old Boys ' and their successors. G. A. G.

A Mustard Seed in Japan. By Wm. Merrell Vories. (Japan : Omi-Hachiman, 1922.) Some years ago Mr Vories told the earlier story of the Omi Mission in this Review. It was a cordial for drooping spirits and is remembered still. The continuance of that story in the newly issued volume is like a chapter from the Acts of the Apostles. The field of this independent mission is in a remote and thickly populated part of Japan. Japanese and foreigners work in it side by side. A large measure of support is drawn from a well-worked architectural department, a boon to other missions. Evangelistic work, both on land and from the mission boat, is combined with social service such as a tuberculosis sanatorium. A great band of earnest workers has been enlisted. The spiritual results are deep and lasting. While the mission has followed its own distinctive line there is no shade of criticism for the methods of others. Certainly some of the most inspiring missionary literature is now being printed and published in the mission field. G. A. G.

NOTES ON CONTRIBUTORS

THE Survey of the Missionary Significance of the Last Ten Years in Moslem Lands has been edited by Canon GAIRDNER, Secretary of the C.M.S. Egypt Mission: the Introduction and the Summary of the Survey and Conclusion are written by him. The other contributors, in the order in which the sections are printed, are the Rev. H. U. WEITBRECHT STANTON, D.D., Ph.D., long a C.M.S. missionary in the Panjab: the Rev. E. W. RIGGS, until recently in Eastern Turkey under the American Board (A.B.C.F.M.): the Rev. J. H. NICOL of Beirut, Secretary of the Syrian Mission of the Presbyterian Church in the U.S.A.: the Rev. W. R. W. GARDNER, formerly of the Keith-Falconer Mission, Aden, and latterly Principal of the Institution for the Blind at Zeitoun, near Cairo: Dr C. STANLEY MYLREA, M.D., O.B.E., of the Arabian Mission of the Reformed Church in America; Dr P. C. McDOWELL of Teheran, belonging to the East Persia Mission of the Presbyterian Church in the U.S.A.; and the Rev. Ds. D. BAKKER, of the Zending der Gereformeerde Kerken in Nederland in the Dutch East Indies.

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Miss JEAN KENYON MACKENZIE, a distinguished American writer, was until recently a member of the West African Mission of the Presbyterian Church of the U.S.A.

The Rev. D. J. Fleming, Ph.D., formerly of the Forman Christian College, Lahore, is now professor in the Department of Foreign Service at the Union Theological College, New York. He was the American representative on the Commission on Village Education in India (1919–1920).

Pastor R. F. Merkel, Lic.Theol. (Göttingen), D.Phil. (Strasburg), is minister at Gustenfelden, near Nurnberg, and Privatdozent at the University at Munich. His work *G. W. von Leibniz und der China Mission* issued in 1920 was the first of the scientific studies of the history and theory of Christian missions published by the Deutsche Gesellschaft für Missionswissenschaft.

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ACTS AND PUBLIC DOCUMENTS[1] BEARING ON THE WORK OF CHRISTIAN MISSIONS

MISSIONARY FREEDOM IN MANDATED TERRITORIES

Mandate for Syria and Lebanon—Class (A)

THE following Articles in the Mandate for Syria and Lebanon (approved by the Council of the League of Nations on July 22nd, 1922) relate to religious liberty:

ARTICLE VIII

The mandatory will ensure to all complete freedom of conscience and the free exercise of all forms of worship, subject only to the maintenance of public order and morals. It will be the duty of the mandatory to see that the extradition treaties in force between foreign powers and the mandatory are observed in the territories of Syria and Lebanon. No discrimination of any kind shall be made between the inhabitants of Syria and Lebanon on the ground of differences in race, religion or language.

The mandatory shall encourage public instruction, which shall be given through the medium of the native languages in use in the territories of Syria and Lebanon.

The right of each community to maintain its own schools for the instruction and education of its own members in its own language, while conforming to such educational requirements of a general nature as the administration may impose, shall not be denied or impaired.

ARTICLE IX

The mandatory shall refrain from all interference in the administration of 'conseils de fabrique' or in the management of religious communities and sacred shrines belonging to the various religions, the immunity of which has been expressly guaranteed.

ARTICLE X

The supervision exercised by the mandatory over the religious missions in Syria and Lebanon shall be limited to the maintenance of public order and good government; the activities of these religious missions shall in no way be restricted, nor shall their members be subjected to any restrictive measures on

[1] For previous numbers of IRM containing this section see October 1920, January and October 1921, October 1922.

the ground of nationality, provided that their activities are confined to the domain of religion.

The religious missions may also concern themselves with education and relief subject to the general right of regulation and control by the mandatory, or of the states under the mandate, in regard to education, public instruction and charitable relief.

Mandates for Africa—Class (B)

The (B) Mandates for Africa (approved by the Council of the League of Nations on July 20th, 1922) include those for British Togoland, British Cameroons, British East Africa (Tanganyika Territory); French Togoland, French Cameroons; and Belgian East Africa (Ruanda and Urundi).

The text of the Article relating to religious liberty in each of these Mandates is as follows:

The mandatory shall ensure in the territory complete freedom of conscience and the free exercise of all forms of worship which are consonant with public order and morality. Missionaries who are nationals of states members of the League of Nations shall be free to enter the territory and to travel and reside therein, to acquire and possess property, to erect religious buildings, and to open schools throughout the territories, it being understood, however, that the mandatory shall have the right to exercise such control as may be necessary for the maintenance of public order and good government, and to take all measures required for such control.

TREATY OF IRAQ

The Articles in the Treaty (signed at Baghdad on October 10th, 1922) between the British and Iraq Governments relating to religious liberty are as follows:

Article III

His Majesty the King of Iraq agrees to frame an Organic Law for presentation to the Constituent Assembly of Iraq, and to give effect to the said law, which shall contain nothing contrary to the provisions of the present Treaty, and shall take account of the rights, wishes and interests of all populations inhabiting Iraq. This Organic Law shall ensure to all complete freedom of conscience and the free exercise of all forms of worship, subject only to the maintenance of public order and morals. It shall provide that no discrimination of any kind shall be made between the inhabitants of Iraq on the ground of race, religion or language, and shall secure that the right of each community to maintain its own schools for the education of its own members in its own language, while conforming to such educational requirements of a

general nature as the Government of Iraq may impose, shall not be denied or impaired. It shall prescribe the constitutional procedure, whether legislative or executive, by which decisions will be taken on all matters of importance, including those involving questions of fiscal, financial and military policy.

ARTICLE IX

His Majesty the King of Iraq undertakes that he will accept and give effect to such reasonable provisions as His Britannic Majesty may consider necessary in judicial matters to safeguard the interests of foreigners in consequence of the non-application of the immunities and privileges enjoyed by them under capitulation or usage. These provisions shall be embodied in a separate agreement, which shall be communicated to the Council of the League of Nations.

ARTICLE XII

No measure shall be taken in Iraq to obstruct or interfere with missionary enterprise, or to discriminate against any missionary on the ground of his religious belief or nationality, provided that such enterprise is not prejudicial to public order and good government.

INTERNATIONAL MISSIONARY BIBLIOGRAPHY

In the preparation of the bibliography the Editors have the advantage of the co-operation of M. le Pasteur Allégret (Paris), Professor Harlan P. Beach, D.D. (Yale), Mr Marshall Broomhall (London), Rev. W. A. Crabtree (London), J. N. Farquhar, D.Litt. (Calcutta), Professor Arthur Jeffery, Ph.D. (American University, Cairo), Professor H. M. van Nes, D.D. (Leiden), Rev. Frank Rawlinson, D.D. (Shanghai), Professor Kenneth Saunders (Berkeley, Cal.), Rev. Fr. Schepelern (Denmark), Missionsinspektor Lic. M. Schlunk (Hamburg), Eugene Stock, D.C.L. (London), Missionsdirektor M. Tarkkanen (Helsingsfors), Rev. S. H. Wainright, D.D. (Tokyo), Rev. Martin Westling (Stockholm), Canon A. Lukyn Williams, D.D. (Cambridge).

While the bibliography is concerned primarily with missionary literature, published matter on other subjects closely related to the progress of Christianity is included when it is of exceptional value.

Entries of magazine articles are distinguished by †.

Abbreviations of magazine titles are explained on p. 160.

Annotations in the bibliography do not preclude a subsequent review.

MAIN HEADINGS OF THE BIBLIOGRAPHY

I. History
II. Missionary Biography
III. The Home Base
IV. The Mission Fields
V. Works of Reference
VI. Theory and Principles of Missions
VII. The Training and Qualifications of Missionaries
VIII. Missionary Methods
IX. The Church in the Mission Field
X. Comity, Co-operation and Unity
XI. Christianity and the Non-Christian Religions
XII. Social and Political Relations of Missions
XIII. Hortatory and Practical
XIV. New Missionary Magazines
XV. Missionary Education Publications

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(General)

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(from Morocco to Somaliland)

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ETUDES SUR L'ISLAM EN CÔTE D'IVOIRE. Paul Marty. 494 pp. Paris: Leroux. F. 30. 1922. *68.*

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†L'ÂME NOIRE. Louis Huot. *Mercure de France,* 1921 (Sept. 1), 299–351; (Oct. 1), 20–47; (Oct. 15), 372–405; (Nov. 15), 84–113. *72.*

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†RAPPORT DU BUREAU DU COMITÉ PERMANENT DU CONGRÈS COLONIAL NATIONAL SUR LA QUESTION DE L'ENSEIGNEMENT AU CONGO. *Congo,* 1922 (Jeuillet), 165–215. *73.*

†SYSTÈME DE CULTURE DES BANTU.—ESSAI DE CLASSIFICATION DES PRINCIPAUX SYSTÈMES DE CULTURE PRATIQUÉS EN AFRIQUE OCCIDENTALE. H. Vanderyst. *Congo,* 1922 (Jeuillet), 216–28; (Oct.), 329–48. *74.*

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A review is in preparation.

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A striking story effectively told.

THE LIFE OF JOHN TENGO JABAVU. D. D. T. Jabavu. Illus. 160 pp. South Africa, Lovedale: Book Department. 4s. 6d. 1922. *82.*

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A THOUSAND MILES FROM A POST OFFICE OR TWENTY YEARS' LIFE AND TRAVEL IN THE HUDSON'S BAY REGIONS. J. Lofthouse, D.D. Illus. Map. 183 pp. London: S.P.C.K. 6s. 1922. *86.*

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Useful as a background for missionary work.

Australasia and Oceania

ESSAYS ON THE DEPOPULATION OF MELANESIA. Edited by W. H. R. Rivers. Preface by Sir Everard Im Thurn. 116 pp. London: Cambridge University Press. 6s. 1922. *90.*

THE HILL TRIBES OF FIJI. A Record of Forty Years' Intimate Connection with the Tribes of the Mountainous Interior of Fiji, with a description of their Habits in War and Peace, Methods of Living, Characteristics, Mental and Physical, from the Days of Cannibalism to the Present Time. A. B. Brewster. 308 pp. London: Seeley, Service. 21s. 1922. *91.*

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PEARLS OF THE SOUTHERN SEAS. An illustrated Handbook of Life in Polynesia. V. A. Barradale. Illus. Maps. 95 pp. London: Livingstone Press. 1s. 1922. *93.*

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†HEIDENTUM, CHRISTENTUM, JUDENTUM IM URTEIL EINES ZIONISTEN. Devaranne. ZMR, 1922 (Sept.), 280–5; (Okt.), 298–303. *94.*

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General

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SUURI ASIA: Onko minunkin lähdettävä. Armas Holmio. 22 pp. Helsinki: Suomen Lähetysseura. M. 2. 1922. *97.*

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FIELDS IN 1921–22. Presented by Robert E. Speer and Russell Carter. Appendices. 694 pp. New York: Board of Foreign Missions of the Presbyterian Church in the U.S.A. 1922. *98.*

†DIE GEGENWÄRTIGE LAGE DER RHEINISCHEN MISSION. 2. NIEDERL. INDIEN. 3. CHINA. E. Warnholtz. EM, 1922 (Juli), 104–9. *99.*

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†MISSIONS AND THE SUPERNATURAL. J. H. Oldham. IRM, 1923 (Jan.), 59–71. *103.*

†MODERNE DENKER UND DICHTER ALS KRITIKER DER MISSION. M. Schlunk. EM, 1922 (Aug.), 122–7; (Sept.), 137–43. *104.*

†DIE BEDEUTUNG DER RELIGIONSPHILOSOPHISCHEN URTEILE HEGELS ÜBER OSTASIEN FÜR DIE ERFASSUNG DER MISSIONARISCHEN AUFGABE IN OSTASIEN. J. Witte. ZMR, 1922 (Aug.), 249–54. *105.*

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†THE PASSING OF PATERNALISM IN MISSIONS. Kenneth Saunders. *Journal of Religion*, 1922 (Sept.), 466–75. *107.*

VIII. Missionary Methods

Evangelistic

VÄCKELSER PÅ MISSIONSFÄLTEN. J. E. Lundahl. 80 S. Stockholm: Svenska Missionsförbundets Förlag. Kr. 1.25. 1922. *108.*

†THE UNREACHED IN THE COUNTRY AND THE GOSPEL MESSAGE: The Need and Condition of the Unreached. C. M. Warren. How to take the Message to the Unreached in the Country. Christopher Noss. JE, 1922 (Sept.), 250–63. *109.*

†A NEW APPROACH TO THE MOSLEM STUDENT. (The Alliance of Honour in Egypt.) S. A. Morrison. MW, 1922 (Oct.), 373–85. *110.*

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Christian Education

China

†THE NEW THOUGHT AND THE NEW LITERARY MOVEMENTS IN RELATION TO CHRISTIAN EDUCATION. F. L. Hawks Pott. *Educational Review* (*China*), 1922 (July), 237–45. *111.*

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India

ASPECTS OF INDIAN EDUCATIONAL POLICY. W. Meston. vi+179 pp. Madras and London: C.L.S. R. 1.8. 2s. 1922. *112.*
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A HISTORY OF TRINITY COLLEGE, KANDY. Valesca L. O. Reimann. Illus. xiii+214 pp. Madras: Diocesan Press. 1922. *113.*
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Mohammedan Lands

See *58* (Moslems, Syria); *98* (Report, R. E. Speer).

Africa

EDUCATION IN AFRICA. Being the Report of the Phelps-Stokes Education Commission in South Africa. New York: Phelps-Stokes Fund. $2. 1922. *113a.*
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General

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General

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IX. The Church in the Mission Field

†The Case for the Severance of Church and State in India. J. E. C. Welldon. CMR, 1922 (Sept.), 197–203. *119.*

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†Christliche Hüttenweihe der Wadschagga in der Landschaft Moschi am Kilimandjaro. AMZ, 1922 (Okt.), 311–9. *123.*

†Das Herauswachsen christlicher Sitte aus dem Volksboden der Wadschagga. AMZ, 1922 (Okt.), 300–11. *124.*

See also *22* (Omi Mission); *23–4* (Japan); *32–4* (Conferences); *29a*, *35* (China); *61* (Assyrian Church); *70* (Gabun); *71* (African Women); *77* (Congo Conference); *84* (Zambezi); *98* (Report, India and Persia); *107* (Paternalism); *108* (Revivals).

X. Comity, Co-operation and Unity

†Die Probe auf Lake Mohonk. F. Würz. EMM, 1922 (Sept.), 259–61. *125.*

See also *23–4* (Japan); *32–4* (China); *77* (Congo).

XI. Christianity and the Non-Christian Religions

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Ames primitives. Contribution à l'étude du sentiment religieux chez les paiëns animistes. Th. Burnier. 96 pp. Paris: Société des Missions Evangéliques. F. 2.50. 1922. *126.*

†Zwei Legenden der Menangkabau-Malaien im Dialekt von Pejakoemboch. O. Idris und W. Aichela. *Zeitschrift für Eingeborenen Sprachen*, 1922 (Sept.), 275–91. *127.*

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See also *40* (Malaya); *41* (Borneo); *53* (Lhota Nagas); *72* (Central African); *79* (West Africa); *91* (Fiji).

Religions of Japan and Korea

Transactions of the Asiatic Society of Japan. The Political Philosophy of Modern Shintō. A Study of the State Religion of Japan. D. C. Holtom, Ph.D. Vol. XLIX. Part II. Appendix. 325 pp. London: Kegan Paul. 15s. Yokohama: Kelly & Walsh. Tokyo: Z. P. Maruya. ¥ 5. 1922. *129.*

A study of modern Shintō in its relation to the state and as interpreted by present-day Japanese writers. There is a bibliography at the end containing writings on Shintō in European languages and a list of works of reference on the same subject in Japanese.

See also *21* (Modern Situation); *28* (Fiction).

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Myths and Legends of China. E. T. C. Werner. Illus. 454 pp. London: Harrap. 25s. 1922. *130.*

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†A Study of the Religious Beliefs and Practices of the Common People of China. Albert George Parker. CR, 1922 (Aug.), 503–12; (Sept.) 575–85. *132.*

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The Spirit of Islam. A History of the Evolution and Ideals of Islâm. With a Life of the Prophet. Ameer Ali Syed, P.C. lxxi+515 pp. London: Christophers. 30s. 1922. *135.*

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†The Resurrection and the Judgement in the Koran. Dalton Galloway. MW, 1922 (Oct.), 348–72. *137.*

†Aus der religiösen Reformbewegung in der Türkei. I. Islamisierung. Mehmed Sa'id Halim Pascha. II. Abdüllhaqq Hâmid's Gedicht 'Eine Predigt an einen Prediger.' ZMR, 1922 (Aug.), 225–49; (Sept.), 257–79. *138.*

Secret Sects of Syria and the Lebanon: A Consideration of their Origin, Creeds, and Religious Ceremonies and their Connexion with and Influence upon Modern Free-Masonry. Bernard H. Springett. 351 pp. London: Allen & Unwin. 12s. 6d. 1922. *139.*

†Javanische Mystik. Gottfried Simon. AMZ, 1922 (Okt.), 293–300. *140.*

See also *2* (Africa); *45* (Khalifate); *57* (Ten Years' Survey); *58* (Moslem Education,

Syria); *59* (Bibliography, Syria); *68* (West Africa); *98* (R. E. Speer's Report).

Buddhism

SIKSHA-SAMUCCAYA: A Compendium of Buddhist Doctrine. Compiled by Santideva. Translated by Cecil Bendall and W. H. D. Rouse, D.Litt. 328 pp. London: Murray. 21s. 1922. *141.*

A translation of a valuable compilation of texts belonging to the Madhyamika School of Mahayana Buddhism. The translation is well done, but there is no introduction, and there are many inaccuracies in transliteration.

BUDDHISM IN THE MODERN WORLD. K. J. Saunders. Appendix. x+83 pp. London: S.P.C.K. 3s. 1922. *142.*

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Judaism

JESHU NA-NOTZRI, Jesus the Nazarene, His Time, Life, and Teaching. Joseph Klausner. 468 pp. Jerusalem: Steibel. 18s. 6d. 1922. *144.*

Written in very modern Hebrew. An exhaustive study by a learned Jew, who is however better acquainted with rationalistic Christian writers than with orthodox.

ANSWERS TO A JEWISH ENQUIRER. Theodore Ratisbonne. Translated from the French. 48 pp. London: Catholic Truth Society. 6d. 1920. *145.*

An able presentment of Christianity from the Romanist standpoint by the elder of the two famous brothers, the Fathers Ratisbonne, who were converted from a lax Judaism to ultramontanism.

THE BROTHERS RATISBONNE. 24 pp. THE CONVERSION OF ISIDORE GOSCHLER FROM JUDAISM. 12 pp. THE CONVERSION OF JULES LEWEL FROM JUDAISM. 16 pp. I AM A CATHOLIC BECAUSE I AM A JEW. 8 pp. London: Catholic Truth Society in connexion with the Catholic Guild for Israel. 2d. each. 1922. *146.*

General

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Contains addresses given at a Conference at Oxford in August 1922.

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†ROSARIES OF THE GREAT RELIGIONS. Cornelius H. Patton. *Asia*, 1922 (Oct.), 775–81, 828. *151.*

XII. Social and Political Relations of Missions

†ACTS AND PUBLIC DOCUMENTS BEARING ON THE WORK OF CHRISTIAN MISSIONS. IRM, 1923 (Jan.), 150–2. *152.*

†RELATIVE RACIAL CAPACITY. D. J. Fleming. IRM, 1923 (Jan.), 112–21. *152a.*

†CHRISTIANITY AND THE RACE PROBLEM. John S. Hoyland. *Young Men of India.* 1922 (Aug.), 422–44; (Sept.), 498–513. *153.*

†COLOURED RACES IN SOUTH AFRICA. C. C. Watts. EW, 1922 (Oct.), 327–37. *154.*

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A review is in preparation.

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The westward movement of American missionaries to China, and a study of their relation to other foreigners and to the Chinese.

†UIT DE JAVAANSCH-SOENDANEESCH-MALEISCHE PERS. MZW, 1922 (LXVI², ³), 173–81; 255–64. *157.*

†THE RELATION OF MISSIONS TO THE HISTORY OF INTELLECTUAL DEVELOPMENT. R. F. Merkel. IRM, 1923 (Jan.), 122–7. *158.*

See also *29a* (Present Tendencies); *45* (Khalifate); *48*, *63* (War and Missions); *57* (Survey, Moslem Lands); *98* (R. E. Speer's Report); *112* (Indian Education).

ABBREVIATION OF MAGAZINE TITLES

AMZ = *Allgemeine Missions-Zeitschrift*
CMR = *Church Missionary Review*
CR = *Chinese Recorder*
EM = *Die evangelischen Missionen*
EMM = *Evangelisches Missions-Magazin*
EW = *The East and The West*
HF = *Harvest Field*
IRM = *International Review of Missions*
JE = *Japan Evangelist*
JIR = *Journal of International Relations*
MRW = *Missionary Review of the World*
MW = *Moslem World*
MZW = *Mededeelingen Tijdschrift voor Zendingswetenschap*
NMT = *Nordisk Missions-Tidsskrift*
SMT = *Svensk Missionstidskrift*
ZM = *Zeitschrift für Missionswissenschaft*
ZMR = *Zeitschrift für Missionskunde und Religionswissenschaft*

When other magazines are referred to, the full title is given.

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THE
INTERNATIONAL
REVIEW OF MISSIONS

THE MISSIONARY QUESTION IN THE FRENCH COLONIES

By ELIE ALLÉGRET

French West and French Equatorial Africa are going through an extremely serious crisis ; a crisis social, political, economic, moral and religious.

The nineteenth century was a century of sanguinary wars for the whole of Africa which resulted in vast migrations of the people : it was a century of great slave-raiders who depopulated whole districts, and of great adventurers who founded powerful empires, such as Adama, Amadu, Samori and many others, on rivers of blood. The end of the century witnessed the fall of the great Sudanese empires, to wit those of the Songhai, the Fula and the empire of Bornu.

Since the beginning of the century the Moslems had renewed their advance, partly by conquest, and partly by slow commercial and religious infiltration. Towards 1875 the animist tribes of the Upper Songhai were still fighting against the Islamic invasion, while the first Hausa merchants were penetrating by successive stages to the coast towns. On the other hand numerous Bantu peoples were seeking a

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settled habitat and came into conflict with those already in possession.

Everything was in a state of bubble and ferment in this Africa which it was the fashion to represent as a sleeping continent where the Negroes spent days of perpetual peace and monotony. It was then that the great period of colonial conquest began. The arrival of our troops brought veritable liberation to many of the tribes; peace and order were established, roads were constructed and unsuspected avenues of commerce opened up.

But this was not achieved without imposing a fresh scourge upon these unhappy people: the contact with our civilization was at the outset a powerful factor in the demoralization of all the coast tribes. I will not even mention alcohol—that shameful chapter in the history of colonial exploitation which made so many victims, happily belongs now chiefly to the past. Officially alcohol is everywhere combated; there is only need for vigilance—in Africa as at home—to make sure that laws designed to protect the native are universally enforced. By the opening up of roads and owing to better communications, new epidemics spread to the interior devastating whole regions—tuberculosis, cerebral meningitis, typhoid fever and influenza; porterage, the heavy labour on roads and railways, the exactions of the native troops, all contributed to depopulation, the extent of which has become positively appalling—whole districts are almost deserted.

The Present Crisis in Africa

The Social Crisis. Nevertheless there was a period of great material prosperity which deceived superficial observers. But the war broke out. Ideas are like light seeds carried a great distance by the wind; the whole of Africa was sown with them. News spread rapidly from tribe to tribe, and the roar of the guns was heard everywhere. Even in remote villages of the interior the Natives

asked me for news of the ' Great War ' of the whites. They felt the wind of the tornado sweep over them ; they were caught up in its train without understanding the profound causes of its onrush. Something like a consciousness of the solidarity of the human race vibrated through them, but at the same time they were astonished, scandalized, frightened. Something also was shattered—the prestige of the white man and their confidence in him. At the same time the consciousness of race, of nationality and of the rights of man was becoming everywhere more or less acute.

The minds of the people were perturbed, intoxicated, unbalanced by the return of thousands of troops, who for the most part came back with feelings other than those of respect for the European and the white woman ; by the pan-African propaganda introduced from America and the English colonies by the communist and Bolshevist tracts with which certain parts of the coast were inundated, without the necessary counterpoise of moral training or of the training of conscience ; by the influence of a spirit which was sometimes democratic to excess. Masonic lodges were founded in Senegal, in the Congo, in Guinea and in some of the English colonies also. On the material side, the famine, which was in many places endemic, added to the general feeling of dumb discontent and of profound disturbance. It was a situation analogous to that of the Russians, led away at first by dreamers and unscrupulous schemers and then terrorized by them.

From the social point of view everything in Africa is disintegrated, the old framework of the family and of the tribe hardly exists any longer ; all the old organization has crumbled. ' The native family life is weakened. In its enfeebled state, the ancestor, its head, is bereft of authority, and in future native political authority will destroy that of the family. The emancipated natives constitute themselves into unorganized groups which are not co-ordinated nor sustained by any tradition of race, nor by recognized

custom, nor by any discipline, and to which only the force of our occupation can lend an appearance of order.' [1]

The Economic Crisis. From the economic point of view the crisis through which we have been passing has had its violent repercussion in Africa. European goods are extremely dear, and there is little sale for native products, so that the Native loses both interest in and taste for his work. Moreover the plantations of carefully cultivated palms and of rubber in other countries—in Dutch territory for example—threaten the two principal exports of French West and Equatorial Africa,—palm oil and rubber. Little planting has been done, natural resources have been exploited, but the time is coming when it will no longer be possible to compete with products of superior quality unless new methods are adopted.

The Moral Crisis. From the moral point of view the situation is still worse. A new spirit of acquisitiveness has been awakened, new vices have replaced, or have been superimposed upon the old. By civilizing the natives we have increased their power to take action, and have put new weapons into their hands without having trained their reason or their conscience. We have, so to speak, increased ten-fold the power and the speed of the locomotive without repairing the line along which it is to run.

The greater the power to take action, the greater is the danger, the more formidable the possibility of disaster. The black race is in danger, physically and morally; its normal and progressive development is threatened. I do not know whether the black race is younger than ours; in any case even if it be a different and a backward race, it is not true to say that it is an *inferior* one. Here is some testimony from men well-acquainted with the Negro.

> Everywhere where the African farmer has had guidance and has been encouraged to work for himself, the results have astonished even those who were most confident in the ability and skill of the African. (*West Africa.*)

[1] *Le Matin* (of Antwerp), April 8, 1922.

General Mangin on several occasions has expressed the same opinion :

The African is quite capable of standing on his own feet. The steamers and trains are manned by natives who have been trained with remarkable rapidity. All our telegraph stations are in the hands of natives. The Negro is probably as competent as the white man to handle the scientific instruments of civilization. . . . I do not deny that he still has to be educated. What I do maintain is that he has qualities of head and heart which ought not to be treated as negligible. He is by nature good and faithful and endowed with a sense of honour, and if he is really given the chance, he will reach a high level. There is an *élite* in the black world capable of excelling in all regions of human intelligence. On the other hand I do not in the least believe that, if the black race is raised above its present position, there is any chance of its entering into conflict with the white race. It will take its place in the human family and will develop side by side and simultaneously with us.

General Sir F. G. Guggisberg, Governor of the Gold Coast, says :

If we provided natives with the means of getting a really first rate education, would they be capable of taking their place alongside Europeans ? I emphatically reply : 'Yes, certainly.' The reason of my affirmation is that many Africans have already attained to this, and that by their own efforts. The reason why there are not more Africans in higher-grade government posts is that the Government has not offered adequate salaries to those Africans who have spent large sums of money on a European education. Those who could not seek the requisite training in Europe have not been able to obtain the necessary education on the Gold Coast.

The day will come when the black race will have developed to such an extent that an irresistible movement will push the *élite* towards the higher ranges of education. It will be impelled by an instinctive thirst for knowledge and also by a desire to share in the direction of the social and political life of the masses.[1]

The Religious Crisis. The crisis is also, above all, if one looks into the root of the matter, a religious one. There is nothing else to give life direction, nothing else on which to lean. There are, to mention only the French colonies, twenty million souls stirred out of themselves, reaching out toward a higher life, a life upon which their race has a claim, all of them looking for a leader and a way.

[1] *Report of the Belgian Colonial Congress*, July 1922.

Alternatives to Christianity. Everywhere there have been attempts to return to the ancient paganism. Secret societies have sprung up again with their bloodthirsty rites. But the confidence in the old fetishes cannot be restored.

Islam appeared on the scene, and there was a moment when we thought that it would quickly conquer all these peoples. That was a mistake; it undoubtedly meets certain religious and political needs; it brings intellectual knowledge of a monotheistic God; it forms a framework and a social organization which are well adapted to tribal life, linking it up at the same time to a great brotherhood; it might lend a certain cohesion to any race movement hostile to Europeans; but it introduces no real progress, no industry, no sort of social development; the position of women, for instance, is inferior even among converts to Islam to what it is among the heathen. It is true that, as Mgr Le Roy says, 'Islam goes one step in front of the barbarism of the animist, but it is the first step and the last. . . . The black remains in a state of moral arrest.'

Without a doubt Islam will in future be the most redoubtable adversary of Christian missions, and also of the colonial Powers. But so far its progress has been slow and purely superficial.[1] The people have suffered so keenly from the slave trade and from the brutal conquests of the last century that they hesitate to surrender themselves to Islam; in many of the districts a free man will not turn Moslem, he would lose all his authority over the people of his tribe. The people would rather, like certain tribes south of the Tchad, leave the country and go into the forest.

I do not mean to say that Islam is not a danger. In spite of everything it is gaining ground, and it will certainly be in the Sudan that one of the most desperate battles between Christianity and Islam will be fought. The duty of

[1] The Ngaundere district in the Cameroons, for example, which is spoken of as islamized, has 120,000 inhabitants. The Fula number scarcely a tenth of the total population, the rest being animists.

evangelical missions is to strengthen and develop a whole network of stations in the heart of the heathen tribes so as to win them before Islam does so.

The more one sees at close quarters of people recently converted to Islam, the more obvious is it how incapable Islam is of saving them. It has added a terrible load of new suffering to the crushing burden of misery which already overwhelmed them. Our administrators are aware that Islam will never draw the animist tribes towards us; on the contrary it will separate them from us. It is in no way in the interests of France to make Africa entirely Moslem. The peril of Islam remains a fact, but it is not yet too late.

A Review of French Colonial Policy

Colonial Policy. The best—I had almost said, the majority—of our governors and administrators have grasped the gravity of the situation and the point of view of our colonial policy has changed considerably. From this angle it is very interesting to re-read the speeches of colonial ministers and the ordinances and circulars of the governors. Every effort is made to maintain and to strengthen ethnic groupings, respect is inculcated for all customs which are not contrary to our laws, an attempt is made to restore the authority of the chiefs, in short, a *policy of association* is aimed at. M. Sarraut writes :

> French colonial policy regards those under its protection, whatever the colour of their skin, however backward their evolution, as *human beings* and not as a nameless and servile mob; as souls, and not as a mass of atoms or sponges to be squeezed for fiscal purposes. We do not oppress, we liberate; we do not exhaust resources, we promote productivity; we do not exploit, we share. With the malleable clay of primitive multitudes France is modelling the features of a new humanity.[1]

Some months ago the Minister, presiding at the opening of term at the Colonial School, exhorted the students to

[1] Albert Sarraut: *La Mise en valeur des Colonies françaises*, April 12, 1921.

become a picked body, distinguished certainly for knowledge but still more by a sense of responsibility : he described the colonial career as ' an apostolate for one's country . . . which brings hope and joy in measure as it suffers travail and pain.' [1]

The formula which would express what is noblest and most idealistic in this policy would be this : to make known the ' Declaration des Droits de l'Homme ' as interpreted by St Vincent de Paul.

I am too old a colonial to have much faith left in speeches and formulæ, especially when this policy has to be applied by men, some of whom have less idealism, less sense of responsibility, less morality than before the war, but at least one must admit that if all these counsels, these formulæ, these instructions are repeated in all official documents and inspire all the proclamations of our governors, it is because they answer to the need of a new situation. Such an attitude in colonial policy greatly facilitates collaboration between missions and governments.

Further, this policy is in a sense one of the fruits of the war, which has laid upon civilized states an imperative obligation to apply to colonial questions moral principles which are in accord with the idea of justice for which so much blood was shed. Such principles will have to be applied in the mandated colonies under the control of the League of Nations, and therein lies, according to a statement of the Minister himself, ' the first indication of a future state of affairs by which, in the growing solidarity of human life throughout the universe, the administration of colonizing nations is submitted to the vigilant scrutiny of other countries.' [2]

Finally I am convinced that this policy is the only possible one if we want our colonial possessions to be a strength to us and not a drag upon us ; I go further and maintain that without it we could not retain them at all. The Natives are no longer what they were. The spread of

[1] *Depêche Coloniale,* November 4, 1922. [2] *Ibid.*

education has developed a critical spirit in them; they observe us, they judge our actions; always sensitive on the point of justice they have become more so where relations between Europeans and Africans are concerned. It will be remembered that certain of them, on the banks of the Niger and in South Africa, have already begun to make use of labour strikes.[1]

There are a whole mass of symptoms which make it impossible for the seasoned colonial to shut his ears to the mute but often undeniable claims of the black race.

M. Frank, the Belgian Minister for the Colonies, used to define colonial policy in these terms:

> We shall only govern primitive peoples properly if, instead of imposing our conceptions and our ideas, we take the trouble to study and understand their traditions, their customs, their institutions, their language, which are all roads to their hearts and to their minds. All pride of race is ridiculous. Any attempt to bring about a rapid assimilation between blacks and Europeans without any period of transition would only create a degenerate, discontented and revolutionary populace. The type of civilization which belongs to any people must be in every respect its own type; if it should happen to be an inferior type, it must be helped to evolve, but along its own particular lines in accordance with its environment, not so as to stimulate sterile imitation but to bring about a gradual and living transformation. Do not let us make bad copies of Europeans, but better Africans.

The Report of the Belgian Colonial Congress ends with this sentence, which is an echo of the speeches of our own Colonial Minister:

> Let us have faith and love; faith in the potential perfection of the black race; sincere and disinterested love for the disinherited races of the world. And all the rest will be added unto us.

Was I not right when I said that there has been a change in the colonial atmosphere—a change which increases our responsibility as Christians? Yes, it is still possible to save

[1] During the last two or three years there have been several small strikes at different places on the coast, especially at Dakar. Bamako has even manifested jealousy towards Dakar. There was a strike of the chauffeurs of public automobiles and of the municipal workmen. It was neither long nor serious; it was a mere danger signal, as we should call it at home, on the part of the native proletariat towards the colonial middle classes who were deprived of water for a few hours. But it was a signal, perhaps, of something more to come.

the black race; for them too may it be said: 'The day is at hand, the dawn is breaking.'

Let us not fail to note that this new policy is fundamentally inspired by Christianity. I do not say that it is actually due to the labours of missions—that would be, alas, to a great extent untrue—but it is a fact that the duty of justice and fellowship is exactly what missions always preach.

It is therefore not surprising that, in spite of all opposition from the right or the left, the Government leans more and more towards collaboration with the missions. A request often made before has been repeated to me in one way or another with growing insistence: 'Give us your aid. This is the moment when all men of goodwill must come together to mould the France of to-morrow. We need a picked race, and you alone can really give them that moral education without which we run the risk of producing only failures.' To this I have always replied that French Protestantism has never withheld its collaboration, but has always given it and will continue to give it to the utmost of its power.

It is obvious that in proportion as the administration shapes its policy towards the development of the native, towards the realization of 'human capital,' the rôle of missions will increase in importance.

Nevertheless, while recognizing what has been accomplished by our colonial administration in the last few years—I should like to tell you for instance about the admirable School of Medicine at Dakar under the supervision of a true apostle—it is evident that, at any rate from the moral point of view, education, medical assistance and the development of means of communication, commerce or industry are all insufficient.

Pan-Africanism *v.* The Gospel

Pan-Africanism. The natives themselves were vaguely conscious of this; then it was that pan-Africanism came

on the scene. 'No one can save us; it is for us to organize ourselves; this is our home, this thing concerns our country and our race. Let us listen no longer to the whites; God is the God of the black man as well as of the white. They want to introduce their laws and their customs with the Gospel. What we want is Africa for the Africans and an African Church.' And they dream of a sort of combined Church and State which shall be half Christian and half pagan and in which they will feel at home. They long for independence. Their evolution has been as rapid as it has been unforeseen.

Pan-Africanism naturally gains its recruits among those who have had a certain amount of education and especially among those who have come under missionary influence, whether it be Protestant or, in spite of what may have been said, Roman Catholic. Those who find the discipline of the Church irksome are easily won: 'Did not the patriarchs have several wives? Why then condemn polygamy? And do not the miracles of Moses in the wilderness prove that there is some truth in the powers of witchcraft?'

An English traveller who has recently visited all the important centres in Africa has furnished some interesting details about the development of pan-African propaganda. He speaks of secret societies including Christians, pagans and Moslems, and, for the first time, women as well as men. He adds:

> The focusing point of all this is race consciousness, which is growing and is nourished by the skilful propaganda of an extremist group of American Negroes. Letters from Egyptian or Indian nationalist centres and from pan-African societies in the United States are translated into five of the principal dialects and distributed throughout Africa in large quantities. Pamphlets of from twenty-five to thirty pages demonstrate with passion that the moment has come for the black race to assert itself and to shake off the white man's yoke. These appeals do not meet with sympathy in all quarters, but they nevertheless create a certain uneasiness which is quickly detected.

But ere long in the very heart of the movement schisms are formed; the agitators are incapable of honest adminis-

tration of the funds which they collect and they cannot retain their influence except by exciting hatred against everything European. These are tactics employed by all agitators—not only in Africa.

Dangerous to the race, dangerous to the young Christian Churches, dangerous to civilization as a whole, pan-Africanism may compromise the future of negro Christianity and the normal evolution of the race. Those souls who are longing for life soon become conscious that it is not by pan-Africanism that Africa will be saved.

The Gospel. What is needed to liberate and elevate these people is regenerated men, the focus and the bearers of a new life. *It has become evident with startling clearness, that the hour has struck when it is imperatively necessary that at all costs the Gospel should at last be brought to this part of Africa.*

Only the Gospel can save Africa from anarchy or from Islam—from anarchy because the Gospel is the one and only force which imposes an interior discipline, and from Islam because it is an indisputable fact that once the Gospel has taken root Islam makes no more progress. An administrator, G. Joseph, writes of the Ivory Coast: 'Islam in spite of its interest and of its being so entirely within the range of native mentality, makes no progress; it is even diminishing in some regions.' And Mr Basden of Nigeria has stated that while between 1906 and 1916 the number of Christians among the Ibo tribes rose from 2452 to 20,663, Islam had not made a single convert among those tribes. This is true in all places where there are living Christian Churches.

The Gospel alone! I have been struck by the way all thoughtful colonials have grasped this fact. I found it clearly expressed in the Report of the Belgian Colonial Congress already quoted:

> Hand in hand with the raising of the material and intellectual standards of the Negro must go a corresponding raising of the standard of morals, otherwise we run the risk of crude, unregulated work which will not stand the test

of time. This is not the least laborious nor the least delicate part of our task, for it is a question of raising the soul of the Negro from the depths where it has been in captivity for centuries and of leading it to the heights to breathe a life-giving air. To speak more plainly it is a question of inculcating in him a new code of morals. . . . Moral improvement ought therefore to be one of the main concerns of those who educate the black races. But ought moral education, if it is to be fully and truly efficacious, to rest on a religious foundation? The question, which is indeed a fundamental one, has been examined with great care by the Bureau. In order to answer it the problem must be seen in relation to the African and not to the Belgian, and the facts together with the end to be attained must be faced with an open mind.

Men of affairs, whatever school of philosophy they belong to, may be said to be unanimous in their recognition that we shall not succeed in the moral transformation of the Negro except by giving him solid religious convictions. . . . The Christian religion is the religion which must serve as the basis of the black man's moral education. . . . Our conclusions should be clearly stated. They are these: provided liberty is guaranteed to everybody official instruction should be Christian in character.

Religious Unrest

The night is darkest and coldest just before the dawn; it is often when the situation seems impossible, almost desperate, that the power of God is manifested.

An Awakening. In the wilderness and in the night—in the midst of a Gold Coast tribe a prophet suddenly appeared with a mission to preach repentance and hope. Fetish worshippers burnt their idols at his command and from all sides there rose up churches too small to hold all those who wished to be converted, the souls who were hungering and thirsting after truth. The ancient customs, idol worship, bloodthirsty sacrifices, were abolished; all wanted to become Christian and demanded missionaries and teachers. The prophet Harris preached faith in the God of Jesus Christ, the destruction of fetishes, the gospel of work, obedience to the authorities and the punishment of adultery, but he permitted polygamy. In a few years his success was immense and he exercised a powerful influence over from 100,000 to 120,000 persons.

Not only the Coast missionaries, in despair at being

unable to respond to these appeals, but also Roman Catholics and the Administration have testified to this mass movement towards Christianity. An Administrator wrote :

A religious event, almost incredible in character, has upset all preconceived ideas of society among primitive coast natives and together with our occupation of the country, and indeed as a result of that occupation, will prove to be the most important political and social event, past, present, or future, in ten centuries of history on the Ivory Coast. It is moreover probable that this phenomenon will have its repercussion in the near future in the forest belt.

At the beginning of 1914 a native of Liberia called William Wade Harris appeared in several of the coast towns in succession, and, describing himself as a prophet, insisted on the destruction of fetishes, introduced the people to a sort of primitive Christianity and gained great renown among the coastal tribes.

He passed from the English Gold Coast into our colony of the Ivory Coast. The Government did not interfere with him at first, but soon was perturbed at the army of teachers pouring in from the Gold Coast and threatening to anglicize our colony ; Harris was asked to go back across the frontier.

Harris with unfailing dignity departed, his pilgrim's staff in his hand, towards Cape Palmas, where he is still to be found.

No less a result has followed than the steady advance of the tribes of the Coast and of the lagoons towards the various Christian denominations : Roman Catholics, Anglicans, Baptists, Wesleyans and a purely 'Harris' sect. Whatever has been said to the contrary the religious transformation of these people has been genuine and lasting. The Roman Catholic mission, for instance, announces that the annual number of baptisms has risen from 80 before the war to 600 or 700 during hostilities, in spite of a reduction of two-thirds of its staff; they assert that the conversion of the catechumens won by Harris is quite real and withstands all difficulties and testing. Churches and chapels are springing up as if by magic on the Coast, built by the faithful themselves, and on all sides the demand is for priests and pastors.

It is worth while to draw attention to this great religious awakening, as well as to the complete failure of Islam in such an important religious movement in which it might have been expected to take part. However that may be, it may be boldly affirmed that in two generations at the latest, the Coast District and the lagoons of the Ivory Coast will be Christian. The only followers of the prophet to be seen will be immigrant Moslems.[1]

Yet this movement, though it may be the most important, is not the only one. At Oueme in the heart of Dahomey

[1] *Etudes sur l'Islam en Côte d'Ivoire.* Paul Marty.

a group of natives came to the Administrator and asked him to have a missionary sent to them. The Ossidinge district in British Cameroons has also been deeply stirred. Village after village was converted, the preachers being five or six catechumens who had never been baptized. The British Governor said to me : ' You simply must go over there ; the country is transformed. I had heard people speak of mass movements towards Christianity, but I remained sceptical. These people must have the religious instruction for which they are asking.'

One finds moreover among the forest folk in the Bassa region and in the Yaunde district in Congo an ardent longing to know God. What is to become of them ?

The Danger : A Religion without Morals. A great danger threatens these masses who have had this glimpse of the light of the Gospel : it is that conversion should not be accompanied by a reform that is profoundly moral and social in character and that they should throw themselves into the clutches of Ethiopianism or of that pan-Africanism of which I spoke just now. How easy it would be to gather them in by saying to them : ' You see that you can expect nothing from Europeans—they are incapable of coming to your help.' And this marvellous awakening would result in the constitution of a politico-religious church which would be only Christian in name and by virtue of a vague creed. Events in the Congo are painfully instructive from this point of view.[1]

The Silence of the Church. Is not the situation tragic ? These tens of thousands of human beings crying out : ' We have burned our idols and our fetishes ; we want to serve the living God ; send men to teach us.' They have heard the call of Jesus Christ and they are stretching out their hands towards His Church. Up till now she has remained almost entirely silent. Is not this impulse towards divine things the response of these souls to the mysterious call of Christ ?

[1] See IRM, April 1922. ' The Prophet Movement in Congo.'

How can we, on our side, respond ? For it is we in the French Colonies who as yet have done hardly anything for these masses who have been stirred by the Spirit of God.

What is to be done ? We must pray that an army of young workers be raised up in our Churches who will respond to God's call. We count on the young people which our Faculties of Theology in France and Switzerland, our Student Christian Movement and other Christian societies will give to Africa. We are convinced that means of support will follow.

At the same time we ought to make better use of the forces at our disposal, thoroughly training the missionaries who have this wonderful and formidable task of directing the evolution of a race, giving them everything which could multiply their labours, such as printing presses, rapid means of transport, etc., and working intensively at producing a native religious leadership with which we can more and more collaborate. Africa will be conquered by well-equipped native workers. We must increase the number of training centres from which catechists, teachers, evangelists and pastors may be sent out.[1]

Co-ordination of Evangelistic Forces

Concentration and Co-ordination. But even that action on the part of France will not be enough, for the task is immense, and time presses. What is really needed is a concentration, a co-ordination of all evangelistic forces, a collaboration between all missionary societies in order to meet the urgent need of these millions of people. Here we trench upon a very delicate question. It will require courage to put highest interests first—those of the people for whom we are trustees—without allowing ourselves to

[1] The Roman Catholic Church has realized the gravity of the situation and especially since the war has made appreciable efforts to meet it. Three large organizations work in the various colonies of French West Africa: Les Missions Africaines de Lyon, established in the Ivory Coast (1895), in Dahomey (1882), in Togo (1920) ; Les Pères Blancs, in the Sudan (1894) ; Les Pères du Saint-Esprit, established in Senegal (1842), in French Guinea (1897), in Cameroon (1918), in Gaboon (1890).

be deterred by objections based on a narrow-minded nationalism, and with the certainty that by collaborating with English, Americans, Swedes, Norwegians and others in the moral development of the Natives in our colonies we shall be entirely faithful to the great traditions of France in seeking the brotherhood of nations.

That a collaboration of this kind would be both desirable and beneficial is evident, even from a political point of view. For instance we have seen in the Cameroons what valuable services the American Presbyterian Mission has rendered in medical, social and also in educational matters. Their hospitals and doctors, their splendid industrial establishments, the thousands of pupils who are taught in their schools, are a valuable and much appreciated aid in the work of civilization which a young and energetic governor is carrying out in those parts. Does not such a contribution of material and moral forces offered in an absolutely disinterested spirit bring a real accession of strength and of riches to a colony ?

Unjustified Suspicions. Other societies, both English and American, have started a similar work in some of our colonies. But they have met with considerable difficulties, sometimes insurmountable ones. They have been at once accused of being the agents of their government. Whether in the Congo, the Ivory Coast or in Guinea, the argument has always been the same. Mgr Augouard, Bishop of Brazzaville, wrote :

> The great number of foreign pastors, both English and American, who overrun our French possessions scattering quantities of dollars and shillings constitute a serious danger. Have they only religious ends in view ? [1]

Here also is what Governor Delafosse, a man for the most part well-informed, broadminded and friendly to the Natives, writes in the *Bulletin de l'Afrique française* :

> From all sides we hear of the sudden arrival of numerous American missionaries of both sexes, some white and some black, belonging to the most

[1] *Liberté du Sud-Ouest*, August 26, 1921.

diverse sects, penetrating into French, Belgian and British colonies and into the old German possessions. They come on the alleged pretext of evangelizing the heathen, but they approach Natives who are already Christians as well as others, and by their organization, the money at their disposal, the pains they take to study the resources of the country and the efforts they make to establish schools for farming and industrial training centres, give reason to fear that they are rather the heralds and the advance-guard of the capitalists of the New World who want to compete with European nations in their African dominions.[1]

To sum up, and without wishing to speak too frankly, some find foreign missionaries undesirable because they are foreigners, others because they are Protestants, and others again because they are both foreigners and Protestants.

Protestant Missions and Colonial Policy. This question of Protestant missions is really one of the most delicate in our colonial policy. In the first place for a multiplicity of reasons we are not much liked in a general way. The policy of our Government does not profess to be clerical but the sympathies of individuals too often tend that way. Further, in proportion as our colonial policy has evolved towards one of collaboration with the Native (and we have always fought for this) and has aimed at winning his allegiance by respecting his customs, missionary work might seem to a superficial observer to be in opposition to this principle. Its apparent end might appear to be the upsetting of secular native traditions in order to lead the people to accept the distinctive beliefs of Europeans, which would anyhow be far beyond their grasp. It would need only one short step beyond this attitude to regard missionaries and their native fellow-workers as sources of trouble.

It must be owned that Christians are more difficult to govern, that they are more 'reasoning' than others, and this increases the more their personality is developed. But if we do not want a nameless and servile mob, if we want

[1] When the missionaries contented themselves with preaching the Gospel they were reproached for doing nothing 'practical.' When they preach the Gospel of work and address themselves to giving the Natives guidance in turning their country to good account they are accused of political designs.

souls, characters, consciences, we must accept the difficult task of giving an education which consists not in suppressing all outbursts but in guiding them into right channels.

In spite of everything, one is brought back to the fact that the aid of missions is necessary because all education requires a moral basis, and because missions can be of great use in the urgent matter of medical and school work. Missions are wanted, and yet at one and the same time they are feared.

Necessary Collaboration. If the situation is a difficult and delicate one for us, how much more so for foreign missionaries, English or American, who cannot help imprinting on their converts, sometimes even on their point of view and on their dress, something of their own temperament and habits.

I was pointing out one day to the Minister of the Colonies how very interesting it would be, in my opinion, from the general economic as well as from the moral point of view, to enlist more and more widely on behalf of our colonies this co-operation that is so indisputably loyal and disinterested. 'Yes, possibly,' he replied, 'but I should prefer them to be French people, or at any rate assisted by French people.'

It is certainly obvious that if French missionaries acted to a certain extent in the capacity of *liaison* officers, aiding foreign workers in educational work, for instance, and generally orientating them in the matter of official relations and of the general policy of collaboration with the Government, part at any rate of the difficulties encountered by missionaries who are not French would be done away. It would be a delicate task, possibly at times a thankless one, but it would be possible; we have already seen it accomplished in the Cameroons and elsewhere.

The task is so vast and so pressing, that—alike for governments and missions and for their mutual relations with one another—the future depends on the loyal and brotherly collaboration of all in the effort to realize the integral value of this splendid 'human capital' for which

we are trustees in the face of God and of the verdict of history. To do this it will be necessary for the foreign missionary societies to consent to co-operation, and for us French to be in a position to supply missionaries who are really capable of acting as *liaison* officers as well as part of the necessary staff for educational undertakings.

The foreign societies not only consent to this but are asking for it. In fact they see clearly that it is much easier for French people than for strangers to intervene when required in support of some measure which appears necessary for the Natives, without being suspected of political motives. 'Without you,' many of the missionary societies tell us, 'it is impossible to advance. Give us the French people we need to enable us to do work in your colonies.' Reinforcements—can the French Churches supply any more?

The Key to the Gates

The Call of Africa. The call of Africa, more poignant than ever, rings in our ears: the social, moral, religious chaos in which these people are involved, the bolshevism and the Islamism which threatens them, the cries of distress from these masses longing for conversion, the demands of our Government and of the foreign societies, are not these voices from all sides a challenge from God: 'Come over and help us'?

Some days ago I received a letter from an American missionary who had been sent out to look for a site for a new piece of work near Lake Chad. After describing how he found all doors open, he adds:

> What can be done? . . . First of all, yes, *and last.* . . . 'Pray ye the Lord of the Harvest that He thrust forth labourers.' . . . If the Church hears the call of the Shari-Chad, she will not, she cannot stand by while the followers of another enter in and possess the land.
>
> Now that this whole country (the Shari-Chad) has come under the French flag, the Protestant Church of France has a special responsibility towards its peoples. But what can she do seeing she has more work already than she can care for as she would like to? . . . She may not have the men or the means to send into the large unoccupied areas of her country's colonies, but

she does have a Key. Given the wisdom and grace of the Spirit she can open doors closed to her fellow-Christians. Once these doors are opened we firmly believe that the labourers and their hire will be forthcoming. . . . I came away from Duala looking at these problems in another light. . . . Our French brethren hold a key to these gates of brass and iron.

In order to save Africa, and especially the people in our colonies, in this present crisis, a combined effort is needed on the part of all missionary societies, of the Churches, and of Christianity as a whole. The others have resources and man-power, but we French have the key.

Conclusion. Our society set out, like Abraham, without knowing whither it was going, in obedience to God's command, when it started very humbly in Senegal, then in the Congo, and finally in the Cameroons. God has led it through all dangers; it has lacked nothing; and I still believe to-day, in spite of the formidable and terrifying disproportion which exists between our resources, our small numbers and our marvellous task, that God is not asking the impossible of us. It is this unalterable conviction that gives me the courage, it might almost be called the audacity, to speak of the needs of French Equatorial Africa and West Africa, although I realize so keenly with our South African and Madagascar missionaries how imperative it is that we should send them strong reinforcements.

We are not responsible for the circumstances, but we should be wrong to close our eyes or our ears. In entering upon a new era in our missionary history, is it not natural that we should contemplate the world, listen to the call of the multitudes and then ask God: 'What wilt Thou have me to do?' If He really means to lay fresh responsibilities upon us, may He give us the vision of Moses on Mount Horeb and say to us Himself: 'I have seen the affliction of my people, now go and deliver them.' May He speak so clearly to our Churches that they may rise, fortified by the joyous certainty that in humble and trembling obedience they will gain a fresh experience of the marvellous power of God, *Da quod jubes et jube quod vis.* E. Allégret

THE CHRISTIAN CHURCH AND RURAL LIFE IN CHINA

By KENYON L. BUTTERFIELD, LL.D.

China is dominantly, overwhelmingly rural. Out of a population estimated at 400,000,000, not over 12 per cent live in communities having a population of 10,000 or more. It is probably conservative to state that three-fourths of the population are farmers. While the United States has 30,000,000 farmers — men, women and children — China has ten times as many, 300,000,000. This stupendous fact of itself challenges the Christian Church. If there is to be a Christian occupation of China, obviously it cannot be confined to Peking and Shanghai and Canton, nor even to the smaller walled cities. It must reach, at least measurably, these great rural hosts.

It is a significant fact that in the village is found really the characteristic mode of life in China. Indeed, cities are in many ways but larger villages or groups of villages. Small shopkeepers, domestic or small-shop industries, the poultry under foot in the streets, the mingling of farmers with labour and transport coolies, the squealing pigs going to their doom on squeaking wheelbarrows, the nearness of the farm lands, the use of small patches of ground for growing vegetables, the sounds and the smells—all are typically Chinese, all are of the village and the farm village at that. The Chinese people are village people in their habits and in their thinking. Villages are often merely collections of families or may even consist of a single clan; in any event they are closely knit communities. Those who leave the villages for the cities keep their roots in the village, for there are their ancestral homes, their personal and family attachments, usually their desired places of burial.

At present the political stability of China is dependent to a large degree upon the villages. To the citizens of a western political group, the present situation in China seems an impossible one—a central government at once impotent, corrupt, bankrupt. Military chieftains have been in power, have maintained great armies, have taxed at will, and many of them have grown rich out of the spoils of power. The hope that out of this chaos may come strength and honesty and financial power for the government is based upon the fact of this great village population, each unit of it keeping up its life, preserving law and order, going on its way as it has gone for centuries. As a matter of fact China is now strong, unbelievably strong, at the base—and that base consists of these hosts of village folk.

The Chinese village, it must be said again, is essentially a farm village. It has its shopkeepers; a proportion of its population are transport coolies; but most of its people are farmers. Of course there are farmers in the walled towns and even in the cities; many artisans are also farmers and some farmers are artisans. But the agricultural industry is the main work of the people of China, and the agricultural population forms the great bulk of the Chinese people.

These villages, with their surrounding hamlets, are essentially social units, true local communities. The village government, the village temple, the village theatre, the village market days, are symbols of a social autonomy. The village indeed is the world to millions of Chinese. Its stabilizing influence upon Chinese civilization is unquestioned. Its contribution to Chinese conservatism and parochial thinking is equally patent. But the village as a social unit is, for good and for ill, perhaps the dominating social fact in China.

Just because these villages are natural units or communities, they have a peculiar appeal to the Christian Church. We are gradually learning in America at least that the real unit of civilization is the local community,

and this for all purposes. If civilization is to progress, there must be progress in all the elements of civilization in the overwhelming majority of communities into which people group themselves. The local community must be civilized before we can have a national civilization. So the local community must be Christianized if we are to have a Christian nation. It is estimated that there are not less than 100,000 and perhaps 125,000 villages in China, each with a population of from perhaps 500 to 2000 or 3000 souls. As a rule these villages are surrounded by hamlets, each containing from 2 or 3 families to possibly 50 or 100 families; there must be nearly a million of these hamlets. Each village with its satellite hamlets constitutes a potential parish for the Christian Church and, what is even more important, a potential unit of the kingdom of Heaven on earth. The village then is the key to the leadership of the Christian forces in China.

There are two lines of approach to any discussion of the significance of the Chinese village in the development of a Chinese Christian Church. One has to do with the desire to erect a strong Chinese Church; it views this whole matter from the standpoint of the Church as an institution. It is the point of view of those who cherish the Church for what it is, that is, for its peculiar and sacred character. The other point of view is equally valid and has to do with the problems that arise in connexion with the Christianizing of China. As a matter of fact these two views are not antagonistic, but supplementary. The one emphasizes the institution and the other is more concerned with the end or objective.

Building the Chinese Christian Church. If the Church in China be confined to the cities and towns it will not reach China. It will be partial, parochial, not universal. It is true in China as in other populous countries that the leadership lies largely in the cities. There also is the wealth. There are the dominant personalities. There are the educational institutions. There is the source of many move-

ments both for good and for ill in industry and in politics. But one cannot consider the facts already stated in the earlier part of this paper without becoming impressed at once with the necessity of planting the Church among the farmers. The statement has been made, although I cannot vouch completely for its accuracy, that the major number of Protestant Christian churches with a total membership of 400,000 will be found in the cities large and small, whereas the major number of the Roman Catholic churches having nearly four times as many communicants are largely in the villages. It should be said at once that many of the leaders of the Christian Church in China quite realize the importance of planting the Christian Church in the villages, but are unable to do it because of scanty resources, both of men and money. Mission funds are limited, and naturally are put chiefly into the centres. Local resources for the support of the church must come from the local people themselves in the main. At least we may say that no permanent church organization among this multitude of farm villages can be expected unless the people themselves can help sustain it.

If the Church is to go into rural China, it must be deeply concerned with the ability of the Chinese villages to support the Church. The economic and social power of the farmer is vital to the permanence of the village church. The Church therefore is interested immediately and keenly in making a more profitable agriculture for China. It is all but hopeless for the Chinese village people to support a village church on the present small margin of surplus. There are tens of thousands of farmers whose average income above their food which they grow is not over $3.00 a month. There are areas the size of all England where periodical flood or drought keeps the people constantly on the verge of starvation, or at least so near the edge that they can accumulate no surplus whatever. It is true that in spite of these difficulties churches may be established and with great sacrifices maintained, but again let it be asserted

that it is quite idle to suppose that a strong Christian Church can flourish in rural China except on the basis of an increasingly profitable agriculture. This more profitable agriculture cannot come as the result of chance merely; it must be planned for, educated for, agitated for, organized for. It will take the best brains obtainable to furnish leadership for improvement.

It is already evident that a very large proportion of the Chinese Christian workers even now come from the villages rather than from the cities. This again indicates the interest of the Church in the farming village. It shows that even with the present meagre equipment of Christian service in the farm villages of China these villages are furnishing far more than their share of potential leadership. How important then to cultivate this source of future Christian leadership, how necessary to make the rural fields essentially Christian in their institutions and influence.

The Chinese admire work or theories that can be made practically helpful, that bring results. So they want a Christianity that 'works.' They are not interested in dogmas, they care nothing for doctrines, they are not impressed by the various claims and strifes of denominations and sects. They want a working religion. They have a reasonably good system of ethics handed down from Confucius, they have a philosophy of their own hammered out of ages of experience and expressed in abundant literature which has come down from thousands of scholars. Christianity, to be effective, must be vital and personal and helpful, and tremendously alive and useful. Over and over again Chinese public men reiterated to the members of the China Educational Commission the belief that the great work of Christian education in China was in the vocational field. Of course it is not necessary to accept this view in full to be convinced of the importance, just from the sheer standpoint of developing the Church, of interesting that Church in the practical concerns of the Chinese people. Agri-

culture, the great industry then, has a valid claim upon the attention of the Church if the Church wishes to erect itself into one of the great, moving, life-bringing institutions of China.

Christianizing China. The main task of the Christian Church is, of course, to make China Christian, to put the Christian spirit into politics, industry, social life. So with the rural people and with the rural work. Christian teaching must permeate the villages of China, reach the very roots of Chinese civilization. Christianity seeks to win individual souls to allegiance to Christ's person and teachings. But more and more the local group, the village, the true community, will be approached with the campaign for Christian living. The people as they go about their work from day to day, as they seek to improve their industry, as they mingle with one another in buying and selling, as they try to improve the life of the family, must gradually be taught how to do all these things in the spirit of the Man of Galilee. But if this revolution be not brought about in the villages, China will still remain non-Christian.

The Christian Program for the Chinese Farm Village. First of all to the Chinese farmers must be brought the good news of science applied to agriculture. Experience has been a dear but efficient teacher for the farmers of China—and they are good farmers. But they have no knowledge whatever of modern science, and in fact they still rely upon many superstitions as guidance for their methods. They are helpless against diseases of plants and animals, and insects work their will. They know how to handle individual plants, but they do not know how to improve plants, at least on modern terms. Seed selection and improvements of varieties is a new thing in the world any way and Chinese farmers are still ignorant. Here then is the first term in the program. Apply well-established principles of science to the soil and to the plant and to the animal, for increasing production and for resisting enemies.

Heretofore it has perhaps not been possible or desirable

to develop large schemes of collective bargaining for the farmers of China, but already there are indications of the need of their buying together and selling together, of their co-operating in order to secure better terms of credit. To them then should be brought the good news of the co-operative movement which has done so much for the peasants of Europe and which is now sweeping America. It is a long, long road to success in China. There are many lions in the way, but as industry develops, cities grow, transportation is provided, it will be with the Chinese farmer as it has been with all other farmers that unless they can present the power of co-operative endeavour they will be helpless against an organized market or possibly organized greed.

It is a Christian thing to provide or to stimulate education for the farmers of China. They are mostly illiterate, they have been isolated for centuries, they know no other civilization than their own, they rely almost wholly upon tradition and personal experience and superstition. Education, schools, reading material, lectures, demonstrations—they need a thousand things that will bring them into contact with all the knowledge that is at the disposal of the intelligent farmer in the West. They need the school for the sake of developing an adequate citizenship. China is trying to make itself into a republic. Fundamentally on the social side China is democratic, but politically it cannot be truly democratic unless these thousands upon thousands of farm villages are somewhat appreciative of the great national need, and can participate in great national movements. So the Christian program will provide schools for the farm villages.

The great problem of carrying out the Christian program is furnishing leadership. I suggest a new type of village pastor, the pastor-farmer. He will preach, he will be a physician of the soul, he will be able to lead his people in the Christian way. But also he will help them to apply science to their farming, to develop the co-operative method,

to gain some of the ends of education. He will be something like our farm demonstrators or advisors in the United States. I am persuaded that one of the great tasks of the Christian Church is to provide thousands of these men, Chinese Christians, whose education is a combination of a preparation for the pastorate and a preparation for the expert teacher of farmers. It is a difficult rôle to fill, but it is almost essential to the development of the Christian Church in rural China.

These are only a few of many suggestions that might be made relative to a Christian program for the Chinese farm village. They are all summed up in a plan for a sort of campaign for Christianizing the Chinese village, that is, for establishing a Christian program in each village. This program must be worked out on the spot, must be adapted to local needs. It will vary from time to time as new needs arise or new leaders appear. There are now not less than thirty trained agricultural missionaries in China. The work they have already done is important, especially in connexion with the splendid colleges of agriculture at Canton and Nanking, with a new and promising development at Peking. This is, however, but a start, a mere beginning. The next steps are to organize a committee or council in China composed of those competent to deal with Christian agricultural education, to outline a rural program, and to formulate the budget necessary to carry it out.

One cannot avoid the reflection that it would be well if all missionaries going to a great rural country like China, as a part of their regular preparation, should have some work in agriculture, gaining at least a broad view of the main considerations underlying the problem of better farming, better farm business, and better farm life. It is significant that the head of one of the special institutions in America for the training of missionaries has said officially in his last report that the time has come to give all foreign missionaries some training in agriculture, on broad lines of

course. They deal primarily with rural folk and must know the rural problem as background for true evangelization. The report continues :

> Mission boards and missionaries have made too little of the fact that the great bulk of people on the mission field are living in rural communities. It is these who must be reached if the nations are to be Christianized, and they can be reached most effectively only by workers, foreign or native, who understand the practical problems of their daily life.
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> While the solution of this problem rests primarily with the training schools on the field, yet it is important that those sent out from America or Europe to supervise this work should themselves be rural-minded. This is one reason why some missionary leaders are looking to the agricultural colleges for recruits. . . . We recommend that the mission boards consider carefully the wisdom and feasibility of having town and city bred candidates secure at least a summer course in an agricultural institution of the first class. In many cases a term, semester, or entire year would be desirable, but even the summer term with properly chosen courses would be of great valne.

There can be no blinking the fact that the Christian Church of the West in its desire to aid China faces a perfectly stupendous task when it seeks to meet the religious needs of the people of this huge country. It is not a hopeless task, but it must be approached on statesmanlike lines. It must be studied, the situation carefully analyzed, and united effort should prevail in the attack to be made upon it. It is peculiarly a case for co-operative endeavour, for sinking institutional or personal jealousies or misunderstandings, and for unity of effort as well as of thought and purpose.

KENYON L. BUTTERFIELD

A MISSIONARY SURVEY OF THE YEAR 1922[1]

I. THE JAPANESE EMPIRE

THE last month of 1921, when the policy of the Washington Conference was adopted, brought to a close, so far as treaties are effective, the twenty-five years of political strain between Japan and China. The double aim of the Conference—the limitations of armaments and the settlement of the Far Eastern question—was in large measure attained, thereby removing the menace of war and mitigating causes perpetuating racial conflict. Though no exchange of ratification has yet taken place, the contracting powers—America, Belgium, British Empire, China, France, Italy, Japan, The Netherlands, Portugal—in the Nine-Power Treaty not only agreed to restore alienated territory to China but adopted a mutually self-denying ordinance which would safeguard Chinese interests from being exploited by any of the signatories. It was laid down that all treaties and agreements between

The Washington Conference

[1] This Missionary Survey of the Year—the eighth which has been published in the Review—differs from the series on 'The Missionary Significance of the Last Ten Years' which has appeared in recent numbers and will be resumed in July. The ten years' survey deals with a single country at a time, and is written as from within by someone with first-hand knowledge of its life. The survey of a single year takes the whole world into its purview and is compiled and edited in the office of the Review from material collected throughout the year.

The Survey of the Year 1922 is based upon official records and reports issued by home and colonial governments; minutes and proceedings of missionary councils, conferences and committees throughout the world; news from the daily and weekly press; articles in monthly and quarterly reviews; missionary periodicals and annual reports; and a great mass of correspondence, including statements from secretaries of mission boards in North America, Great Britain and the Continent of Europe and personal letters of great value from experts and leaders in many lands. Without this generous help the preparation of the Survey would have been impossible.

The Survey is necessarily imperfect. An attempt to cover so great a range of subjects is conditioned by limitations of knowledge and of time. But no pains have

China and foreign individuals or corporations would be registered and made public. Japan, with her brilliant military and naval achievements, her political dominance in the Far East, her economic and social expansion as a world power, was the pivot of the situation dealt with at Washington. Under the Four-Power Treaty, signed on 13th December 1921, for a period of ten years, relating to the insular possessions of America, the British Empire, France and Japan in the Pacific Ocean, a satisfactory arrangement was arrived at as to the Island of Yap, which had been the cause of long-standing and somewhat threatening difficulties between Japan and America. The island remains part of the territory mandated to Japan. Japan, who had occupied positions in Siberia since 1918, has vindicated the repudiation of territorial ambitions in Siberia made at the Washington Conference by embarking the last troops from Vladivostock on October 25th.

In January 1922, Viscount Takahashi, then premier, spoke strongly in the Diet on the tendency of the Japanese since the war to put their own material interests before honour, justice and public morality. The corrupt conditions which have been revealed in various scandals, governmental, naval and industrial, would, if taken alone, form a gloomy picture. But in many directions there is evidence of a change in thought and outlook. The

Ideals and Influences

been spared to present the events and movements of 1922 in their missionary bearing.

While the editors of the Survey are alone responsible for the contents, acknowledgements for help given in special ways are due amongst others to M. E. Allégret (Paris); M. Henri Anet (Brussels); Baron van Boetzelaer (Holland); the Right Rev. Bishop Boutflower (Southampton); the Rev. J. Britton (Kenya); Marshall Broomhall, M.A. (London); F. H. Brown, C.I.E. (London); D. Couve (Paris); Canon E. S. Daniell (Uganda); the Rev. J. R. Fell (Northern Rhodesia); the Rev. Garfield Williams (London); D. P. Lenoir (Lausanne); the Rev. E. C. Lobenstine (Shanghai); C. T. Loram, Ph.D. (South Africa); Canon A. Lukyn Williams, D.D. (Cambridge); Jakob E. Lundahl (Sweden); the Rev. F. Rawlinson, D.D. (Shanghai); the Rev. J. Macdonald Webster (Edinburgh); the Rev. Nicol Macnicol, D.Litt. (Poona); Dr Martin Schlunk (Hamburg); M. G. Secretan (Lausanne); the Rev. H. U. Weitbrecht Stanton, D.D. (London); the Rev. E. F. E. Wigram and the Rev. C. E. Wilson (London). Miss S. A. Thesiger has also for the purposes of this Survey kept throughout the year an invaluable record of events, with card index and press cuttings. Missionary leaders in America have also given generous aid.

ruin of mushroom fortunes after the unnatural boom of the war has led men to reflect on what things are worth living for. A sense of the need of national solidarity and yet of an international standard of feeling and conduct is developing. A Japanese Association for International Education has been formed. Students and younger men are showing bold antagonism to militarism and imperialism, some even professing more concern for the justice to be shown by Japan to Korea and China than for the rights of Japanese in California. Japanese and Chinese Christians have twice met in conference for the confidential exchange of opinions and the promotion of mutual understanding. Ideals of social righteousness are growing. Christian ideas are objects of interest in the current press and novels.

The Crown Prince's Tour

The Crown Prince's visit to Europe has not only led to a relaxation of court regulations but has given courage and stimulus to the forces of progress and democracy. The present premier, Baron Kato, is following a more consistently liberal policy than has been known for several years, although he has not yet indicated any willingness to extend the franchise.

The Japanese Industrial Mission

The visit of the Japanese Industrial Mission, an unofficial body consisting of directors, managers, presidents of banks, and manufacturers, to the United States and England at the close of 1921 was another event of importance. The mission was received by King George. The executive secretary was a product of Christian education in Japan and the United States.

Social Conditions

There has been encouraging advance in some aspects of social reform during the year. The imperial recognition of Sunday as a rest day has been announced. In April 1922 the right of political speech and participation in political movements was granted to the women of Japan. At the same time the first women's union was formed in Osaka. A temperance bill prohibiting the sale of intoxicants to minors, which had been advocated by a member of the Ginza Methodist Church for twenty-five

years, became law. Those social evils noted in previous surveys still, however, eat as a canker into the heart of Japanese society. Japan has not yet become a signatory to the 1920 Convention of the League of Nations on Traffic in Women and Children. Recent returns give more than 300 labour organizations with a membership of about 265,000. The organization of the tenant farmers, who number over 2,000,000, is proceeding apace under the leadership of the Rev. T. Kagawa, the Kobe preacher and social worker. The factory legislation from which so much was hoped is still partial and sometimes inoperative. The statistics of tuberculosis, of blindness and of feeble-mindedness are grave. Hospital care is available for only one in 30 of the known lepers. Three Christian social settlements have been established during the year by missionaries in the eastern congested industrial sections of Tokyo.

Turning to the Christian movement in the empire,[1] one of the signal events in the Christian world of Japan has been the jubilee celebration, chiefly by the Nihon Kirisuto Kyokai, of the founding of the first Protestant Church in Japan at Yokohama in 1872. Dr Uemura was sent to America and Scotland to express gratitude to the co-operating missionary societies. A jubilee fund of Y.300,000 is being raised, one-half of it in Japan, the other half in America.

Jubilee of Protestant Missions

The part played by Christian education in the development of Japan, and its present strength as a factor in national life, is set forth in a masterly report presented to the National Christian Conference in May 1922. The number of young people in Christian schools is only in the proportion of one-half of 1 per cent to those in government schools (55,000 as against 11,000,000). Thus Christian education, though actually stronger than ever before, is relatively weaker over against the intelligence, efficiency and

Christian Education

[1] The volume for 1922 of *The Christian Movement in Japan, Korea and Formosa* contains a mass of valuable information. See also ' The Missionary Significance of the Last Ten Years in Japan,' by Mr Galen M. Fisher, in IRM, 1922 (April), pp. 193–211.

momentum of the vast government system. Yet the welfare of the community and of the Christian Church demands its maintenance and development. The report recommends, *inter alia*, the formulation of a definite inter-mission policy for education, a new emphasis on teacher training and the appointment of a Christian educational Commission, like those sent to India, Africa and China.[1] The action of the Japanese Government in granting a university licence to St Paul's College, Tokyo, has given lively satisfaction.

Christian Literature

The Christian Literature Society has for more than a year had seven Japanese members (at present, however, not elected by the Japanese Churches but co-opted by the missionary members) on the executive committee. The plan has worked beneficially. Among the 'best sellers' in Japan are Mr Kagawa's autobiographical volumes. The first of these, *Across the Death Line*, has passed the 200th edition.

Evangelism

Evangelism was the main topic at the meeting of the Conference of Federated Missions in July. Opportunities are noticeably better than they were three years ago, but need is felt for a revival of Bible study. Newspaper evangelism is expanding. The opening of offices under the general guidance of the central committee have been authorized at Tokyo, Osaka, Sendai and Fukuoka. Especial attention is being paid to utilizing the metropolitan daily papers in addition to those of the provincial press.

Y.M.C.A. and Y.W.C.A.

The Japanese Y.M.C.A. has worked out, after several years' discussion, a revised constitution giving local associations a large degree of democratic control over the national committee. Practical independence has been granted to the Korean Y.M.C.A. The Y.W.C.A. is developing work in factories by trained Japanese secretaries working under local committees. The first training course has been held by the Japanese association for six students going to fill important posts.

[1] A useful report of an inquiry on mission schools above the primary grade will be found in the *Japan Evangelist* for May 1922, pp. 177–82.

On the invitation of the Japan Continuation Committee a National Christian Workers' Conference was held in May. Dr John R. Mott and other mission leaders from the home lands were present. The Japanese Churches were represented by about 120 delegates; 24 missions sent 70 representatives. A few of the missions were not officially represented. The main constructive act of the Conference was the far-reaching proposal to form a National Christian Council for Japan, with a membership of 100 of whom at least 51 should represent the Japanese Churches and 34 the missions, the remaining 15 being co-opted members. It was embodied in the Constitution that the Council should have 'no authority to deal with questions of doctrine or ecclesiastical polity,' nor were its functions to be in any way legislative or mandatory. A committee of 35, of whom 22 were Japanese, was appointed to prepare a scheme to be submitted to the Churches and missions. The scheme so drafted was laid before the meeting of the Federation of Christian Missions held at Karuizawa in the end of July by Dr W. Axling and by Dr Y. Chiba representing the Federation of Christian Churches. A considerable measure of general approval of the scheme has been given by the missions and by nearly all the Japanese Churches.

Proposal to Form a National Christian Council

The American Board Mission has merged its evangelistic work with that of the Kumiai Churches. The location of evangelistic missionaries after furlough and the disposal of all funds for evangelistic purposes come henceforth under the Board of Directors of the Kumiai Churches, to which three missionary members have been added. Proposals looking towards closer co-operation with Japanese Churches are under consideration by other missions.

Co-operation between Church and Mission

KOREA

Under the administration of Baron Saito, previously described in the Review,[1] the situation in Korea has

[1] IRM, 1922 (July), pp. 337-59.

continued steadily to improve. Mr Sherwood Eddy, who during the year held a notable series of meetings in Korea, bore testimony to the new spirit which prevailed. The appointment in August 1922 of a Christian, Mr Ariyoshi, who had always taken a pronounced interest in Christian work in Japan, as Civil Governor of Korea, has made possible a closer co-operation between the Christian movement and the Government. A welcome evidence of change in the official attitude was given in April when a revised Educational Ordinance allowed several schools of higher grade, such as Chosen Christian College and Severance Medical College, to retain their official registration under the ordinance of 1915 and yet to enjoy liberty of religious teaching and worship.

The General Situation

The Federal Council of the Protestant Evangelical Missions met at Seoul in September. It is not without significance that Baron Saito invited all the members to tea at his house. The main subject discussed at the conference was whether a National Christian Council should be formed in Korea. Records of the past year show progress in all directions, especially a continued growth in self-support, one church having made a 94 per cent increase on the previous year. Fuller place in administrative church work is being given to Korean men and women. The Methodist Episcopal Church has formed a Joint Policy Council, half missionaries, half Koreans, with a large proportion of women, to consider questions of general administration. The three years' Forward Movement of the Presbyterian Church closed in September. It was marked by great unity of purpose, and has been powerful for good. The response to special efforts to improve Sunday school work and to introduce teacher training has been so wide that the campaign is to be continued for two years. A definite advance in higher education for women was made in the laying of the corner-stone of Frey Hall, as a first step towards a Women's Union Christian College. The first Korean women's summer conference was held in Seoul in June 1922.

The Christian Movement

II. CHINA

Internal Conditions

The process of unification in China moves slowly. Harassed by financial stringency, unable to increase customs duties or to impose and collect taxes, undermined by the prevalence of corruption and bribery, the Peking Government with its changing ministers has not strengthened its position in the country during the past year. The political pendulum has swung violently—and it is swinging still—in the provinces, the rival generals giving it velocity now in one direction now in another according to their victories or defeats. Over these the central government has no control. China is cursed with underpaid armies of hungry soldiers, who are surrounded by ex-soldiers and bandits who loot and prey upon the people. Brigandage increases rapidly, kidnapping, atrocities and murders are rife. Missionaries and mission stations have suffered again and again. Yet those who know China longest and best have no doubt that the present disorganization and disintegration of the state is but a passing incident in her long history. The asset of China is the character of the Chinese people. Here and there, especially in Shansi, where Governor Yen has held office since the revolution of 1911, are evidences of progress towards stability and reconstruction in the villages and towns. The able men who appear as leaders—such as the Christian General Feng—give assurance that the soul of China survives. On the fiscal side, the magnitude of China's foreign trade and the smallness of the national debt—one-fortieth part of that of either France or Great Britain—give hope of complete future recovery. The rendition of Shantung and the Tsingtao-Tsinan railway by Japan have materially enriched the resources of China.

To the darker distresses of civil war must be added the pains and perils of famine, flood and even earthquake, which have affected hundreds of thousands. In the district of one missionary in Hunan province 100,000 are said to have

died in a few months from starvation, cholera and famine fever. Up to November 1922 conditions were serious in parts of Shansi. A terrible typhoon struck Swatow and wide areas elsewhere in August. The tidal wave swept inland for miles destroying the river population, towns and villages. Some 28,000 persons are said to have perished in Swatow alone. Mission property was damaged to a large extent in many parts of China, not only by the typhoon but by floods.

Famine and Flood

Industrial development proceeds rapidly, but at a heavy cost to human life. The profits of Chinese and foreign factory owners are enormous. The hours and conditions of labour are incredibly hard. Thousands of children down to the age of eight or nine years are employed. Safety devices are lacking and accidents are frequent, especially on the night shifts. The cost of living has increased 200 per cent in the last five years and wages have not risen proportionately. Strikes have become frequent, both in north and south. In the cities of Canton and Chaochow 52 labour strikes affecting over 80 different trades took place in nine months. In one week the Shanghai newspapers reported strikes in 9 lines of industry in North China. The great strike of seamen at Hongkong which lasted for two months attracted world-wide attention. The unsettled political situation, the spread of Bolshevist propaganda, the general ignorance of the labourers and the lack of a sense of responsibility in some employers retard the measures of reform which many Chinese and some foreigners in China desire.

Social and Industrial Conditions

Thanksgiving for the almost entire eradication of poppy growing in China has been short-lived. The area now under cultivation is already 25 per cent of that of 1907. Owing to civil strife and the inability of the central Government to apply the existing repressive legislation, the record of growth and sale in province after province is deeply discouraging. Still more so is the fact that in many places officials, the military

Poppy Cultivation and Drug Traffic

leaders especially, for corrupt purposes secretly foster the use and sale of the drug, storing it in large quantities and at the same time raiding purchasers and smokers and fining them for illegal possession. Shansi stands out as the one province in which real efforts to repress the evil are being made. Though China has been delivered from the influx of Indian-grown opium the home supplies are augmented by large quantities of morphia, cocaine and other drugs smuggled from Japan. Concerted international action is proposed by the League of Nations.[1] Hope waits on the awakening of the Christian Church to the need for a strong educational campaign, which will deal with the intense desire for narcotics which has dominated Chinese for many generations.[2]

New Thought Movements

Beneath protracted political unrest and disintegration of social order a pulse of new life beats in China. The discouragements of the present hour are balanced by grounds for expectancy and hope in the future. Amid much that is crude and unbalanced there is a quest for liberty and truth. The renaissance movement which took shape at the hands of a group of men in the National University of Peking is full of potentialities.[3] The rapidly increasing use and remoulding of the Pei-hua or living spoken language (Mandarin) instead of the classical (Wenli)—perhaps the most striking literary revolution in history—is transforming literary usage and adding enormously to the stream of books and periodicals which are pouring the best and the worst of modern thought into China.

[1] The League of Nations is not confining its attention to the Chinese aspect of the drug question. It is pressing the signature of the Hague Opium Convention on all nations which have not already signed it, together with a system of import and export certificates. Early in 1923 Persia announced the withdrawal of the reservations she had made regarding her signature, while Turkey stated that she would sign on becoming a member of the League of Nations. As these countries, with India, are the source of practically all the opium produced and exported, this step is important.

[2] See *Chinese Recorder*, 1922 (Oct.), pp. 654–8.

[3] For a study of the renaissance movement, see articles by Dr Ph. de Vargas in *The New China Review*, 1922 (April and June), pp. 115–27, 234–47.

The meeting of the World's Student Christian Federation held in Peking in April 1922 brought to light the diverging currents of thought in the Chinese renaissance. While representatives of 31 nations met as 'one family under heaven,' the Chinese delegates, 600 in number, sent from middle schools and colleges from every province and territory including Mongolia and Manchuria, were the main body of the conference. The conference itself, dealing with 'Jesus Christ and World Reconstruction,' was full of ardour and fellowship. The active identification of the Christian Church in China with the new awakening and the reality of the Christian aspect of the renaissance were shown by statements prepared by the Chinese Christian Movement for delegates attending the federation conference.[1] But shortly before the conference a vehement anti-Christian agitation broke out among Chinese students, unhappily led by men of considerable influence, though not supported by the best of China's intellectuals. A situation which at one time might have become serious was met by the Christians with courtesy and fearless witness and surmounted. The Anti-Christian Student Federation, though defeated before the conference, still exerts influence in some quarters.[2] In November 1922 there were more students enrolled in Bible classes in Nanking University than ever before.

Students' Conference at Peking

Educational ideals are taking shape in China, notwithstanding adverse conditions. The new system put forward by the National Educational Association in October 1921 is being tested in several provinces. When the China Educational Reform Association was organized membership was at once extended to Christian institutions and associations. Dr Paul Monroe of Teachers' College, New York, investigated schools and colleges in ten provinces at the request of the Government. The work of the China

Education

[1] Since published, with additional papers, under the title of *China To-day through Chinese Eyes.* London: Student Christian Movement. 2s. 6d. 1922.

[2] See *China's Millions,* 1923 (Jan.), p. 15.

Education Commission marks an advance in the long and honourable history of educational missions in China. Appointed jointly by American and British boards and consisting of 18 members—America, British and Chinese—the Commission began its work in September 1921 and completed its Report in May 1922.[1] The recommendations made by the Commission and the principles they have laid down are being studied by educationalists and by those concerned with medical training singly and in groups all over China. The American Committee for the China Famine Fund, having remitted about half a million dollars to China for relief in 1922, have decided to fund the remaining amount—approximately $1,000,000 (gold)—the income to be used for the development of forestry and agriculture through the union Christian universities in Nanking and Peking. Proposals for the utilization of the remaining British share of the Boxer indemnity—£11,000,000—for educational purposes are under consideration. The British Chambers of Commerce have inaugurated a fund for the subsidizing of British secondary schools in China.[2]

Other Educational Matters

Among other matters of educational interest are the formation of a Board of Christian Education for Shantung Province on the lines recommended by the China Education Commission; the decision of the China Inland Mission to enlarge its educational work, specially for the children in Christian congregations; the opening of a union normal school for women at Hanyang in Hupeh province; the building extensions at Ginling College, and those of the American Church Mission, including a new school in Shanghai and a new science building at Boone University; the establishment of a union college in Honan by Lutheran missions; and the healthy progress of the I Fang Girls' Collegiate School at Changsha.

But the redemption of China does not wait on govern-

[1] *Christian Education in China.* New York: Committee of Reference and Counsel, 25 Madison Avenue. 1922. See also IRM, 1922 (July), 377–400.

[2] See the Report of the China Education Commission, pp. 330–1.

ment education and on the renaissance of thought. The Christian Church is the hope of the land. A moving recognition of this has come through the secular press. A Chinese newspaper started a voting competition to ascertain the 12 greatest living Chinese. Of the 47 nominated by its readers 12 were Christians : that is to say, while Christians are only 1 in 800 of the estimated population, it is held by the man in the street that they are 1 in 4 of the country's greatest men. Still more vital are the records from mission after mission in every province of the Gospel's living power ; the numbers of inquirers, whether from the simple non-Chinese tribes of the far south-west or the students, merchants and officials who have thronged Mr Sherwood Eddy's meetings in the cities ; the stirrings of evangelistic spirit in the congregations ; the awakening to social duties ; the eagerness for Bible study ; the seeking after deeper consecration to the service of God.

The Church —the Hope of China

The National Christian Conference held at Shanghai in May 1922 brought home to the world the reality of the Chinese Church.[1] At the beginning a Chinese speaker hailed it as 'the birthplace of the Chinese Church.' Before the close another said 'The Chinese Church is come of age.' At the Morrison Centenary Conference in 1907 there were no Chinese delegates or speakers. In 1913, when at a conference under the chairmanship of Dr John R. Mott the China Continuation Committee was formed, about a third of the members were Chinese. In 1922 the chairman and more than half the delegates were Chinese Christians, representative of Christian groups in all parts of the republic. The conference was a true cross-section of Chinese Christianity.[2] Of the five Commissions which prepared reports for the conference two were under Chinese chairmanship ; that on 'The Message of the Church' consisted entirely of Chinese.

The National Christian Conference

[1] See IRM, 1922 (Oct.), pp. 502–14.

[2] Except that the Greek and Roman communions were not represented.

The statement presented by this Commission was of great significance and has had a world-wide circulation.[1]

Formation of a National Christian Council

But the act by which the Conference will be remembered, not only in the history of missions but in the history of the Church, is the appointment of a National Christian Council, more than half Chinese in its membership, to succeed the China Continuation Committee which had accomplished in nine years its great preparatory work. Chinese and missionaries, old and young alike, were at one in this significant decision. The National Christian Council thus called into being is an advisory body, but may act on behalf of the co-operating Churches and missions at their request. Matters of doctrine and ecclesiastical policy lie outside its province. It will seek to foster and express the fellowship and unity of the Christian Church in China; its oneness with the Church throughout the world; and the central position of the Church in the Christian movement. The co-operation of the Chinese Church, of missions, and of national and international missionary councils is being sought to provide a sufficient budget for the support of the work. Four secretaries have accepted office: the Right Rev. L. H. Roots, Bishop of the American Church Mission in Hankow; Dr Henry T. Hodgkin, a former missionary, whose work in the Far East was so fruitful last winter; the Rev. K. T. Chung, rector of St Peter's Church in Shanghai and secretary of the diocesan synod; and Miss Fan Yu-jung, who has been released by the National Committee of the Y.W.C.A.

A Peril averted

In the course of the Conference a serious difficulty was presented by the divergence of view on theological and Biblical questions which had for some time been threatening the harmony of the Christian forces in China and which came to a climax over the framing of a Constitution for the National Christian Council. In

[1] *Chinese Recorder*, 1922 (June), pp. 369–98. *The Outlook*, a leading American weekly journal, published 'The Christian Message,' in its issue for July 12th, 1922.

answer to continued prayer and through the earnest desire of all concerned to find a way whereby co-operation based on mutual confidence might be assured without sacrifice of truth, the situation was met. The Conference was able to join in a simple act of worship and confession of faith which cleared the atmosphere and united, with few exceptions, the entire membership.

The Christian Approach to Labour

The National Christian Conference was content to commit to the consideration of the newly formed Council the reports of its five Commissions, and itself took action in only one direction. The social conditions outlined in a previous paragraph lay heavily on the Christian conscience. With one dissentient only the following resolution was passed :

> That the Church, recognizing the need for a labour standard for China, endorses the setting as a goal of the standard adopted at the first International Conference of the League of Nations. . . . In full realization of the difficulty of putting these standards into effect in China at once, we recommend that the following standard be adopted and promoted by the Church for immediate application in the factories of China: (*a*) No employment of children under twelve full years of age ; (*b*) One day's rest in seven ; (*c*) The safeguarding of the health of the workers, e.g. limiting working hours, improvement of sanitary conditions, installation of safety devices, etc.

Steps are being taken to bring this labour standard before church leaders and members and to arrange for study of the conditions which called for its adoption. Mr Sherwood Eddy has secured its official endorsement by the Chambers of Commerce in Chefoo and Peking.

The Conference and Women

It is worthy of note that each of the five Commissions which prepared for the Conference had women members, that a woman secretary with full status was on the central organizing staff and that a Chinese woman is among the four secretaries who are to carry on the work. Of the National Christian Council about 25 per cent are women. The Chinese Church sees men and women working at a common, not a divided, task, giving them a larger place in administrative work than is

usual in some of the missions or in the Churches of the West.[1]

The Missionary Survey of China

The great missionary survey of China, in contemplation since 1912, was completed in time for the National Christian Conference. This magnificent volume, the most effective survey yet made of any mission field, is a monument to the resourceful industry of the central staff of the China Continuation Committee and their collaborators and will long hold its place as an encyclopædia of great value to missionary administrators.[2] Its special articles, maps, diagrams and tables present a clear view of the distribution of the vast population of China—estimated at from 400 to 425 millions—of the extent to which the provinces have been evangelized and of the areas in which the various missions are at work.

Chinese Students for the Ministry

In view of the wide prospect opening before the Church in China and the burning need for adequate leadership, much interest attaches to the first National Conference of the Chinese Student Volunteer Movement for the Ministry held at Kuling in August 1922. Some 120 delegates, representing volunteer bands in universities and middle schools in all but three of the provinces, were present. The movement, now in its twelfth year, unites 700 students in its fellowship.

Daily Vacation Schools

Scarcely less significant is the calling out of students into social and evangelistic work. In the summer of 1922 the students at Shantung Christian University conducted 15 Daily Vacation Bible Schools with 55 teachers. Nearly 600 scholars were enrolled and the attendance in the country schools was 100 per cent. The same work on a much larger scale was undertaken by the mission middle schools of Shantung. Bible classes for students in non-Christian schools organized by

[1] See *Chinese Recorder*, 1922 (Jan.), pp. 37–43; (Feb.), pp. 121–5; (Apr.), 267–75.

[2] *The Christian Occupation of China*. Edited by Milton T. Stauffer, T. C. Wong and M. G. Tewkesbury. Shanghai: Mission Book Co. $10 Mex. First edition sold out. Can be seen at Mission Houses or Mission Libraries. See IRM, 1922 (Oct.), pp. 592–7.

the Y.M.C.A. and the university staff resulted in 14 confessions of Christ.

German Missions

The German Missions in China are suffering from lack of means and of staff. The Berlin Mission has lost two of its leading missionaries through death; the Rhenish Mission has sent out some reinforcements, including a second doctor to Tungkun hospital; the Breklum Mission has made a tour of investigation into the densely populated districts north of its field. The German Baptists on financial grounds have abandoned their prospective work in China. The Basel Mission with most of its senior staff on furlough is under heavy strain.

Other Matters of Interest

Among other matters of interest are, the furtherance of plans for the union of the Chinese Churches representing the Presbyterians and the Congregationalists by agreement on a credal basis and the formation of a Provisional General Assembly; the great attendances and deep response at Mr Sherwood Eddy's meetings throughout China—at General Feng's headquarters in Honan he held a daily service at 7.30 a.m. attended by nearly 1000 officers; the conference of the Chinese Home Missionary Society at Kuling in July at which auxiliaries working in 15 provinces were represented; the holding at Shanghai in April 1922 of a conference of the China Inland Mission at which important decisions affecting organization and development were arrived at; the widespread use by Christian agencies of the phonetic script which is rapidly enabling illiterate adults to read and write; the forty days' campaign organized by the Y.M.C.A. during the spring fair at Chengtu, when the Gospel was preached and lectures on health and moral reform were given to over 43,000 people; the advance in evangelistic and medical work by the Swedish Mission in the north of Mongolia; the new accommodation for missionaries in the Norwegian Mission in Chili province; the baptism of over 190 persons in the field of the Finnish Missionary Society; the plans of the Christian and Missionary Alliance for advance into

unevangelized areas; the all-round progress reported by the Women's Association of the English Baptist Mission; the experimental work in regard to industrial questions undertaken by the Y.W.C.A.; the first meeting of the Intermission Summer School of Physical Health and Education at Kuling during the summer; the fuller possibilities opening before the Language School at Peking for which a large sum of money has been provided by the mission boards in America; the good beginnings of moral welfare work in Shanghai and the gradual withdrawal of licenses for brothels by the municipality; and the successful first year's work of the Mission Architects Bureau and the addition of the English Baptists to the boards co-ordinated with the Associated Mission Treasurers. The vast field of the newly constituted mission of the Presbyterian Church in the U.S.A. in Yunnan Province on the borders of Siam has already yielded harvest. Mention should also be made of the opening of a new hospital by the Scottish Mission at Hingkingfu in Manchuria; the temporary closing of the Union Medical College at Foochow, owing to lack of staff and funds; and the baptism at one time of 34 members of the staff—doctors, students, nurses and amahs—of the Hangchow Medical Mission. When the China Christian Literature Council met in October to consider the use to be made of grants for literature from America and Great Britain, it was able to turn to Chinese to prepare the books agreed on. The British Government decided during the year on the abolition of Mui Tsai in Hongkong, a long-established system by which it is said that some 50,000 girls from the age of eight to thirteen have been sold in that Crown Colony.

Chinese Students Abroad

There are at present about 2000 Chinese students studying in the United States, about 3000 in France and several hundred in Great Britain. Owing to financial conditions in China the provincial governments have been in many cases unable to forward remittances to students sent abroad at their expense. Serious embarrassment, and in many cases real distress, has resulted.

III. INDIA, BURMA AND CEYLON

The Political Situation

When the year 1922 dawned in India the *swaraj* and non-co-operation movements and the Khalifate controversy presented a formidable triad of difficulty, alarming alike to the prospects of peoples and rulers and to missionary work. Riots against the civil power broke out at various places, those at Chauri Chaura near Gorakhpur in February being of a serious character. Finding that mass civil disobedience was an uncontrollable force Mr Gandhi changed his policy to individual civil disobedience but too late to relieve a dangerous situation.

Mr Gandhi arrested

On March 10th Mr Gandhi himself was arrested. Contrary to the expectation of many his arrest, trial and sentence to six years' imprisonment were received with calm. His removal from public activity, together with that of the Ali brothers, was coincident with the waning of the non-co-operation movement. Unconscious testimony is borne to the place which Christian ideals have won in the mind of India by the frequent comparisons instituted between the conduct of the venerated leader under trial and that of our Lord. Evidence is accumulating that, however perilous his political programme, Mr Gandhi's personality and teaching of non-violence have awakened in many places a new spirit in the people, to which the Christian Gospel appeals.

The Khalifate Controversy

During the year Indian Moslems continued their active agitation on the Khalifate question; an interpretation of their views was given in the January number of this paper.[1] Their endorsement of the action of the Angora Government in the autumn in deposing one Khalif and electing another is a striking indication of the present solidarity of Islam.

The Moplah rising, an off-shoot of the Khalifate controversy, with its train of misery for law-abiding Moplahs, Hindus and Christians alike, drew to a close in March,

[1] *Indian Moslems and the Khalifate.* By W. Paton. IRM, 1923 (Jan.) p. 82.

when martial law was abolished. Relief was generously administered in the stricken areas by the Servants of India Society and the Y.M.C.A. Sympathy was stirred among non-Christians in Malabar by the death, while caring for the refugees, of an Indian nurse lent by the National Missionary Society. The Eka movement in Oudh, a stirring—not unknown in other parts of India—of tenant cultivators against landlord oppression, and the Akali movement, concerned with the guardianship of the Sikh shrines in the neighbourhood of Amritzar, show how complicated are the factors social, moral and religious underlying Indian life.

Other Signs of Unrest

The National Congress in session at Gaya at the close of the year proposed to raise a fund of 25 lakhs of rupees and to enlist 50,000 volunteers for civil disobedience. By a great majority it was decided not to enter the Legislative Councils at the elections in 1923. Under the leadership of the President, Mr C. R. Das, a minority of 900, who broke off and formed a new party, voted for ' council entry ' with an avowed purpose of obstructing legislation. While some 15,000, mostly unletterd peasants, attended the Gaya Congress, the All-India Liberal Federation, under the presidency of Mr Srinivasa Sastri (recently returned from a mission to several British Dominions in the interests of Indians outside India), met at Nagpur for a conference attended by some 500, including many influential men.

Action of the National Congress

The Legislative Assembly, now a focus of Indian political life, was at its spring session face to face with a serious financial situation. A Retrenchment Committee with power to consider military as well as civil expenditure was appointed under the presidency of Lord Inchcape. In view of the apprehension felt lest a Brahmin oligarchy would be set up in the Assembly, it is interesting to find that while there are 64 elected Hindu members of the Assembly only 20 are Brahmins. In the Council of State and the Provincial Legislatures the proportions are somewhat similar.

The Legislative Assembly

The new councils and the Legislative Assembly are taking hold of problems of social reform which are more easily dealt with by Indian than by foreign legislation. The Indian Emigration Act, which is a great advance on previous measures, has passed the Assembly. Indenture is abolished and provision is made for the safeguarding of emigrants in India and in the countries to which they go. An Indian Factories Amendment Act, based on the Washington Labour Conference, and a Workmen's Compensation Act have also been passed. A Bill to amend the Civil Marriage Act by removing legal disabilities to marriage outside caste and between Hindus and other communities was introduced in the Assembly in January and has been referred to a Select Committee. Attempts to effect this reform began in 1868. The Council of State has before it a measure called the Priests' Emolument Bill, which is intended to invalidate the present right of hereditary Hindu priests—Brahmins—to emoluments for religious ceremonies in which their services have not been requisitioned, and to give the individual citizen the right to select any priest to perform the ceremonies required.[1] In excise reform the United Provinces Government has been active. Licensing boards with large powers have been appointed in 16 cities. Since April 1922, 972 country spirit shops, 506 drug shops and 50 opium shops have been closed. The hours for the sale of excisable commodities have been limited. In the Panjab a Bill is being prepared giving municipalities power to close three-fourths of the shops by a simple resolution while the remainder may be closed by a vote of 55 per cent of all registered voters. In the Bengal and Panjab Councils Indian Christians have been leaders in excise reform; in the United Provinces and Bombay missionaries have been appointed members of the investigating excise committees. Under power conferred by the Amended Lepers Act the Provincial Governments have begun to promote the volun-

The Government and Social Reform

[1] See *Dnyanodaya*, Nov. 16, 1922, pp. 362–3.

tary and compulsory segregation of lepers. A committee appointed by Government to consider means for remedying prostitution in Bombay has advocated wise and radical reforms.[1] The Bengal Legislature has appointed a committee to consider the new social problem of the middle-class educated Indian unable to find clerical or professional work with a sufficient wage to support his family. The re-organization of the Commercial Institute and the provision of an Agricultural Institute at Dacca have also been taken in hand. The All-India Industrial Conference held in May 1922 directed attention to the movement towards social welfare and self-help which is influencing India.

The Co-operative Movement

During a period when the political atmosphere was not favourable to the principle of co-operation, a systematic effort, both urban and rural, to secure economic uplift both for the middle-classes and the people in general was made through the co-operative movement. All the provinces report encouraging developments. Bombay, with its Co-operative Central Institute, has held provincial and district conferences. The Bengal Co-operative Organization Society is engaged on the question of co-operative housing. In Madras a number of societies exist for the benefit of the depressed and backward classes.

Central Place of Education

Students of Indian affairs recognize that at this momentous crisis in her history, when the creation of vast electorates numbering some nine million voters, the majority of whom are wholly illiterate, constitutes a new problem, 'the only method by which the idea of nationhood can spread among the vast population, including as it does a multitude of diverse races, castes and creeds, is through a genuine system of national education which shall enlist in the work of nation building the generous emotions of Indian youths.'[2] In the great task of initiating and maintaining such education the Government and Christian missions are

[1] See the *Indian Social Reformer*, 1922, August 27th.

[2] *Indian Education in 1920–21*. By A. I. Mayhew. Published by the Indian Bureau of Education at Calcutta early in 1922.

alike concerned. An increasing contribution comes from the Indian side. The poet Rabindranath Tagore is adding to his Shantineketan at Bolpur a university to be a centre where eastern and western cultures can meet on equal terms and inform each other. Leading western Orientalists are taking part in the scheme.[1]

Effect of Non-Co-operation on Education

The attack launched on the educational system of India as part of the non-co-operation movement had largely spent its force by the end of 1922. The total loss of scholars varied from time to time and in different districts. Not only the restless and turbulent, but some of the best students, moved by a call to national service and self-sacrifice, responded to Mr Gandhi's appeal. Educational leaders recognize that the agitation has awakened a healthy demand in the Indian mind for an education calculated to make men valuable members of society and with larger views of Indian culture and aspirations. The permanence of the so-called 'national' schools started by the non-co-operators is not assured, and their number is comparatively small.

The Universities

In the last eighteen months schemes for university reconstruction have matured. Calcutta University, partly owing to financial difficulties, has not been reconstructed on the lines of the Sadler Commission, but the influence of that report has been evident in other quarters, especially in the United Provinces, where there are now four universities (at Allahabad, Lucknow, Benares and Aligarh) and proposals for a fifth at Agra. Allahabad, one of the five old-established universities, is being transformed into a unitary, teaching, residential university. In the summer of 1922 Madras was the first of the three presidency universities to circulate a draft Bill—the fate of which is still uncertain—designed to embody in its constitution many leading ideas of the Sadler Commission. The Bill for a new university on the

[1] For an account by Dr Tagore of the ideals of the Visvabharati see *Young Men of India*, 1923 (Jan.), pp. 5–12.

same lines at Delhi has been passed. There is also advance towards more adequate provision for the growing needs of India in industrial, technical and scientific education.

The much-debated question of the Conscience Clause has made some progress towards solution. There has been no arbitrary and hurried legislation. In the United Provinces a full conscience clause has been imposed, but in a form which throws the responsibility on the parent or children for obtaining exemption. In Bombay the Legislative Council passed a resolution recommending a conscience clause for aided institutions in all single-school areas, except where the school or college receives pupils of one denomination only. The Madras Legislative Council has taken similar action, but rejected a year ago a resolution proposing a conscience clause for all schools and colleges. A new order has been issued by the Madras Government whereby any local body has authority, under specified conditions, by a majority vote to allow religious teaching in boys' or girls' schools.

The Conscience Clause

The missionary societies are generally prepared, with differing degrees of readiness, to give full trial to government regulations regarding religious teaching, provided they do not interfere with the working out of fundamental Christian ideals.[1] In most of the colleges where the conscience clause is operative its effect on the numbers who attend religious instruction has not been serious. In one large North Indian college where a voluntary system was introduced in advance of the government order, in the first term, out of 367 students, 6 elected to attend the class on ethics and morals offered as an alternative and 361 students continued to come to the Bible teaching.

The Missionary Attitude

The power of compulsory education conferred on municipalities and some on district boards by most of the provincial governments is being cautiously used. A far-

[1] An illuminating discussion by Dr R. E. Speer will be found in his *Report on India and Persia*, pp. 259–77.

reaching Bill drafted by the Bombay Legislature has been passed. Government can apply compulsion to selected areas in any part of the province, superseding the principle of local option. Local authorities will be empowered to provide compulsory primary education by a simple majority vote instead of by a two-thirds majority only. It is estimated that the Act will bring into operation by stages a fairly general and efficient system of compulsory education in the province in ten or twelve years.

Compulsory Education

The number of secondary schools in India has risen to 8900 with pupils just short of 1·3 millions. There is an overwhelming demand for admission and a strong desire that training for trades and professions should be added to the already overloaded curriculum. In several provinces boards for secondary and intermediate education have been constituted.

Secondary Education

A wider conception of education in relation to the needs of village communities has definitely gained ground both in official and missionary quarters during the year.[1] The small percentage of children as yet under education—Bombay in 1922 held the lead (excluding Burma) with a percentage of total scholars to the population of 4·9—points to the need for a rapid extension of primary education. Popular interest is awakening in favour of a boldly progressive campaign but financial resources have not been found as yet.

Primary Education

The seriousness of the continued public apathy regarding Indian female education is emphasized by the fact that in India to-day only 1·4 million of women and girls are under instruction of any kind, especially when it is remembered that in Madras and Bombay women already possess the franchise for elections to the Provincial Councils and also to the Legislative Assembly. The new provincial governments are taking

Education of Girls and Women

[1] See an illuminating *Report on the Expansion of Primary Education in Bengal.* By Evan E. Biss. Published in English and Bengali. Calcutta: Bengal Secretarial Book Depot. R. 1.6.

action with varying degrees of enthusiasm. Bombay reports 63 women in the Medical College and an increase of about 10,000 both in secondary and primary schools. In Madras there has been a marked development. From the Panjab and the United Provinces advance is reported; in Bengal the situation is less hopeful.[1] Literacy among Indian girls and women advanced in the 1911–21 decennium from 13 to 23 per mille.

Pandita Ramabai

The death of Pandita Ramabai brought into prominence the capacities which are latent in Indian Christian women. She has been classed among the makers of modern India. A Brahmin by birth and highly versed in eastern learning, she became a Christian at twenty-five and thenceforth consecrated her great administrative powers to the service of God and of Indian women and children. In her home at Kedgaon near Poona, assisted by workers of many nationalities, she cared for a great company in a spirit of courageous faith and dependence upon God.

Christian Education

The encouraging feature of Christian education during the year has been the readiness in almost every quarter to look on the work as a common trust in the light of the new situation and the resources of the Christian community, rather than in the interests of any one institution, however fine its record in the past.[2] Evidence of this is given elsewhere (pp. 262–76) in the account of conferences held during December 1922 in Moga on rural education, in Beas (both in the Panjab) on secondary education, and in Serampore on theological training—a subject of vital importance to the Church in North and South India. In many directions the recommendations of the Commission on Village Education are bearing fruit. A second edition of the Report of that Commission has just appeared.[3] Two recent delegations to India—one American,

[1] See the *Fifty-Seventh Statement exhibiting the Moral and Material Progress and Condition of India.* Issued from the India Office in August 1922.

[2] See a valuable article by Rev. W. Meston, B.D., M.L.C., in the *Harvest Field,* 1922 (May), pp. 171–86.

[3] *Village Education in India,* Second Edition. London: Milford. 2s. 6d. 1923.

one British—have laid before their home constituencies statesmanlike recommendations.[1] The educational section of the C.M.S. Delegation Report, in particular, proposes radical changes, including the closing of certain schools in order to secure the fuller efficiency of others. Plans have already been made for the development of central vocational middle schools, on the lines indicated in the Report on Village Education, in most of the C.M.S. mass movement areas.

Reconstruction and Advance

Among proposals for reconstruction and advance in mission schools may be noted plans for largely increased inter-mission co-operation in educational work in Western India; for developing the Robert Noble College at Masulipatam into a union college for the Telugu district (the C.M.S. and the American United Lutheran Mission are already co-operating in this) and for the union of St Paul's Collegiate School in Calcutta with the Serampore Collegiate School. A scheme is in negotiation for replacing the present Cambridge Mission high school at Delhi by a Christian high school, the Anglican and the Baptist Mission co-operating. In January 1922 Dr Ogilvie opened new school buildings and a hostel of the vocational agricultural school in the Church of Scotland Mission in Chingleput district. An interesting experiment in training village workers and their wives has been tried at Karnal, a station of the Cambridge Mission to Delhi. The American Arcot Mission has set aside a worker to study the problems of village educational work. The Zenana Bible and Medical Mission reports reconstruction schemes in Lahore and in Bombay, and increased co-operation with Indians in the administration of the hospital at Lucknow.

The growing place given to Indian leadership in mission schools has had several illustrations during the year. Still more hopeful, in everything except its financial aspect, is the success attending educational work initiated by Indian

[1] *Report on India and Persia.* By R. E. Speer. *The Church Missionary Society's Delegation to India.* 1921–2.

Christians on distinctively Indian lines. The Christian Residential High School, on completing its first year of work at Bangalore, has found a permanent location at Tirupatur in North Arcot, near the hospital and ashram of the National Missionary Society. The school has won the sympathy and confidence of the British missions. In November the new hostel buildings of the Union Christian College at Alwaye were opened by Dr Rabindranath Tagore. The college has been founded and is worked by a group representing the various sections of the Syrian Church, and missionaries of the C.M.S. are co-operating with them and working under Indian leadership.[1] The National Missionary Society are furthering the experiment of a simple vocational boarding school for village boys of Chamar and Sweeper class at Sarsawa.

Indians in Educational Work

The growth of the Indian Church in general influence, in self-consciousness and in self-expression, is unquestioned, though the best of its members are deeply conscious of its shortcomings. Indian Christians are proving their capacity for office in the service of their country; they are increasingly operative in social reform; their voice is heard in the religious and general press; the spirit of nationality has deeply imbued the younger educated membership of the Church.

The Indian Church

One of the most significant events of the year was the action taken at Poona in January 1922. A constitution was drafted for a National Christian Council to take the place of the existing National Missionary Council which had done ten years of steady work. It was proposed that one-half of the membership be Indian, and that a small central group of officers, some of whom should be Indian, be appointed to serve the Churches and missions in questions calling for common thought and action, especially in following up the Report of the Commission on Village Education. The principles underlying these proposals formed the subject of an article

Action of the National Missionary Council

[1] See the *Harvest Field*, 1922 (Aug.), pp. 286–96.

in the Review for October 1922 by Mr J. H. Oldham, who had spent the previous winter in India. The matter was widely discussed, both in India and at the home base in North America and Great Britain. At the request of the Committee of the International Missionary Council Mr Oldham re-visited India in November 1922. The proposals, in somewhat modified form, were before the National Missionary Council at its meeting at Ranchi early in January 1923. The result will be found in an article in this number (pp. 262–76).

Relation of Church and Mission

The problem of the relation between Church and Mission has received constant consideration during the year. True ways of partnership in service for India have been sought in conferences and groups of Indians and missionaries, meeting separately or together. Two instances of recent action may be given. The Foreign Missions Board of the Reformed Church of America have approved a draft constitution by which the whole administration and control of the Arcot Mission, including evangelistic, medical and educational work, are transferred to a joint body representing both church and mission. The Mission Councils of the United Free Church of Scotland in Western India and the Central Provinces have handed over a considerable part of their work, and funds for it, to boards appointed by and responsible to the presbytery. The Western India Board consists of 10 Indian members and 3 foreign missionaries, these three being now wholly under the direction of this predominantly Indian board with an Indian chairman. New church constitutions are proposed, amongst other places, in the Swiss Kanarese Mission, in the Danish field in South India and in the sphere of the Swedish Evangelical National Society. The C.M.S. Delegation has made far-reaching recommendations for the gradual transference of work hitherto controlled by the mission into the hands of a diocesan body.[1]

[1] See article by Bishop Waller in the *Church Missionary Review* for September 1922, pp. 204–10. The Bishops of Uganda, Kampala, Mombasa and in Egypt have asked

The way towards such action will be cleared when the Bill, a preliminary draft of which was laid before the first Provincial Council of the Anglican Church in 1922, for the Freedom of the Church of England in India, has become law. By the removal of present limitations, the Church will become self-governing, with power to elect its bishops, to determine its statements of belief and methods of worship and to manage its own affairs. The Church in India, with its membership of Indians and foreigners, will take its place among other branches of the Anglican Communion in America and elsewhere.

Anglican Church Reorganization

From among numerous records of response and awakening reference can only be made to the ingathering from the robber caste near Madura in the Church of Sweden Mission, the awakening among the Gonds reported by the Swedish National Society and the advance in the Swedish Alliance Mission in Kandesh; the baptism of over 800 persons in a South India district where the Wesleyan Mission worked for three generations with scanty visible results; a stirring among Moslems near Rawalpindi which has resulted in several baptisms; the tokens of spiritual revival at the Rajputana Mela in which over 1000 Christians of the Presbyterian and Methodist Missions co-operated, and at the conference for evangelistic workers at Kolhapur; the movement among the Lushais to carry the Gospel to other head-hunting tribes; and the founding at Junnar in the Poona District of an ashram for the Christ-Seva-Sangh, a fellowship in which Indians and others seek to spend a common life of spiritual devotion in the service of all men, as far as possible supporting themselves. The Indo-Danish Mission at Porto Novo, with which Mr Chakkarai, Editor of the *Christian Patriot*, is

Response and Awakening

that the same principle may be applied to the work in their dioceses. See *Church Missionary Review*, 1922 (Dec.), p. 294. At the General Committee of the Society in February 1923 the scheme received general approval and a Committee of Reference, with an Indian chairman and an English secretary, was set up in India to investigate possible lines of action.

connected, is encouraged by its evangelistic outlook. Many workers among lepers are filled with joy because of the newly discovered treatment which has brought hope to the sufferers instead of despair. Six Indians have been appointed to full membership of the Conference of the Baptist Missionary Society.

Other Matters of Interest

Among other matters of interest may be included the opening of a training centre for new missionaries at Benares by the C.M.S., where men for the Hindi and Urdu-speaking areas may live together for two years in close touch with Indian life while concentrating on language study; the reception by the Prince of Wales of an address from a great gathering of over 20,000 Chamars at Delhi; the opening at Serampore of a hostel by the Indian National Y.W.C.A. where Christian or non-Christian women can live while training as teachers of weaving in the Government Weaving Institute; and the opening of a holiday home by the Bombay Women's University Settlement. The Committee of the proposed Indian Literature Fund sanctioned during the year, from funds received from Great Britain and America, grants towards the salary of literature workers and towards the publication of 30 books in 15 vernaculars. The issue in Bangalore of a book of prayers, from which distinctively Christian terms were omitted, for use by non-Christian pupils in the schools of the London Missionary Society aroused some discussion during the year.

Admission of Alien Missionaries

The Government of India have agreed to the inclusion of several continental missionary societies on the 'recognized' list. The undertaking required from alien missionaries belonging to all 'unrecognized' societies now reads as follows:

I hereby undertake to give all due obedience and respect to the lawfully constituted Government, and while carefully abstaining from participation in political affairs, it is my desire and purpose that my influence in so far as it may be properly exerted in such matters should be so exerted in loyal co-operation with the Government; and in particular, if engaged in educational work, I undertake to do all in my power to promote goodwill and under-

standing between the people and the Government of the country, and to make those under my care law-abiding and good citizens.

The Work of German Missions

There has been no marked change in the work formerly carried on by German missions. The period of five years fixed by the Government of India for the exclusion of Germans from India has not yet expired. The Government has announced its willingness to make exceptions in the case of individual German missionaries under very strict conditions. The way is not yet open however for the return of German Protestant missionary societies to any of their former fields. The experiment of an autonomous Indian Church in the former field of the Gossner Mission in Chota Nagpur, assisted by an advisory board, is giving satisfaction. The Malabar Council of the South India United Church, the Kanarese Evangelical Mission and the other bodies which have taken responsibility for the large work of the former Basel Mission in Western India are suffering from a serious curtailment in funds which have hitherto been available, and have to face considerable financial difficulties. The work of the Leipzig Mission, now under the Tamil Evangelical Lutheran Mission in connexion with the Church of Sweden, is beginning to recover from the effects of the war. The membership has increased by over 1000.

Education in Burma.

Under the Indian Reform Act, as applied to Burma after the report of Sir F. A. Whyte's Committee, the whole of education, including the University of Rangoon and European and Indian schools and colleges passes under the control of Burmese ministers. Some of the tribal areas with the largest numbers of Christians are, because of their backward condition, excluded from the operation of the reform scheme as provided by the Act. The franchise is far more democratic than in India proper; there is no sex disqualification whatever.

A study of the Christian community in Burma, in the light of the Census of 1921, appeared in the October number of the Review. Strong native leadership is developing.

At the Burma Baptist Convention, attended by 3200 registered delegates, the presiding officer was a Karen. From the new field of the American Baptists north of Kengtung more than 2500 converts have been baptized during the year. The Women's Auxiliary of the Wesleyan Mission has been asked by Government to train teachers for their schools and to begin infant welfare work. Health lectures are being given by request in Buddhist schools by some of the missionaries.

Missions

Trinity College, Kandy, having completed fifty years of distinguished service, celebrated its jubilee in August 1922. The school work at Hillwood among Kandian girls and at Mount Lavinia for the deaf and dumb has been full of encouragement. The work of the Friends' Mission has been taken over by the English Baptists.

Ceylon

IV. AFRICA

West Africa

This number of the Review opens with an authoritative discussion of what is perhaps the most important missionary question in West Africa — the outlook for missionary work within the vast colonial empire of France. M. Allégret has interpreted the attitude of the French authorities, and solution is to be found along the lines he suggests. Concern is felt in America and Great Britain in view of the decree issued by the President of the French Republic in February 1922 which authorizes the use of Latin, French or any native language of the colonies in public worship, but requires the authorization of the Government for the establishment of any church or other building for public worship, and forbids assembly for worship in any unauthorized place. Additional regulations issued by the Governor-General of French West Africa require that all private schools be incorporated in

French West Africa

the government system of education and conform to all the requirements of that system. The Christian and Missionary Alliance has obtained permission to open work in French Sudan and in French Guinea.

Lapsing of Exclusion Ordinances

The Ordinances imposed by the British Government as a result of the war whereby Germans, whether missionaries or not, were excluded for a term of years, have lapsed in several of the British colonies, including the Gold Coast and Nigeria. Thus German missionaries are now in the same position as all other non-British missionaries of 'unrecognized' societies. Their entrance will depend on their obtaining the necessary permits. Applications for such permits will be dealt with on the advice of the local government of the colony to which the missionary wishes to go.

Educational Commission

The Africa Education Commission sent out under the auspices of the Phelps-Stokes Fund with the co-operation of American, British and continental mission boards, with Dr T. Jesse Jones as chairman, issued its report at the close of 1922.[1] It provides a detailed survey of much of the existing educational work in Liberia, Sierra Leone, the Gold Coast, Nigeria, the Belgian Congo and Angola, as well as South Africa, with careful studies of the economic and sociological backgrounds in the areas visited. Its recommendations are based on wide experience and consultation on the spot with educational experts, both government and missionary.

Liquor Traffic

The liquor traffic in West Africa, though greatly reduced, still continues. Territories hitherto immune have recently been declared licensed areas. 'Trade spirits' has been prohibited, but as the term is ambiguous and cannot be defined, liquor trade marks have been reorganized. As a result, in all licensed areas liquor other than 'trade spirits' can be purchased by the Natives. The struggle against alcohol, begun in 1921, has been energetically carried on in the French African colonies.

[1] Reviewed in IRM, 1923 (Jan.), pp. 128–33, by Principal R. R. Moton of Tuskegee.

In January 1922 the Governor-General and in September the Commissioner in Togoland, issued important ordinances for the suppression of the importation, holding and sale of alcohol.

Gold Coast

Mission work in the Gold Coast has made steady progress during the year. The income of the local church connected with the Scottish Mission amounted to nearly £12,000. The question of the return of German missionaries to take part in the work is under discussion with the Government. Attention was called in a government report [1] issued in December 1922 to the remarkable mass movement towards Christianity in Ashanti, under the influence of an African leader, Sampson Opon. Some 15,000 persons have been baptized. The Wesleyan Mission is erecting a large training college at Kumassi. Of the £30,000 needed for the scheme the local churches are undertaking to provide two-thirds. The Anthropological Department under Captain Rattray has already rendered material service both to the Ashanti Government and to the missions. The Northern Territories of the Gold Coast, with an estimated population of over 360,000, are still practically unevangelized.

Togoland

The Mandates for French and British Togoland, approved by the Council of the League of Nations on July 20th, 1922, contain articles securing religious liberty and the right of missionaries who are nationals of states members of the League of Nations to hold property, to erect religious buildings, and to open schools.[2] Notwithstanding strenuous efforts throughout the year no satisfactory arrangement has been arrived at regarding the carrying on of the work of the Bremen Mission, the stations of which lie in the territory mandated both to France and Great Britain. The Christian Church has suffered through the political division of the country and the absence of European help, but it has held together

[1] Colonial Report—Ashanti, No. 1142.

[2] For text of Article see IRM, 1923 (Jan.), p. 151.

bravely and even increased in self-support and in membership. Forty-seven of the former Bremen mission schools have been taken over by the British Government.[1]

Nigeria

The government report on Nigeria issued in 1922 notes a marked change for the better in the attitude of non-Moslem communities in the Northern Provinces towards the administration, as a result of the principle of indirect rule through native administrators. A training college for teachers for government schools was opened in March at Katsino, almost on the northern frontier. The report notes an increasing demand for education, especially in the towns, and a 'distinct advance' in the secondary education provided in mission schools.

Church Growth in Nigeria

The Christian community in West Africa grows by leaps and bounds. In one of the C.M.S. districts where in 1904 there were 5 workers in 1 station with 35 adherents, contributing £4 to the maintenance of the work, there are now 125 workers in 65 stations with some 5700 adherents whose offerings amount to £1800 a year. In a district where no town has a resident teacher and one ordained man is in charge of the whole work, 1800 Christians were confirmed in July 1922.

Mission Schools

In the C.M.S. mission educational statistics show a striking increase within a period of 21 years. In 1901 there were five schools with 392 pupils; in 1922, 326 schools with over 26,000 pupils. The chronic difficulty of the whole period has been the shortage of properly trained African teachers. The education of girls is still gravely disproportionate to that of boys.

The Cameroons

In July 1922 Mandates dividing the trusteeship of the Cameroons between France and Great Britain, including in each case an article safeguarding religious liberty and freedom for missionary work,[2] were approved by the League of Nations. The policy of the Nigerian government in administering the portion allotted

[1] *Report of the British Mandated Sphere of Togoland*, 1922 (Cmd. 1698).
[2] IRM, 1923 (Jan.), p. 151.

to Great Britain is that of indirect rule through African chiefs.[1] In the French sphere the Paris Mission, though heavily pressed in its older fields, has been able to continue its work in the former spheres of the Berlin and Basel missions, under the leadership of M. Allégret. The work among the Bamun, a Sudanese tribe whom the Hausa tried to islamize, has been encouraging. In the British sphere no arrangement has yet proved possible for shepherding the Christian community of from 12,000 to 15,000 belonging to the Basel and the German Baptist Missions. The missionaries of the Paris Mission are helping, as much as they are able, the native pastors and evangelists. The scene of the African idyll in the last issue of the Review is the American Presbyterian Mission in the Cameroons.

Congo Missions

The General Congo Protestant Missionary Conference has established a central office with a permanent secretary at Kinshasa, the funds being provided by American, British and Swedish missions. The first secretary is the Rev. Alfred Stonelake of the English Baptist Mission, who is also superintendent of the new Union Mission House at Kinshasa, built for the use of workers from six missions. At Bolenge the General Congo Conference of Protestant Missionary Societies outlined a strong programme of work for 1922, including educational advance, a missionary survey of the Congo territories and active co-operation with literature committees at the home base. Much of the programme has already been put into practice. Dr Henri Anet of Brussels has consented to act as *agent de liaison* between the Congo missions and the Belgian Government. The religious movement led by Kibangu the African 'prophet,' has died down.[2] It has resulted in some districts in a deep religious awakening; in the Sona Bata church on the Lower Congo 3000 have been baptized in the last year, and the revival is not abating. Most of the Congo missions report increase of numbers and extension of work.

[1] See *Report on the British Sphere of the Cameroons* (Cmd. 1647. 6d.), 1922.

[2] An account of this movement was given in IRM, 1922 (Apr.), pp. 270–7.

At one station of the Swedish Mission the catechumens have increased from 3000 to 10,000. An article which appeared in *Congo*, a review published in Brussels, shows how large a proportion of the education in the colony is in the hands of Protestant and Roman Catholic missionaries.[1]

Angola

In May 1922 representatives of the Protestant missions working in Angola met at Dondi and formed the Angola Missions Conference, for the promotion of fellowship, for more effective co-operation, and for mutual counsel. Questions relating to the use of the vernacular in elementary schools and the right of the native Christians to evangelize their fellows were discussed and resolutions sent forward to the High Commissioner.

East and Central Africa

Abyssinia

Attention has been called in the public press to the slavery conditions in Abyssinia and the slave raiding which it is alleged goes on openly in the south. The matter is receiving the attention of the League of Nations. The Prince Regent has welcomed the starting of a hospital by the American United Presbyterian Mission at Addis Abeba. The Evangelical National Society in Sweden reports that the Galla, after 60 years of patient work, are now open to missionary work. The American Presbyterians in their Sudan Mission have been able to baptize 18 Nuers on the borders of Abyssinia.

Political Self-Consciousness

In East and Central Africa educated and partly educated Natives are rapidly developing a new outlook and claiming a fuller place in affairs. A native paper, *Sekanyola* (The Stork that looks out on the World), written in Luganda, the majority of its contributors being Baganda, is issued in Nairobi and has a rapidly growing circulation. Native associations formed within the last year or two are giving the African opportunity for the expression of ambitions or grievances. In July the Government in Kenya

[1] 'L'instruction publique au Congo belge,' *Congo*, 1922 (avril), pp. 501–30.

began the issue of *Habari*, a monthly newspaper partly in English, partly in Swahili, to give information on government, social and agricultural matters, and news.

Uganda

Movements towards greater national self-expression are evident in Uganda in church synods and councils as well as in secular affairs. A feature of the past year has been the increased devolution of responsibility upon African clergy, who have the supervision of their fellow-clergy within 3 out of the 12 large districts into which the diocese is divided.

Education

Education in Uganda has so far been entirely in the hands of the five missions : the Church Missionary Society, three Roman Catholic Missions (White Fathers, Mill Hill and the Verona Mission), and the Africa Inland Mission in the West Nile Districts. Technical training is given in most of the schools. The Bishop Tucker Memorial College, which had 60 resident students in 1922 in training for the ministry, has also a developing technical school with 24 young apprentices. The Government has now established a technical college near Kampala, under a former C.M.S. missionary, where advanced carpentry, agriculture, surveying, veterinary work and medicine will be taught. The Mengo Medical School of the C.M.S. is transferred to this new college. The Diocesan Board of Education has urged the Government to appoint a Director of Education for the protectorate. The educated young womanhood of the country is beginning to make itself felt. Of the young men educated at the Budo school 50 have become schoolmaster-missionaries and 3 are reading for ordination. Owing to inadequate pay it is difficult to get men of high intellectual standard for the ministry.

Medical Work

The Mengo Medical Mission has completed 25 years of splendid service. Funds have been given to open medical work at Ng'ora in the Eastern Province where there is much leprosy. Generous service is rendered on behalf of the sick by government doctors.

The Ordinances excluding Germans, whether missionaries or not, from Kenya, Nyasaland and Tanganyika for a term of years as a result of the war lapsed during 1922, but have been renewed for a further period of twelve months. Occasional exceptions for individuals have been made.

Ordinances excluding Germans

In Kenya Colony the influence gained by a young man well known to the missionaries, Harry Thuku, secretary of one of the political associations, became so widespread as to endanger public welfare. On the arrest of Thuku in Nairobi in March a disturbance broke out which resulted in the death of 20 Natives. The incident was the subject of a government inquiry. Famine due to lack of rainfall has been rife in certain districts. A branch line has been begun from the Uganda railway up to the Plateau. In the course of the year Major-General Sir E. Northey was recalled and Sir R. Coryndon, Governor of Uganda, succeeded him.

Kenya Colony

The question of relations between Indian and European settlers was prominent during the early part of 1922, being complicated by the diverse views of the Colonial Secretary (Mr Churchill) and the Government of India. Four Indian members were nominated to the Legislature in March. At the close of the year the Indians re-opened their campaign for adult franchise.

Indians in Kenya

The educational scheme now at work in the colony is based on close co-operation between Government and the missions, but owing to financial straits the proposed plans have had to be curtailed. Three outstanding mission schools in the colony are at Kikuyu and Tumutumu (Church of Scotland) with normal, medical and industrial departments in active working order; and Maseno (C.M.S.) with 170 boys learning carpentry and other trades, a normal department and—as soon as the new hospital is completed—medical training. Two new central schools have also been opened at Butere in Kavirondo and

Education

Kahuhia in Kikuyu reserves (both C.M.S.). Preparations are in hand also for central schools in the Giriama and Tita countries. It is significant that two-thirds of the new government grant given to the school at Kahuhia was officially allotted for the women's side. The Kikuyu Alliance of Missionary Societies are planning a united college on a large scale; the medical department, for which the balance of the East Africa War Funds is available, is to be first established.

Questions of Faith and Order

At the meeting of the Kikuyu Alliance in January 1922, and at subsequent meetings of its Representative Council, questions of faith and order of great moment to all other missions as well as to those in the Kikuyu Alliance were discussed. No final decisions were arrived at, pending a reference to the Churches which the missions represent.

Jubaland

The Swedish Mission report what amounts to a small mass movement in Jubaland where the population is strongly Mohammedan. About 75 persons were baptized in the year.

Tanganyika

The mandate for Tanganyika Territory is among those approved by the council of the League of Nations in July 1922 and contains an article safeguarding religious liberty.[1] Advance has been made in providing for the German missions bereft of their leaders after the war. New Langenburg is being supervised by four missionaries of the United Free Church of Scotland. The Church of Scotland has a good staff in Iringa. Both the Scottish missions are anxious to preserve as far as possible the aims and methods of the German missions which have been displaced. The Universities' Mission is caring for the province of Songea. The American Lutherans have taken over the work of the Leipzig Mission and 8 ordained and 2 lay missionaries and a hospital nurse were at work by the end of 1922. The number of Christians has risen from 3600 in 1913 to 6000 in 1921. The American Lutherans are

[1] See IRM, 1923 (Jan.), p. 151.

taking charge of the Bielefeld Mission in Usambara and the Berlin Mission in Dar-es-salam.

Belgian East Africa

The Mandate for Belgian East Africa (Ruanda and Urundi) was also approved by the League of Nations Council in July. Two of the former Bielefeld mission stations have been re-opened by the Belgian Protestant mission—Kirinda and Iremera. Five missionaries are at work, and industrial, medical and school work have been begun. There have been 20 baptisms in Ruanda in the C.M.S. pioneer medical work.

Northern Rhodesia

The first General Missionary Conference for the whole of Northern Rhodesia, met at Kafue under the presidency of Bishop May in July 1922. Dr C. T. Loram, of the Native Affairs Commission, was present and took part.[1] Proposals were made for the establishment of government institutions, under the joint management of government and missionary representatives, to provide instruction in agriculture, industry, pedagogy and the duties of chiefs. Official support was given to the proposal to turn the Primitive Methodist Institution at Kafue into a government secondary school. Resolutions were passed urging that pending the decision of the Privy Council on the ownership of the land, arising out of the claim of the British South Africa Company, no more land be alienated from the natives without permission of some authority appointed by the Colonial Office. The 12 non-Roman missions have 45 stations with 55 missionaries, 71 European lay workers and a native staff of 266 evangelists and 1105 teachers. The church membership, including catechumens, is over 18,400. The 457 day schools have nearly 40,000 scholars. Jesuits and White Fathers are also at work.

The Trans-Zambezi railway was opened for general traffic in July. At present the line connects Beira with Blantyre, but it will be extended. The Universities' Mission

[1] A valuable article by Dr Loram on 'A Native Policy for Northern Rhodesia' appeared in the Christmas number of *The Livingstone Mail*.

reports a year of much sowing and some reaping in the dioceses of Zanzibar, Nyasaland and Northern Rhodesia.

Nyasaland

The first woman doctor has been sent out. The staff of the U.F.C. Mission in Livingstonia has passed its pre-war standard. The number of African clergy in the mission is over 40.

The port of Chinde was destroyed by a terrific cyclone in February 1922. Famine has been rife in several districts,

Portuguese East Africa

and the agricultural work of missions has suffered greatly. A day school to prepare boys and girls for the government certificate in secondary education has been opened by the Wesleyan, Anglican and Swiss missions with the aid of a Portuguese teacher. In the Mission Romande, the Christians have, notwithstanding the famine, increased their contributions; men who went to the mines in Johannesburg continued to support their home Church. Difficulties as to the attitude and regulations of the Government in regard to missions have been expressed by the Universities' Mission and by some workers of the Dutch Reformed Church among the Angoni.

South Africa

Native unrest in South Africa was the subject of a recent article in this Review.[1] While there is no part

Native Unrest

of the world where the awakening of public conscience on the relationship of black and white is more needed yet evidence is not lacking that racial co-operation rather than racial dominance is being gradually recognized as the goal of South African statesmanship.

A strike of white miners against mine-owners took place on the Rand in February 1922 which was revolutionary

The Rand Strike

as well as industrial and racial in character. Over 100,000 Natives were suddenly thrown out of work in Johannesburg. General Smuts, who led

[1] IRM, 1922 (Apr.), pp. 249–59. The article is by Mr D. D. T. Jabavu, B.A. (Lond.), lecturer at the South African Native College at Fort Hare, C.P.

the forces which finally quelled the disturbance, called upon the white population to recognize the proper attitude of the Natives throughout the crisis; he stated that notwithstanding cruel and wanton provocation they kept their heads and were one of the most stable elements on the Rand.

Bondelzwart Rebellion Inquiry

The Native Affairs Commission, which completed its first year's work in 1921, has won the confidence of the Natives. From July to October the Commission was engaged in investigating the causes of the rebellion of the Bondelzwart Hottentots in the mandated territory of South-West Africa, and the method of its suppression. It will be remembered that the great loss of native life—112 killed and an unknown number wounded—and the searching questions asked in the Mandates Committee of the League of Nations excited widespread comment. General Smuts, on behalf of the mandatory Power—the Union of South Africa—promised a full and impartial inquiry. The Report of the Commission has not yet issued from the press.

Native Education

The Union Government has not so far followed the advice of the Commission to transfer education from provincial control to that of the central government. The year has been one of hardship for the admittedly underpaid native teachers, but they have worked on loyally and in the Cape have made a splendid effort to meet the new requirements of the syllabus introduced by the recently appointed Chief Inspector of Education. Contrary to the fears of some, the Natives have welcomed a syllabus fitted to their special needs and differing from that of the Europeans. Steady progress has been made in Natal and the Transvaal, but the situation in the Orange Free State remains unsatisfactory. The Commissioners have presented to Government a scheme for native taxation in order to provide for educational expansion and for increase in teachers' salaries.

The Urban Areas (Natives) Bill prepared for Parliament by the Native Affairs Commission in 1921, was brought up

late in the 1922 session and read a first time. It will come up again in 1923, associated with a Pass Law to relieve the Natives from many of their disabilities. It is regarded as the most important remedial measure of recent years. During the preparation of the measure it was discussed by the Commissioners with 20 representative Natives in a four days' session. The principle that no measure affecting Natives should be brought to Parliament till it has been discussed with the people themselves has been amply justified; the Commission will tour the district with new measures before they become law.

Urban Areas (Natives) Bill

The legislation for Native Councils provided by the Native Affairs Act has not yet been taken advantage of. It is apparently ahead of the people in all provinces but the Cape, and there it has been interpreted as an attempt to interfere with franchise rights.

Native Councils

The unpopular Land Act of 1913 still remains the law of the country. Improvements have, however, been made in administration, and in the native areas scheduled by the revising committees it is possible for Natives to buy or rent land. Unfortunately these areas are neither very large nor very fertile and there are many cases of landless Natives in certain parts of the country. The recent report issued by the Administrator for the South-West Territory is held to be specially open to challenge in regard to the arrangements for native land.

Land Questions

The General Missionary Conference of South Africa held its fifth meeting (the first for nine years, owing to the war) at Durban in July 1921. Some 150 missionaries attended. Papers prepared by groups of missionaries in the Cis-kei, Transkei, Orange Free State and Natal, on such subjects as wages, land in native areas and the Land Act of 1913, the hardships of Pass regulations, health conditions, housing in urban and suburban areas, illegitimacy and prostitution, and the evasion of

General Missionary Conference

liquor laws, were discussed by members of the Native Affairs Commission, native pastors and European missionaries.

German Missions

The German missionaries have been able to continue their work, though it has been greatly hampered for lack of funds. An attempt to raise money by the sale of mission lands failed. The Berlin Mission was able to place five East African missionaries in South Africa. Some of the schools have been re-established. The Rhenish Mission has sent three workers to South-West Africa, the Dutch Church at the Cape having raised the money for their travelling and support for three years. The Moravians, though in serious financial difficulty, have re-inforced both their western and eastern fields, the latter by a missionary from East Africa. The Hermannsburg Mission has also been able to strengthen its European and native staff, while the Hanoverian Free Church Mission has temporarily transferred a missionary to the Swedish Mission in Natal.

French Missions

The Paris Evangelical Missionary Society had its first mission in Basutoland and subsequently, under the leadership of the great François Coillard, opened work among the Barotsi on the Zambezi river. In the Lessuto Mission there are now 34 stations, 23 of which are under native leadership. The communicants number over 33,000, and the influence of the mission extends far beyond the Church. In the Zambezi Mission the Gospel has worked a great social change, partly owing to the influence of King Litia and the Queen Mother who are both sincere Christians.

Swiss Mission

The Training Institution of the Mission Romande has been removed from Lemana to Elim (Transvaal); over 60 students, male and female, can be accommodated in the new building. At Lemana a two-years' training course for evangelists has been arranged.

Among other matters of interest during the year may be mentioned the fruitful meeting of the Transkei Missionary Conference at Umtata in October; the increasing number of

Native Welfare Associations in towns, in some of which Europeans and Natives work in joint membership; the formation of the South African Native Teachers' Federation; the transference of the administration of Lovedale from its late education board to a council representative of South Africa, on which the Union Government, the Native Presbyterian Church and representatives of former native students have places; the summer school held at Lovedale for teachers and social workers, with an attendance of 200 Natives; the first vacation course held for native teachers in the Orange Free State, organized with an attendance of nearly 100 by the Stofberg Gedenk School of the Dutch Reformed Church; the growth both in staff and in membership of the Finnish Mission in the South West Territory; the work of the School of African Life and Languages at Capetown University (which offers invaluable equipment to missionaries); the opening of the Jane Furze Memorial Hospital in memory of the only child of the Bishop of Pretoria, now Bishop of St Albans, and of an orphanage for Indian children by the Wesleyan Methodist Church of South Africa; the support given to the Andrew Murray Missionary Home in Capetown; and the fruitful mission of healing carried on for four months by Mr J. M. Hickson, beginning in the diocese of Capetown. Mr Max Yergen, the first Y.M.C.A. Negro secretary to go from America to student work in South Africa, has had an encouraging year.

Other Matters of Interest

Southern Rhodesia decided by referendum in October against entry into the Union of South Africa and consequently becomes a Crown Colony. The report of the Chief Native Commissioner states that relations between the Natives and the administration is excellent, and that there is great demand for primary education and industrial training. Some modification of the Pass Laws has been granted. The tendencyof the Natives to form churches of their own is noted as a danger to established order.

Southern Rhodesia

The fourth meeting of the Southern Rhodesia Missionary Conference held at Buluwayo in July 1922 was noteworthy. Forty delegates from 12 churches and missions were present—3 being representatives of the Roman Catholic Church—and a distinguished group of administrators and officials. The relation of the schools opened under the Government Native Development Scheme to the mission schools was debated. A resolution was sent forward suggesting the creation of a sub-department of the Education Department to deal with matters relating to native education. The Conference asked that effect be given to the recommendation of the Chief Native Commissioner 'that portions of unalienated land adjacent to the reserves be set apart, surveyed in suitable blocks, and offered for sale to Natives who desire to become individual owners of land.' The need for reform in native marriage laws was pressed. Sub-committees were appointed for Matabeleland and Mashonaland to co-operate with committees working at the home base on literature for Africa.

Southern Rhodesia Missionary Conference

Madagascar

The Paris Evangelical Mission, which celebrated its centenary in 1922, has 15 stations, 632 out-stations, 45 European workers, 321 native workers, and 10,000 communicants and catechumens in its Madagascar mission. The new mission begun by the London Missionary Society at Imerimandroso has fifty Malagasy preachers in training. Work has also been opened among the Tsimihety of North Madagascar. In the Friends' Mission there has been an increased spirit of self-support. A recent synod of the Anglican Church (S.P.G.) agreed to call a conference between Malagasy clergy and pastors of the various communions in Tananarivo to discuss the question of re-union. It was proposed that women should be admitted as full members of the synod, but decision was postponed.

Missions

V. THE NEAR AND MIDDLE EAST AND EGYPT

Political Affairs

The authoritative survey of the political and missionary situation in the Near and Middle East in the January Review makes it unnecessary to do more than add some brief supplementary paragraphs here. The year 1922 has seen conferences, discussions, negotiations, rise and disappear in swift succession between the Allied Powers and the Turkish Governments in Constantinople and Angora. The defeat of the Greek army in Anatolia in September, the destruction of Smyrna which ensued, and the consequent terrible massacres and deportation of Christians, violently interrupted the earlier hopes of peace and produced misery on an unparalleled scale. Relief in Great Britain and America was rapidly mobilized for such refugees as could be reached. The Standing Committee of the Conference of Missionary Societies in Great Britain and Ireland, moved by the fate of the Christian minorities in the interior—Greek, Armenian, Nestorian and Chaldean—and also by the fate of Turkish-Moslem minorities in Greece, Yugo-Slavia, Bulgaria and Roumania, issued a Statement pleading for a Christian solution of the problem, which appeared in *The Times* of 9th November. It was then estimated that in Greece, Constantinople, the Balkans and on the shores of the Black Sea, there were over one million refugees—men, women and children, starving and freezing, ravaged by epidemic illness. The last of the conferences of the year intended to secure the peace of the Near East met at Lausanne in November, but no conclusion was reached. The flight of the Sultan of Turkey with his little son from Constantinople to Malta in December, and his subsequent departure for Mecca, was accompanied by the election of his cousin as Khalif by the Angora Grand National Assembly, thus severing religious and political authority in the Turkish dominions.

The situation in regard to the American missions in Asia Minor and the whole of the Near East is at the time of writing obscure. Their status under the Angora Assembly is uncertain. At the close of the year the American Board reported that 95 per cent of the constituency of its missions had disappeared, that most of the churches were closed and not one of its eight colleges was active. Dr James L. Barton, who is an expert on all the American humanitarian and educational work in Turkey, the Balkans and Greece, was in attendance during the Lausanne Conference to give information and help as opportunities arose.

American Missions

The French Mandate for Syria was ratified in July. The government is at present carried on under an Acting High Commissioner. The Syrian Protestant College in Beirut is henceforth to be known as the American University of Beirut. It has enlarged its work and added post-graduate schools. The northern and southern sections of the United Missionary Conference of Syria and Palestine met in Beirut and in Jerusalem in April 1922. The Danish-Orient Mission has been given permission to open a hospital at Nebk.

Syria

Amir Abdullah, son of King Hussein, visited London in October to discuss schemes for the development of Transjordania as an Arab state. The C.M.S. has stations at Salt and Amaan. The Christian and Missionary Alliance has also opened work.

Trans-jordania

The strenuous opposition made by the Arab Delegation and other groups and individuals to the Palestine Mandate failed, and it was ratified in London at the Council of the League of Nations in July. It was proclaimed in Jerusalem in September, by Sir Herbert Samuel, the High Commissioner. The articles safeguarding religious liberty were published in this Review in October 1922. The issue of a White Paper by the British Government early in July cleared the air. The extreme claim of some Zionists that the indefinite term 'national home' in the Balfour

Palestine

Declaration was equivalent to a ' Jewish state ' was adjusted by the statement that the status of all citizens of Palestine was to be Palestinian in the eyes of the law. Moslem, Jewish and Christian religious courts are to be set up with exclusive jurisdiction in certain particulars for the members of the three religions. The Jewish population, numbering about 80,000 out of a total population of over 700,000 (of whom about 85,000 are Christians), forms a community with its own political organs, an elected assembly for its domestic affairs, elected councils in towns, and an organization for the control of its numerous and well-ordered schools. The importance of higher Christian education for boys and girls in view of the whole situation is strongly urged both by the Bishop and the missions. The bar to the return of Germans to Palestine has been removed. The Jerusalemsverein has been able to resume its work at Haifa. The Swedish Mission has completed its new hospital at Bethlehem.

Persia

Dr Robert E. Speer paid a three-months' visit to Persia in the early months of 1922. His published letters are a noteworthy addition to missionary literature.[1] He visited every station of the Presbyterian Board except Urumia which is still closed, its fruitful work in ruins—one of the most tragic results of the war. The mission, which occupies Northern Persia, has a staff of 95 missionaries, including wives. In Southern Persia, the mission of the Church Missionary Society has had much encouragement, not only in school and hospital work but in regularly organized evangelistic work round Isfahan. At Whitsuntide the Armenian Patriarch and Bishop Linton of the C.M.S. arranged two days of prayer for unity ; crowds thronged the road waiting for their turn to enter the Armenian and Anglican churches for silent intercession.

The agitation carried on in Iraq to secure complete political independence resulted in the signing of a Treaty in October between Great Britain and Iraq, as a substitute

[1] *Report on India and Persia*, 1922.

for the Mandate but preserving its essential provisions, including those as to religious liberty.[1] The validity of the Treaty is contingent upon the admission of Iraq to the League of Nations, this being the sole means by which the mandatory relation can be legally terminated. The boundaries of Iraq are not yet fixed. Plans are taking shape for the establishment of a united mission by the American Presbyterian and American Reformed Churches, beginning with Bagdad and Mosul, until recently stations of the C.M.S. The Lutheran Orient Mission Society, connected with the Hermannsburg Mission, has been able to send a medical man to Tabriz.

Mesopotamia

On 28th February 1922, Great Britain declared that the Protectorate proclaimed in 1914 was terminated, and that Egypt was a sovereign state. The disturbed state of the country described in the January Review continued to the close of the year. The new Constitution was promulgated in January 1923. It grants freedom to the profession and practice of religion, and equal rights to citizens of whatever race, language or religion.

Egypt

An influential gathering of missionary representatives from Egypt, Persia, Algeria, Syria, Palestine, Arabia and India, met in Cairo in November to prepare the final draft of the report of the Committee on the Survey of Christian Literature for Moslems which has been at work under the chairmanship of Dr Cornelius H. Patton. On behalf of the Committee, Dr S. M. Zwemer has made extensive tours and investigations in Algeria, Tunis and Morocco and also in Malaysia. Mr F. W. MacCallum was chairman of the conference at Cairo. Proposals for co-ordinating the production, publication and circulation of literature in Moslem lands were agreed on, and an important report entitled *The Power of the Printed Page in the World of Islam* was prepared and is now about to be issued.

Christian Literature for Moslems

[1] See IRM, 1923 (Jan.), pp. 151–2.

VI. THE JEWS [1]

ALTHOUGH mission work among the Jews, in a year in which both on the stage and behind the scenes they took a notable part in the world drama, presents no startling features, facts supplied by the various missions show the extent and success of the work. By one society alone, baptisms are reported during the year at Bucharest, Isfahan, Jerusalem, London, Rotterdam and Warsaw. Thirty converts were confirmed in Poland by Bishop Bury.

A Fruitful Year

The promising work of the Church of Scotland in Smyrna suffered in the burning of the city, its premises which lay in the Armenian quarter being destroyed. Turning to Palestine, the Church of England mission to Jews reports a large number of cases in its hospital in Jerusalem, and spiritual influence in its schools. The United Free Church Jewish Mission has opened a second hospital at Tiberias—the first for women and girls in Palestine—and at the request of the Palestinian Government and of the leading inhabitants, has opened in Safed higher schools for boys and girls. From Jaffa, with its flourishing Jewish suburb of Tel Aviv and several Jewish colonies in the neighbourhood, a hopeful change of attitude towards the missionaries is reported. There has been transfer of work from one society to another in Safed and in Hebron. At the Bible School on Mount Carmel many of the 270 boys are Jews. A life of our Lord in modern Hebrew by a learned Jew, Joseph Klausner, was published in Jerusalem.

The Near East

In Persia, where over 100 Jews baptized in connexion with the Church Mission constitute a powerful witness for Christ, there are between 300 and 400 boys and girls in the schools respectively at Tehran and Isfahan. Itinerating work is prospering.

Persia

In Europe, an anti-semitic feeling, on occasion breaking out into violence, has retarded Jewish evangelization, but on

[1] For the political situation of the Jews in Palestine, see pp. 240–1.

the other hand suffering seems to have driven many Jews to seek comfort or a measure of safety under the wing of the scattered missionaries. From several areas in Eastern Europe come reports of many crowding to hear the Gospel at permanent stations or from itinerant missionaries. Workers are having freer access to masses of the Jewish people. Poland has been a fruitful field. Under the Mildmay Mission the Hebrew Christian community is increasing and becoming more of a force in Ekaterinoslav. The same society has established work at Salonika. School work under the London Jews Society at Bucharest and the United Free Church at Budapest has gained new importance and influence. At both places Jewish pupils in the schools far exceed any numbers hitherto on the rolls. In Constantinople a large influx of Jewish pupils was reported in the autumn of 1922, the joint mission of the Scottish Churches enrolling over 300 pupils in a new school.

Europe

In Abyssinia, in spite of famine and many internal disturbances, the nine native workers of the Church Mission have courageously worked on. From Tunis the Bishop of Gibraltar reports highly of the mission school which has a roll of 120 girls and 105 boys. The teaching is given in French. Copies of the New Testament were sent in 1922 to every Rabbi in Tunisia and Algeria whose address could be found, and in many cases were acknowledged.

Other Fields

The societies working among Jews are suffering from the general lack of funds. The supply of British candidates is encouraging, but more Hebrew Christians are needed for the work. The U.F.C. Mission has been able to appoint ten new workers, most of them graduates, to its Jewish mission fields. The Hebrew Christian Alliance held its eighth annual conference in Toronto. The annual inter-mission conference on work among the Jews organized by a committee of the British Conference of Missionary Societies was held in London in April 1922.

The Home Base

VII. OTHER MISSION FIELDS

AFTER the flood of war had receded from the Pacific, the obliterated administrative landmarks were replaced by new jurisdictions set up by mandates under the League of Nations. Japan, in addition to the Island of Yap (see p. 192), holds a mandate for the Marshall, Caroline, Pellew and Ladrone Islands; Australia received a mandate for Kaiser Wilhelm's Land (the northern section of New Guinea), the Bismarck Archipelago and two of the Solomon Islands; the British Empire became mandatory for the Island of Nauru, important because of its phosphate deposits and its great wireless station.[1]

Mandates in the Pacific

A survey of the work among Moslems in the Dutch East Indies has recently been published in this Review.[2] The visit of Dr S. M. Zwemer to the colonies was largely appreciated and emphasized the value for missionaries of the scientific study of Islam and of Arabic. He found an extraordinarily active Mohammedan propaganda through newspapers, periodicals and books. The financial problems of the German missions working in the Dutch colonies are still unsolved. The Rhenish Mission with its large fields transferred the greater part of its work in Borneo to the Basel Mission; the Dutch Colonial Government is still financing much of the German work in Sumatra. Several German missionaries unable to return to their former field have reinforced the Dutch societies. There is news from Nias of the beginning of a fresh revival.

The Dutch East Indies

The Straits Settlements and the nine Malay States under British protection, as presented in the Census Report,[3] are a populous and needy mission field. While Anglican, Methodist and Presbyterian missions are at work as well as one or two smaller bodies, and Roman

Federated Malay States

[1] There is on the missionary side nothing of importance to add to the articles which appeared in this Review in October, 1922.

[2] IRM, 1923 (Jan.), pp. 40-3. See also articles in the *Moslem World* for Jan. 1923, pp. 39–56.

[3] See the *Moslem World*, 1923 (Jan.), pp. 30–8.

Catholics (who have probably the most extensive work), the Malays, who constitute one-half the composite population, are practically unreached.

The present opportunity in the Philippines for evangelizing the Mohammedan Moros, won by wise American administration, appears to be one of the greatest confronting the Christian Church. The Union Theological Seminary at Manila has developed during the year. The Bible Department at the Silliman Institute has been expanded into a Bible School. Two missionaries have begun work among the lepers on the island of Culion. The great island of Samar is still an unoccupied field.[1]

The Philippines

The opening of railways and the introduction of aeroplanes have gone far to annihilate distance in Siam. The unification between the Siamese race of the South and the Laos race of the North has made rapid progress. It therefore became both practicable and desirable that the work of the American Presbyterian Church—the only Protestant mission board in Siam—should be unified. Plans for the consolidation of the North and South Siam Mission of that Church have recently been consummated. The promising work at Chiengrung on the borders of China has been made into a separate mission (see p. 208). Progress has been made in securing adequate plant for schools for girls and boys both in Bangkok and in Chiengmai. The interest of the Royal Family in the medical and educational work of the mission has led to gifts of money and land.

Siam

The great field of Indo-China is only partly open to missionary work, but the year has seen some development in plans for advance.[2] Three stations have been opened by the Christian and Missionary Alliance, from one of which both Cambodians and Annamese can be reached with the Gospel.

French Indo-China

[1] See a survey of Ten Years in the Philippines, IRM, 1922 (July), pp. 360–76.

[2] See an article in *World Dominion*, 1923 (Jan.), pp. 7–12. Published by the London Missionary Society.

Tibet

Patient approach to the great unevangelized land of Tibet is being made both from the Indian and the Chinese borders.

Afghanistan and Turkestan

The Treaty between Great Britain and Afghanistan, in which the complete independence of the latter country was recognized, was signed towards the close of 1921. The resultant effects of this Treaty, the progressive administration of the present Amir, the presence of various diplomatic missions in the capital, the education abroad of Afghan students, the Khalifate proclivities of Kabul, have during 1922 lessened the remoteness of that mountain land. Further, the Bolshevist penetration of Central Asia, the movements, real or mythical, of Enver Pasha in Turkestan, the defensive treaty entered into between the Angora Government and Afghanistan in which the religious suzerainty of Turkey is recognized, point to combinations or conflicts of forces which may at any time make this hitherto inaccessible nation a centre of importance in Asiatic and Mohammedan politics. While no mission work is as yet possible in Afghanistan, the Swedish Missionary Society in Eastern Turkestan reports brightening prospects and some baptisms.

South America

The work of the American Episcopal Church in Rio de Janeiro is steadily deepening in influence. The Theological Seminary for Brazilian clergy has been re-established with fine equipment. Progress in self-support is marked. The Episcopal Church is also conducting work in Mexico, Cuba, Porto Rico, Haiti, Panama and Colombia. The Committee on Co-operation in Latin America, with which 28 mission boards are associated, reports a great extension of evangelistic and social work, enlarged contact with the educated classes, advance in plans for Christian literature and for the occupation of the field. A number of conferences were held during the year. The South American Missionary Society are rejoicing in the first converts from the Matacos, one of the Argentine Chaco tribes.

VIII. THE HOME BASE

North America[1]

Two factors have conditioned the work of missionary boards in North America in 1922. The first is the general depression that prevailed in the commercial, industrial and agricultural world which prevented any large advance in the financial income of charitable organizations. The second is the development in many of the Churches of general promotional organizations in which all the denominational agencies combine in a total budget, a certain percentage being assigned to each board. The total benevolent gifts of the denomination are generally largely increased, but the contributions to the foreign missionary boards have not increased in the same proportion as those to other boards of the same Church. Most of the societies, therefore, especially those which had undertaken large forward movements a few years ago, report no increase or a decrease in their financial income. The receipts of the Foreign Mission Board of the Southern Baptist Convention show a falling off of $617,825. In the Methodist Episcopal Church a threatening deficit of large dimensions was only through a strenuous campaign transformed into an income larger by $16,000 than that of the previous year. The American Board reports a total debt of $180,000; the Canadian Presbyterian Board, with a budget of less than $600,000 has a deficit of approximately $200,000; the Northern Baptist Board reports total expenditures of $2,058,352 and a debt of $914,262. The deficit of the Women's American Baptist Foreign Missionary Society is nearly $400,000. In other cases the decrease in income has been offset by a decrease in the cost of work abroad or by retrenchment.

Hindrances to Advance

On the other hand, the General Mission Board of the

[1] This section has been contributed by the Rev. A. L. Warnshuis in conjunction with mission board secretaries in America.

Church of the Brethren expended $320,162, an increase of $60,000. The Christian and Missionary Alliance is enlarging its work, sending out fifty-two new missionaries during the year. In 1921 its missionary income was $11,000 greater than in any previous year, and in 1922 was only $7000 short of that record. The Department of Missions of the Protestant Episcopal Church observed the period from October 1921 to Easter 1922 as a centennial celebration and attained one of its objectives, which was to send out 100 new missionaries. The total gifts for missionary work exceeded those of the previous year by $175,000. The United Lutheran Church reports an increased income and a hopeful financial condition. The Presbyterian Church in the United States (South), in spite of financial depression, has seen a marked increase in giving as the result of a church-wide teaching of stewardship. The United Christian Missionary Society has doubled its receipts in the last five years.

Financial Encouragement

The situation as to the supply of missionary candidates is filled with promise. Almost all the boards report that more candidates, except those for medical work, are applying than at any previous time. In some Churches special provision to aid medical students is being made. The Northern Baptist Board, lest interest among students and young people should be checked, has sent out new missionaries notwithstanding a heavy burden of debt. The Canadian Presbyterian Board have 50 per cent more volunteers in college than ever before, especially among medical students. The Southern Methodist Board reports its largest number of missionaries and of specialized workers. The United Christian Missionary Society have more fully qualified candidates than they can at the moment place abroad. The Women's Northern Baptist Society is being approached by candidates with Master's and even Doctor's degrees. The Southern Baptist Board in May, 1922, had 969 volunteers in colleges and theological schools; one hundred were added during the autumn term. The Metho-

Missionary Candidates

dist Episcopal Church has 2075 young recruits definitely enlisted for foreign service. The supply of ordained missionary candidates has materially improved since the war. All reports agree that the choicest young men and young women in the Churches and colleges are volunteering for foreign service. The increase in the number of candidates is said by many boards to be due to an awakened interest in world conditions and international affairs. The larger boards still report vacancies unfilled because candidates with the proper qualifications have not been found.

The Outlook

Through all reports received from the North American boards there runs a steady note of encouragement and hope. In spite of temporary difficulties there is glad recognition that the general attitude of the Churches towards foreign missions is cordial and increasingly intelligent, expressing itself in deepening devotion. The Baptist Churches have been stirred by reports of spiritual awakening upon many of their foreign fields and the Methodist Episcopal Board by the largest increase ever known in its communicant membership. The United Lutheran and the Congregational Churches are responding to the re-organization by which foreign missions have been given a recognized place in the work of the Church. The general situation is summed up by the United Presbyterian Board in these words, ' Our Church is more intelligent regarding her foreign mission work, is praying more for it, is devoting more money to it, and giving more lives to it than ever before. There is real advance on all these lines.' Where there is lack of crusading spirit or intensity of devotion it is only a reflection of church life in general at the present time.

Missionary Propaganda

In missionary propaganda there is evident a conservatism, and an absence of spectacular efforts, which tells of stronger, deeper educational work. The Protestant Episcopal Board has adopted a programme for the years 1923–1925 and is massing all the home propaganda behind it. Some boards are encouraging local churches to undertake definite responsibilities for specified portions of

the work abroad. The Southern Presbyterian Board has formed a correspondence department, which is sending out daily over a hundred multigraphed letters fresh from the field to selected individuals. This Church and also the Southern Baptist Church have stressed the teaching of stewardship and the tithe as a minimum gauge for Christian giving. The Baptist and Methodist Churches have been engaged in collecting sums promised in recent special campaigns. The Methodist Centenary Movement is entering its last year. Plans are being made for a Post-Centenary, of which those for the first year have been announced. The need of fields formerly cared for by German societies have appealed strongly to the United Lutheran Churches, who have given generously in aid of the Berlin, Kieler, Brecklum, Gossner, Hermannsburg, Neuendettelsau, Leipsig and Finnish missions in Japan, China, India and Africa.

Missionary Preparation

More attention is being given to missionary training both in America and on the field. The Conference of North American Societies has completed a survey of the training schools in the field. Before deciding on the policy to be adopted, the preliminary report will be brought before the meeting of the International Missionary Council in July 1923.

United Work

The Foreign Missions Conference of North America (which met at Atlantic City in January 1922 and again in January 1923 at Bethlehem, Pennsylvania, just outside the period covered by this Survey) has carried out a large programme of co-operative work. Among other matters may be mentioned the series of inter-denominational conferences in eight cities, arranged by the Committee of Reference and Counsel. In these World Missions Conferences the present world situation was first presented simultaneously to every congregation in the city, then inter-denominational meetings followed for particular groups drawn from all the churches—ministers, men, women, young people—with a mass meeting at the close. Large use was

made of coloured lantern slides and motion pictures. The plan proved highly successful and is being continued.

Women's Union Colleges Campaign

Remarkable success was achieved by a Joint Committee with Mrs Henry W. Peabody as chairman, representing ten co-operating mission boards, on behalf of the building funds of six Women's Union Christian Colleges in the Orient — Tokyo; Yenching, Peking; Ginling, Nanking; Isabella Thoburn, Lucknow; Madras; and Vellore Medical, India. The Laura Spelman Rockefeller Memorial Fund offered to give $1,000,000 on certain conditions, the boards raised nearly $500,000 and about $1,500,000 was raised in a special campaign. The cost of the campaign has been about 2 per cent of the amount raised.

United Missionary Literature

The Missionary Education Movement and the Central Committee on the United Study of Foreign Missions provided six books with teachers' helps, maps and dramatic material, for the united study campaign on India. Thirty-six mission boards representing eighteen denominations in the U.S.A. have been actually co-operating, besides those in Canada. Six summer conferences for the training of local leaders in missionary education were held during the summer.

In Great Britain

Missionary Co-operation

The 42 organizations which form the Conference of Missionary Societies in Great Britain and Ireland met at Swanwick in June 1922 in their eleventh annual conference to shape their programme of common thought and work for another year.

Public and Governmental Questions

During 1922 attention has been given in Great Britain to such public and governmental questions as the traffic in opium and its derivatives; the Mui Tsai system in Hongkong; the use of the Boxer indemnity and the offer of British Chambers of Commerce in China to subsidize secondary schools; labour conditions in Africa; missionary freedom, especially

in French and Portuguese colonies; the draft constitutions for Palestine and Egypt; the situation in the Near East; German mission property in British territory; and the admission to British colonies and protectorates of alien missionaries working under recognized societies.

Educational Matters

The Report of the China Educational Commission was considered at two conferences held in London—one being on the recommendations for medical education,—in a study group of London secretaries meeting at Edinburgh House, and in the committee rooms of societies working in China. The Board of Study for the Preparation of Missionaries held two residential lecture courses and arranged several non-residential study courses during the year. Several missionary societies in France, Switzerland and Scandinavia make use of the facilities offered by the Board. The Recruiting Committee of the British Conference completed an inquiry into the motive and development of the missionary call.

Christian Literature

There has been an encouraging readiness on the part of the British boards to make grants for the literature schemes put forward by the National Councils in India and China. Advance has been made in the survey of Christian literature in Africa, on which a British committee, with generous support from America, is at work.

The Press Bureau and the U.C.M.E.

The Press Bureau, though still under crippling financial limitations, has developed into one of the largest assets of the British Conference. Its aid is welcomed as readily in the highest ranges of London journalism as in the provincial press. Its advocacy is sought for all moral and social reforms related to missionary work. Under its auspices a record of central co-operative activities is being issued as the *Edinburgh House Bulletin. Outward Bound*, also under the editorship of Mr Basil Mathews, has stabilized itself during the year. The United Council of Missionary Education has issued for the mission boards several new books, the most noteworthy being *Henry Martyn, Confessor of the Faith*, reviewed on p. 300.

Turning now from the co-operative activities of the British boards to their year's income, a study of balance sheets reveals the exceeding faithfulness of God in the midst of continued financial uncertainty. Some societies record the largest ordinary income ever received — among them the British and Foreign Bible Society; others have been able to balance lessened income by decreased expenditure. One board closing the year with a large deficit found it wiped out by generous gifts. Another with a drop of £20,000 in income has found a thousand names of new donors on its roll. A third society, hampered by a large deficit, finds hope for the future in the fact that already for every £1 given in the home church, 16s. is given in the mission field. The Church Missionary Society, with the third largest income in its long history, had a heavy deficit on March 31st, 1922. In November 1922 a group of those hitherto associated with the C.M.S. withdrew their support on the ground of theological differences, and formed a new society.

The Year's Finance

The outstanding event of the year at the home base was the Scottish Churches' Missionary Congress held in Glasgow in October, with an attendance of about 2000 representative ministers and laymen from all parts of Scotland. It was the culmination of the Scottish Churches' Missionary Campaign already described in this Review.[1] The whole movement, under the leadership of the Right Rev. Donald Fraser of Livingstonia, has made a deep mark on the religious life of Scotland.

Glasgow Missionary Congress

An interesting educational experiment is being tried by the Church Missionary Society. From carefully worked central training schools lasting for several days, workers go out to lead similar schools for large areas, the members of these in turn being available as leaders of smaller local training schools. The experience gained will be made available for all mission boards. The London and Baptist Missionary Societies are seeking

Missionary Education of the Church

[1] IRM, 1922 (April), pp. 286–94.

to create a new interest among laymen through monthly luncheon meetings and other means.

Missionary Council of the Church of England

The Missionary Council of the National Assembly of the Church of England, with a distinctive sphere among the diocesan and other official organizations of that Church, is the latest addition to the propaganda forces at the British home base. The Bishop of Salisbury is Chairman and the Rev. C. C. B. Bardsley, D.D., secretary to the new Council.

Other Matters of Interest

Among other matters of interest may be mentioned the encouraging first year's work of the East and West Friendship Committee, largely formed by representatives of missionary societies, whereby men and women from other lands—mainly students from the East—have been brought into touch with the spirit of Christianity in English home life; the action of the China Inland Mission in forming a Medical Mission Auxiliary; the sending of a Mission of Help, consisting of 24 clergy and 6 women to English Church people in India; the opening of a new hostel and lecture rooms at Kingsmead, Selly Oak, presented by the Women's Auxiliary of the Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Society; the opening of a Mission Hostel at Kettering, on historic ground, by the Baptist Missionary Society; and the colossal missionary exhibition—'Africa and the East'—organized in London by the C.M.S.

Extensive and Intensive Aims

The twofold aim of the British home base during 1922 is easily apparent from the preceding paragraphs: extensive work, to reach new ranges of people for missionary interest; and intensive work, to search for the springs of new spiritual energy and to release that energy in the Church.

Australia

The Churches and societies in Australia and New Zealand, which have more than doubled their missionary income in the last ten years, are developing plans for re-organization and advance at the home base and are accepting fuller

administrative responsibility for their mission fields. The United Missionary Council formed in Melbourne in 1920, representing practically all the non-Roman Churches in Australia, was followed during the year 1922 by the formation of a similar council in Sydney, the two being in close co-operation. The Geelong Missionary Exhibition in August 1922 is said to have been the largest ever held in the Southern Hemisphere.

Reorganization and Advance

On the Continent of Europe

The Belgian Government by giving an annual subsidy to the Protestant churches for social work and reconstruction after the war, has made more possible the support of the new Belgian Protestant Mission in Ruanda, in the East African territory mandated to Belgium. Interest in the mission is steadily increasing.

Belgium

In May 1922 a well-attended Scandinavian Foreign Missions Conference was held in Copenhagen. There is promise of closer contact between the Scandinavian societies. Danish missions report growing work, but some are facing a decreasing income.

Denmark

The financial situation in Finland continues very difficult. The income raised at home was the highest on record but the year's working showed a deficit of 70,000 Finnish marks. Workers for Africa and Asia are waiting to go out as soon as funds are secured.

Finland

The Centenary of the Paris Missionary Society, held in November, not only brought together representatives of all the Churches born of the French Reformation, but fellow-workers from Belgium, Great Britain, Germany, Norway, Sweden and Switzerland. Mr J. H. Oldham represented the International Missionary Council. The Mission with its budget of F.2,000,000 is a heavy responsibility for the Huguenot Churches, which have only a membership of 1,800,000 and support several other missions. For the year 1922 gifts in France show an increase of 36 per

France

cent on the previous year and 110 per cent on those of 1913. M. Allégret, whose article appears elsewhere in this Review, has resumed his place as Assistant Director in Paris. During the year 19 new missionaries have been sent out.

Situation in Germany

The poverty in Germany has made the provision of supplies for missionary work almost impossible. In spite of this, the Berlin, Hermannsburg, Liebenzell and other missions have ventured to send out reinforcements, the self-sacrifice of the home constituency rising in proportion to their poverty.

International Missionary Relations

As a result of the resolutions passed at the Lake Mohonk Conference in October 1921, the German Missionsausschuss decided in the following April to appoint two of their number as members of the International Missionary Council, thus re-establishing the international co-operation suspended during the war. The two selected representatives, Missionsinspektors Würz and Schlunk, visited London in September to exchange information as to the future of German missions. German Christianity was also officially represented at the World Student Federation Conference in Peking and at the National Christian Conference held in Shanghai. The societies constituting the German Missionsausschuss met at Bethel in October and adopted a new constitution. The name of the national organization is now Deutscher Evangelischer Missionsbund.

Other Matters of Interest

Among other matters of interest in Germany are the celebration of the centenaries of the Society for the Propagation of Christianity among the Jews, the Königsberg Missionary Society and the Hamburg Missionary Alliance; the interest of the universities in missions as shown by the conferring of degrees upon five missionsinspektors and the appointment of two missionary leaders as lecturers in Berlin University; the opening by the German Institute for Medical Missions of a home for 30 children, in connexion with its Convalescent Home for Tropical Diseases; the visit of Sadhu Sundar Singh to Leipsig, Berlin, Halle, Bremen, Hamburg and Kiel, which

established a fresh contact with the Christian life of India; the interest shown in study courses for pastors, women teachers and students; and the publication of scholarly works such as Richter's *Geschichte der Evangelischen Mission in Afrika* and Fricke's *Die Evangelische Mission*.[1]

Moravian Bicentenary

At Herrnhut in June 1922, the Church of the United Brethren, with its world-wide missions and its three home base centres in Germany, Great Britain and America, celebrated its bicentenary. A gift of M.1,500,000 was the outward expression of thankfulness for the blessing which Herrnhut has brought to the Christian life of Germany and of the world.

Holland

During the year the work of the Dutch missions was maintained, though not without difficulty on the financial side. Several missionary celebrations were held, including the 200th anniversary of the Moravian Church which has done great work in the Dutch East Indies; the 125th anniversary of the Netherlands Missionary Society (the oldest in Holland); and the 75th of the Dutch Baptist Mission. The visit of Sadhu Sundar Singh made a deep impression. In September the missionary societies held their second conference with members of the labour party in Holland. The missionary societies maintaining joint headquarters at Oegstgeest, near Leiden, were recently joined by a fifth society, the Netherlands Missionary Union.

Norway

From Norway such reports as have been received tell of steady advance at home as well as abroad. A Missionary Union of Women Teachers with 1400 members supports 6 women as teachers in China, Santalia, Madagascar and Zululand.

Sweden

The reports from Sweden are also encouraging. Interest is lively and growing; candidates are numerous, but owing to lack of funds they are in some cases being held back from the mission field. An account of missionary co-operation at the Swedish home base was published in this Review in July 1922.

[1] See reviews in IRM, 1923 (Jan.), pp. 135–7; (April), pp. 294–7.

There is a deepening response in Switzerland to the call of foreign missions. A week for consecration, prayer and self-denial set apart in October by the Swiss Mission Romande and the Kanarese Mission yielded a little over F.80,000 and spiritual blessing has resulted for both missions. The Kanarese Mission has had much encouragement. Financial burdens have been lightened. Six missionaries were added to the staff during the year. Sixteen candidates are under preparation. The first united vacation course for missionary students and missionaries on furlough held near Geneva, with 40 members, was a complete success. The visit of Sadhu Sundar Singh earlier in the year exercised a strong spiritual influence. The International Bureau for the Defence of Native Races has been re-organized and still carries on its good work in Geneva. The League of Nations, from its central bureau in Geneva, has rendered world-wide service during the year.

Switzerland

The Basel Mission, which has its home base in Switzerland, but draws a large part of its staff and funds from Germany, is faced by serious financial difficulty. The mission has, however, been able to send out some reinforcements. The number of candidates is large, but some who have been trained for foreign service are obliged to take up work at home because former fields of the Basel Mission are still closed to them, although the work there is gravely in need of reinforcement.

The Basel Mission

Roman Catholic Missions

The Association for the Propagation of the Faith has been re-organized and incorporated by Pope Pius XI among the official organizations of the Roman Catholic Church. Its headquarters have been transferred from Lyons and Paris to Rome, where it will come under the jurisdiction of the Sacred Congregation of Propaganda. A national celebration of the centenary of the Association for the Propagation of the Faith and of the

Reorganization and Development

tercentenary of the Congregation 'de Propaganda Fide' was held in London in September. The large missionary conference and exhibition held during the celebration was the first of its kind arranged by Roman Catholics in Great Britain. The awakening of missionary interest among Roman Catholics in North America was the subject of a recent article in this Review.[1]

The International Missionary Council

The International Missionary Council has completed its first year of work since its re-constitution after the war.

Organization

The countries whose national organizations are represented on the Council and who contribute to its support are Australia, Belgium, China, Denmark, Finland, France, Germany, Great Britain, India, Japan, The Netherlands, New Zealand, Norway, South Africa, Sweden, Switzerland, and the United States and Canada. Members are co-opted to represent other areas. The Committee of the Council met in Canterbury [2] in July 1922, under the presidency of the Chairman, Dr J. R. Mott, to transact interim business and to arrange for the meeting of the Council in 1923. At the invitation of the British Conference the Council will meet in Oxford in July 1923.

Work

International action, in so far as it has been needed, has been taken from the office of the Council in connexion with a number of missionary, public and governmental questions. The Opium Commission of the League of Nations has invited the co-operation of the International Missionary Council in securing the information necessary for its work. During the year the vital importance of visitation of national organizations by the secretaries was thoroughly established. Mr J. H. Oldham spent six months in India (two visits), took part in the National Christian Conference in China, and visited Canada, the

[1] IRM, 1922 (July), pp. 439–44.
[2] See IRM, 1922 (Oct.), pp. 515–25.

United States and France. The Rev. A. L. Warnshuis spent two months in North America, and visited Germany, Holland (twice), Denmark, Norway and Sweden.

The fragments of the world story of 1922 grouped together in the preceding pages have small coherence and little more than broken purpose save under one interpretation and in the light of one sure and certain hope.

In the midst of this world-situation, at the heart of all the agony and turmoil of this confused human scene, stands Christ—a Christ not of a dead past but of the living present; a Christ who is already in the future, and in the farthest outposts ahead of all our bravest action and our most adventurous thinking—away in front bearing in His pierced hands the solution of all problems, the healing of all diseases and distresses, proclaiming the programme of all true progress, and publishing the plans of the city of God whose walls will embrace all humanity.[1]

The Church throughout the world, as in land after land she rises to an apprehension of her calling, has the word for which humanity waits, the revelation of God as He is and of man as he may be—

'See the Christ stand.'

G. A. G.
M. C. G.

[1] Mr Basil Mathews at the Missionary Congress of the Scottish Churches, October 1922.

FIVE CONFERENCES IN INDIA

By J. H. OLDHAM

The National Missionary Council in India at its meeting at Ranchi last January resolved to be known in future as the National Christian Council of India, Burma and Ceylon. The change of name signifies a change in its character. Established in 1913 to promote co-operation between Christian missions working in India, the Council will henceforward be related to the Indian Churches as well as to foreign missions, and at least half its membership will be Indian. The new Council, like the old, will not possess a particle of authority, the constitution expressly provides that the only bodies entitled to determine the policy of the Churches and missions are the Churches and missions themselves. But the change means that Indian opinion will have a larger share in the future than in the past in giving form and direction to that body of thought regarding missionary questions by which policies are ultimately determined. The Metropolitan of India, who is the President of the Council, in his closing words referred to the constitutional change and the new spirit of good-will and co-operation between Indians and foreign missionaries which accompanied it as marking an epoch in the growth of the Christian movement in India. The transformation was in no sense a reluctant concession to an Indian demand for a larger voice in shaping the future of the Christian movement. The initiative came from the missionary side. It was recognized that Christian effort in India can achieve its highest success only if it ceases to be regarded as mainly a foreign agency and becomes genuinely Indian in its expression. The change was desired and welcomed by

Indians also, and the motive in their case was the same—that the cause of Christ in India might be freed to the largest extent possible from its limitations and achieve its highest purpose. The change was given effect to with a cordiality, good-will and mutual understanding which, as the President remarked, sent the members of the Council away with a new feeling of hopefulness in regard to the future.

Of hardly less importance was the decision to appeal to the Churches, missions and home boards to provide the new Council with the officers needed to enable it to discharge its responsibilities. Without this action the constitutional change would have had little significance, since the reorganized Council would have been able to do very little. The significance of the action taken can best be explained by giving a brief account of certain important conferences which preceded the meeting of the National Missionary Council.

Conference on Higher Education at Beas

The first was a conference at Beas called to consider the present position of higher education in the Panjab. It was attended by the principals and members of the staff of the six Christian colleges in the Panjab (including Delhi and Peshawar), and by the head masters or head mistresses of nearly every Christian high school. When the conference met, its members had in their hands full and exact information about each of the Christian institutions in the province. This information had been collected, not by the unsatisfactory method of the questionnaire, but by personal visits to each of the mission stations by Mr Paton, the acting honorary secretary of the National Missionary Council. Without the data thus collected and clearly set forth to the eye as a basis for discussion the conference could not have done its work. Mr Paton's visits also ensured that the purpose of the conference was

sufficiently understood to make each mission in the Panjab feel it to be worth while to send representatives. If the conference had been less representative than it was it could not have achieved its purpose. Thanks to the preliminary work which had been done the conference was able within the two days at its disposal to reach general agreement regarding plans for the reorganization and more effective co-ordination of Christian higher education in the Panjab. It was recognized that to carry these plans into effect would involve more work than could be undertaken by anyone already burdened with the administrative responsibilities of a particular institution, and that the realization of what was desired by the conference was dependent on the appointment by the National Missionary Council of officers who could give the necessary time to this kind of work. Mr Paton undertook to return to the Panjab at a later date to place his services at the disposal of the missions there in the working out in detail of the conclusions reached at the conference. It would take too much space to describe here the proposed reorganization. It is sufficient to say that the missions in the Panjab have made up their minds that in planning their work they wish to have regard not merely to the circumstances of their own mission but to the requirements of Christian education in the province as a whole; and that the determination of policy from this wider angle of vision will, it is hoped, lead to the greatly increased efficiency of the work of Christian education in the Panjab. Reports of the conference in the Panjab have reached other provinces. Mr Paton has received more than one request to assist the missions in other areas in working out policies based on a comprehensive view of the whole situation.

Conference on Rural Education at Moga

The next conference was held at Moga, in the Panjab. It was attended by twenty persons from different parts of

India who were invited by the National Missionary Council on the ground of their having special knowledge and experience of the problems of rural education. One of the members of the conference was Mr E. E. Biss, of the Bengal Educational Service, who was recently detached by the Government of Bengal to undertake a special study of the conditions of primary education in that province, and who has issued an important report on the subject. Moga, notwithstanding its location in the extreme north, was selected as the place of meeting because Mr W. J. McKee of the American Presbyterian Mission is conducting there an educational experiment of exceptional interest. He has established an admirable example of what the Commission on Village Education, in a chapter of its report which has attracted special attention, has called a Vocational Middle School. The conference at Moga decided that in view of the ambiguity in the use of the term ' vocational ' it would be better that institutions of this type should be known in the future as Community Middle Schools.

In working out his plans Mr McKee has been remarkably successful in adapting modern methods of education to Indian village conditions. Large use is made, for example, of the project method. The children in each grade are given a project, such as (in the first grade) the building of a village home, and the ordinary subjects of the curriculum are taught not as unrelated class subjects but in response to needs which arise in the working out of the project. The children learn to count and to measure because these things are necessary to the successful working out of their project. They learn to write because they need to label things or to send a letter. They find a need for reading in order to obtain information which they require for carrying out their project. The results achieved by these methods were tested by members of the conference, and awakened the greatest interest.

It is not possible here to enter more fully into Mr McKee's work at Moga, or into the discussions of the conference.

A brief report of the conference has been issued in pamphlet form and may be obtained from the National Christian Council in India (5, Russell Street, Calcutta). A paper by Mr McKee describing his experiment at Moga will, it is hoped, appear in an early number of this Review. It is important, however, for our present purpose to note that this conference of specialists, before it broke up, prepared a list of the things which in their view needed to be taken in hand immediately in the sphere of rural education. The list is a long one, and only one or two illustrations can be given.

Under the stimulus of the report of the Commission on Village Education efforts are being made in different parts of India to establish community middle schools. There are great difficulties in the successful conduct of an institution of this type, and the history of experiments in the direction of industrial training contains many failures. Undertakings of great promise may easily come to grief through failure to take sufficient account of one or other of the many different factors which are necessary for success. There has in consequence been in the past a large wastage of effort, and it is greatly to be desired that such waste should be avoided in the future. Provision needs to be made for keeping those who are making experiments of this kind in touch with one another and with experience gained in other countries in similar forms of work, so that unnecessary mistakes may be avoided and experiments have the best chance of success.

Again, if the new methods are to be generally adopted, fresh courses of instruction will have to be worked out in detail, and made available for those who wish to work on the new lines. It was found that several members of the conference had been experimenting in attempts to vitalize the ordinary curriculum, and to relate the teaching more directly to the conditions of Indian village life. It is hoped that through the collaboration of several of those present at the conference a volume will shortly be issued con-

taining detailed syllabuses for the use of teachers who may wish to experiment with the new methods. Work of such a kind is costly in time, and it is obviously a great economy that all those in different parts of India who are thinking along these lines should be kept in touch with one another, and that the results of their thinking should be made widely available.

The new methods of teaching make large demands on the teacher, and if they are to be successfully carried out in the village school help must be given to the village teacher. A well considered system of supervision is essential, and in the help to be given to the village teacher literature must play a part. Mr McKee is editing a monthly educational journal for teachers in the vernacular. A great deal of the material would be equally suitable for use in other vernaculars, and a large saving of effort and cost would be effected if the best material can be placed at the service of those engaged in rural education throughout India.

To take one other illustration from the list of twenty-five things needing to be done given in the report, there is a further large field for co-operation in the issue of vernacular literature for use in the villages. Recent studies of village education have shown how large a proportion of the children in village schools do not proceed further than the second grade, and after leaving school forget all that they have learned. One reason for this relapse into illiteracy is that there is often little or nothing for the people to read. Mr McKee is attempting to overcome this difficulty by the issue of a vernacular magazine. Here again we have a type of work in which co-operation between those working in different vernaculars and the use of common material would result in a large economy of effort.

So convinced were those who met at Moga that these and other needs connected with rural education could only be met if certain persons were set free to help the Churches and missions to co-operate in meeting them, that the conference expressed cordial approval of the proposed plans

of the National Missionary Council and urged that if officers were appointed two at least should be free to specialize and to concentrate their energies on questions relating to rural community education and on the economic problems of village work.

Conference on Higher Theological Education at Serampore

A third conference held at Serampore was composed of representatives of higher theological institutions, and was called in the first instance to consider the serious position of the higher theological department at Serampore. The Council of Serampore College received in the year 1827 from the King of Denmark a Charter empowering it to confer degrees. Through the generosity of the Baptist Missionary Society the constitution of the Council was changed in 1918 by an Act of the Government of Bengal, so that it became no longer a Baptist but an interdenominational body, and the degrees in theology which it was authorized to confer were thrown open to the students of all theological institutions in India. The interdenominational co-operation which was thus brought about did not, however, carry with it financial co-operation in the up-keep of the institution, and this burden which has up to the present rested almost exclusively on the members of the Baptist denomination has become too heavy to be borne any longer by them alone. Unless substantial practical help is forthcoming from other sources the Serampore Council will have no alternative but to close the higher theological department and suspend the conferring of degrees under the Charter.

The consideration of this situation, which is a common concern of all Christian bodies in India, led inevitably to a review of the present position of theological education in India as a whole. The conference which met at Serampore had not available exact figures, but had reason to think that there are at the present time about one hundred

students studying in English for the degree of Bachelor of Divinity, and the Licentiate of Theology, or in courses of similar grade, and that the actual cost of educating them is over two lakhs. The capital value of the property of the institutions concerned probably amounts to twenty-five or thirty-five lakhs. No one can say that the expenditure of this amount of money on so important an object as training for the Christian ministry is excessive, but none of those who were present at the conference at Serampore would venture to affirm with confidence that the present system is calculated to produce the best results.

The conference therefore unanimously resolved to ask the National Missionary Council to appoint a strong committee, thoroughly representative of the principal Christian bodies in India and of the leading theological institutions, to ascertain the exact facts regarding the present state of theological education and to inquire into the question of the supply and recruitment of theological students and the opportunities of service open to them, and to furnish this information to the Churches and missions concerned. It was further proposed that the committee, if it was satisfied that such a course would be acceptable to the authorities of the Churches and missions, should prepare and submit to them proposals for greater co-ordination of effort and a larger measure of co-operation.

It is evident from the facts which have been stated that there is no *financial* difficulty in the way of the establishment in India of a theological institution of the highest grade. There ought also to be no difficulty in regard to personnel ; the missionary vocation has in the past attracted men of the very highest ability, and there is no reason why a Christian theological institution in India should not draw into its service some of the best theological minds in the West. It did not seem to those who met at Serampore wholly visionary to dream of a centre of Christian learning in India so strongly staffed with both Indian and Western scholars, and so alive and fresh in its theological thinking

through its direct contact with non-Christian religious systems, as to attract on the one hand students from the West preparing for the home ministry who would find there something that could not so easily be gained at home, and on the other Indian seekers after truth who would be drawn to such a centre to learn the deeper meaning of Christianity. Whether such a dream is realizable it will be for the Churches and missions to determine in the light of the proposed inquiry. The difficulties to be overcome are enormous and may prove insurmountable. No one who has given thought to the subject will assume as a matter of course that a single institution can meet the needs of the whole of India even in respect of theological education in its highest grades. And it is practically certain that if concentration of effort proves to be possible at all it will not be in the form of establishing a single united theological institution. The only plan which would seem to deserve consideration is one corresponding to that in operation in Montreal where four theological colleges—Anglican, Congregationalist, Methodist and Presbyterian—while maintaining their separate identity have united to form a joint board of theological studies which arranges for common courses. In practice nearly all the courses are taken in common, but each college reserves the right to give supplementary courses to its own students, and to withdraw its students from any of the united courses and substitute a course of its own.

The National Missionary Council had before it, in addition to the proposal of the Serampore conference, a resolution of the conference of Indian Christians to which reference will be made in a moment, urging that steps should be taken to establish in India a centre of Christian learning where Indian Christian thinkers will have larger opportunity than exists at present to study Christian truth in relation to Indian thought and to interpret Christ in ways congenial to the Indian mind.

The National Missionary Council acting on these proposals

appointed a strong representative committee to inquire into the matters suggested. It is plain that an inquiry of such importance involves a large amount of work, and the National Missionary Council could not have committed itself to the undertaking if it had not at the same meeting reached agreement regarding the appointment of officers to carry out the tasks for which the Council assumed responsibility.

Conference of Indian Christians at Ranchi

A brief reference must be made to the conference of Indian Christians which was held at Ranchi immediately preceding the meeting of the National Missionary Council. The reason for calling the conference was that the present representation of Indians on the National Missionary Council is not sufficiently large to provide for an adequate expression of Indian opinion. In view of the important questions which were to come before the National Missionary Council it was judged desirable to obtain fuller expression of the Indian point of view. The conference was attended by between forty and fifty leading representatives of the Indian Christian community from all parts of India. Among the subjects considered by the conference were the Christian contribution to Indian education, the relation of Christianity to public questions, and the expression of the Christian faith and life in distinctively Indian ways. The resolutions of the conference on these subjects will be printed as an appendix to the proceedings of the National Missionary Council. The main attention of the conference was concentrated, however, on the proposed constitutional change in the National Missionary Council and the appointment of officers. To these proposals the conference gave its hearty support.

The most striking evidence of this support was a resolution of the conference to contribute Rs. 5000 from Indian sources to the budget of the new National Christian Council.

Judged by western standards the amount may not seem large, but it has to be remembered that the Indian Christian community as a whole is extremely poor. It is undoubtedly within its power to contribute more than the amount named, and there was a long debate in the conference on the question whether a much larger contribution should not be attempted. It was pointed out, however, that heavy demands are being made just now on the Indian Church by plans for devolution involving an increase of church contributions, by the needs of the National Missionary Society, and by a variety of projects that have recently taken shape; and that while the Indian contribution would probably be much larger when the work of the National Christian Council had come to be properly understood it would be a grave mistake to present an appeal for funds before the necessary task of education, explanation and awakening of interest had been undertaken. It was recognized that until this had been done the contributions must necessarily be limited very largely to what those who were present at the conference, and who understood the new plans, could secure by their personal efforts. The total amount of Rs. 5000 was apportioned among the representatives of the different provinces, and in some cases, if not in all, the amount which it was undertaken to raise represented a personal pledge by the few representatives of the province present at the conference. The conference resolved to begin with subscriptions from its own members, and these were made in many instances at real personal sacrifice.

Meeting of the National Missionary Council at Ranchi, January 10th–16th, 1923

A number of the chief matters which engaged the attention of the National Missionary Council have already been dealt with, and all that remains to be told is the final action of the Council in regard to the appointment of officers.

After many hours of debate and after earnest prayer the Council with practical unanimity—one member, I think, abstained from voting—resolved to ask the Rev. W. Paton and Mr K. T. Paul to be its secretaries for an experimental period of two years from 1924, and to ask the Churches, missions and the home boards to provide the necessary funds to meet the expense involved.

The work of these two secretaries will be to stimulate thought on missionary questions of common interest through the collection of the necessary data and the arranging of conferences; to assist Churches and missions in considering and carrying out plans for co-ordination of work and for practical co-operation; to make available to Christian workers in India the best knowledge and experience in educational and other matters by keeping those who are making experiments in touch with one another, and by gathering information as to the best literature and the persons in India or elsewhere best qualified to give expert advice on particular problems; to promote Christian literature; to serve as the executive officers of the National Christian Council in the discharge of the responsibilities it has assumed towards Government, and to represent the interests of missions in relation with Government when desired to do so; and to carry out such other duties as the National Christian Council and the Provincial Councils may wish to entrust to them.

The responsibilities which the two secretaries will have to carry are so large and varied that they cannot be expected to undertake the thorough study of rural education and to give the specialized help in this department which the Council knew to be desired by many missionaries in India. Urgent as this need was, the Council felt that in view of the present financial difficulties of many missionary societies it was not practicable at present to include more than two secretaries in the general budget to which the Churches and missions in India will be asked jointly to contribute. In order to meet this need, therefore, the Council found it

necessary to appeal to the generosity of individual boards. It resolved to ask the American Presbyterian Mission to allow Mr W. J. McKee to give part of his time to serve the Council as one of its officers and to place at the disposal of a larger constituency his exceptional knowledge of educational science and the conditions of rural education in India; and to ask the Women's Foreign Mission Committee of the United Free Church of Scotland to lend the services of Miss Gordon, whom the Council believe to be exceptionally well qualified by her training and experience to give the desired help, in order that she might serve as an honorary officer of the Council.

The Council had been encouraged last year by a communication from the Foreign Mission Boards of Canada that they would be prepared to consider sympathetically recommendations designed to meet the special needs of India at the present time. The Council was of opinion that the general budget should be borne jointly by all the Churches and missions in India co-operating in the work of the Council; and that it would not be appropriate to ask Canadian boards with large responsibilities in their own fields to relieve British and American missions in India of their own proper responsibilities. It was understood, moreover, that the motive which had led friends in Canada to interest themselves in India was the desire to extend a helping hand to the Indian Church to play a worthy part in the developing national life, and to make its contribution towards the solution of the many problems that confront the people of India as they enter upon the path of self-government. As the Council reviewed the whole situation a very real need for this help emerged.

In the first place, the purpose of the constitutional change which makes half the membership of the Council Indian is to give the Indian mind larger opportunity of influencing plans for advancing the cause of Christ in India. This cannot be achieved, however, by such a simple device as fixing a percentage of membership. So long as the

European members of the national and provincial councils are for the most part those who have had many years experience of administrative responsibility, while the Indian members have had such experience in less degree, the minds of the former will move more easily and rapidly in a region familiar to them, while the Indian contribution will necessarily be more hesitating and uncertain. If the Indian mind is to be effective in the degree desired, Indians must be given opportunities of forming their ideas at greater leisure and under conditions of less pressure than is usually possible at a meeting of a national or provincial council. Moreover, it is becoming increasingly important that all plans for the advancement of the Christian cause should have the informed and intelligent support of the Indian Christian community. This can be secured best by personal contact. It is impossible that a single Indian secretary can maintain sufficient contact with the growing Christian community throughout an area as large as India. The Council was therefore of opinion that it would contribute greatly to the ends it had in view if the Canadian Churches could provide funds to make possible the appointment of a second Indian secretary and the holding of occasional conferences (national, provincial or district) of Indian Christians, to elicit more fully Indian opinion in regard to the many important matters affecting the Christian movement in India which will engage the attention of the National Christian Council and the Provincial Councils. The conference of Indian Christians at Ranchi, to which reference has been made, was a demonstration of the value of such gatherings, not for the purpose of purely general discussion, but to consider clearly defined issues.

Secondly, Indian leadership is essential if rapid progress is to be made in the improvement of village life, which is perhaps India's most vital problem. It would be of great advantage to the whole Christian movement if one or more Indians, who have already proved their capacity for this type of work, could receive the best training that can be

given in the West in such institutions as Teachers' College, New York, and return to India to serve the Churches and missions jointly in the promotion of the best methods and in the supervision of rural education. A larger number might receive training in India at such an institution as Moga with the same object in view. There is also a large opportunity for interdenominational effort in improving the work of village teachers through short courses. While such courses are the responsibility of the Churches and missions which would benefit from them, experience has shown that a central body, by the wise expenditure of funds at its disposal, may render a valuable service in initiating such efforts in different centres which, when their value has been demonstrated, may be carried on by the Churches and missions on their own account.

The Council appealed to the Canadian Churches to place at its disposal a sum of $15,000 a year for three or five years for the purposes which have been described, believing that such help will be of the highest value in assisting the Christian Church in India to bear witness to Christ by its more effective service of the Indian people.

The plan which has been outlined was the outcome of many hours of deliberation, and it commended itself to the whole Council as the best means of meeting some of the most pressing needs of the Christian movement in India at the present time. Some of those who were hostile to the proposals in the shape which they took at Poona last year gave their hearty support to the plan in its new form. It remains to be seen whether the proposals will prove acceptable to the Churches and missions and to the missionary societies in the West and will receive their support.

J. H. Oldham

SOME ATHEISMS TO WHICH A MISSIONARY SEEMS SUSCEPTIBLE

By D. WILLARD LYON

Any weakening of the soul's consciousness of God, or faith in Him may surely with fairness be described as an atheism. But to apply the word to one so venerated and idealized as the missionary may at first sight appear to be little short of sacrilegious. If any Christian may be supposed to possess an unshakable faith in God it is the missionary. To both himself and his best friends his call to service has been thought to be unmistakably of divine origin. He has left home and country, presumably not for personal pleasure, not for mere adventure, but to devote his life to helping men to know and love God. God is thus the very centre of his missionary purpose. How can there be any atheisms in such a man ?

A priori reasoning to the contrary notwithstanding, the evidence of actual conditions seems to indicate that a foreign missionary is no more immune to the contagion of atheistic influences than, say, his brother worker at home. In fact there are reasons which tend to show that he is peculiarly susceptible to such contagion.

A false confidence seems not infrequently to be placed in the missionary's environment, as if this would protect him from many such perils as threaten the Christian worker in the home country. Friends of the appointee do not appear always to realize that new perils are added by the transfer of service from a Christian to a non-Christian atmosphere. They sometimes act as if they believed that a mere change in climate can transmute an immature and impulsive Simon into a stable Peter, or that absorption in the study of a difficult language, since it is for a definitely religious

objective, will keep a man in a kind of seventh heaven of spiritual buoyancy. Even the missionary himself is tempted to live in the hopĕ that all will be well when once he has attained fluency in his adopted tongue, as if language fluency alone would give him a message !

Such illusions as these fade like the morning mist when the missionary once realizes the grim necessity of maintaining a strenuous fight for that steady faith in God without which he cannot fulfil his mission.

I

Among the earliest of the atheisms which seem frequently to attack the missionary is one which surprises him where he is perhaps least prepared to expect it. Against the evils of idolatry, with its demonologies and polytheisms, he has been fortified by his study of comparative religion. He feels that he has a clear-cut defence to make of the One True God, whose place in the universe he thinks he apprehends. He only lacks linguistic facility to enable him to dispel the doubts and remove the misconceptions of unenlightened minds.

At the peak of a self-confidence which the romance of missions has bred, the missionary is suddenly plunged into a community where multitudes of men apparently live more like mere animals than human beings. The severity of their economic struggle is many times more acute than he has ever dreamed possible. He watches them as they stagger under their crushing burdens and it gradually dawns on him what little chance there is for spirituality to grow in their dull, driven lives. As he meditates on the crowds before his eyes, he sees that they are but a type of greater multitudes in other communities, and in other lands, who are in a similar state of deplorable wretchedness. He may even be so bold as to travel in imagination through the ages and picture to himself the innumerable throngs who in other generations have passed this way before.

Then, as unannounced as the tidal wave in Hangchow Bay, a great wall of surging doubt sweeps up the narrowing channel of his concentrated thought. It threatens to overwhelm him with its raging challenge: 'How could God, who so loved the world as to give His only begotten Son, have permitted such countless numbers of men and women, yea of children too, to pass through the world with so meagre an opportunity to know Him as these poor creatures have had?' And in the agony of near-despair the missionary cries out in the chambers of his soul, 'My God, my God, why hast Thou forsaken *these*?'

Nor is the missionary tempted to doubt only the goodness of God. He is equally liable to doubt God's power. His will be a soul ripened in its own experience of new miracles of grace if he does not discover lurking somewhere in the recesses of his mind, but perhaps fearing to come out into the open, the sceptical query of the man-in-the-steamer, 'Is God able to save men so benighted and betrodden as these?'

Such atheisms as these, growing out of conditions obtaining among the peoples living in some mission lands, may depress the new missionary for many a long day. In fact they will doubtless renew their attacks from time to time throughout his missionary career. He never dares be off his guard against them, lest they take him unawares.

II

Strange as it may seem to the uninitiated, three of the commonest groups of atheisms to steal in upon the missionary grow out of the fundamental atheism that sets up self, first in place of fellow-man and then in place of God Himself. One of these springs from an ego-centric interpretation of Providence. No missionary, of course, is likely easily to admit himself guilty of this. It seems to remain true, however, that conditions are often favourable to the germination and growth of such a conception. The

circumstances surrounding the average missionary's call to service, the successive steps whereby he has come to his present place, the way in which he is petted and all but sainted by at least an inner circle of devotees to the cause, the urge that is on him to make good in the eyes of these friends, the fact that he is the conscious object of many prayers and that often by letter and by word of mouth he seeks to stimulate more prayers in his behalf, the sense of obligation he feels to help bring these prayers to a satisfactory fulfilment,—all these and like factors not unnaturally tend to make him magnify the providential element in his life.

This providential element is so patent that the missionary, probably unconsciously, falls prey to a very self-centred interpretation of all providences. God seems to be working particularly for him. Take for example such an incident as this: the missionary is about to make a journey and must choose among several routes of travel; having made his choice he proceeds on his way; after reaching his destination in safety he learns that, had he chosen a certain one of the alternative routes, he would in all probability have been involved in an accident which cost the lives of some who did so travel. He thanks God, as he should, for his deliverance. But mingled with his thanksgiving there simmers another emotion, insidious in its working, the emotion of self-esteem. Why has God spared him from the death that others have met, if not because he is in some way better fitted than they to do His bidding? Is he one of God's favourites?

III

Akin to the atheism of the self-centred life is that of a cock-sureness regarding the will of God. The attitude of the missionary to 'special providences' may have developed in him the habit of assigning on the spur of the moment providential meanings to present events. Such a habit

sometimes shows itself in a frequent use of such phrases as ' the Lord told me,' ' the Lord opened the way,' ' the Lord answered my prayer,' ' the Lord made perfectly plain.' Nor is such a habit wholly to be condemned, for it is a method whereby some souls can best practise the presence of God. In fact some unimaginative Christians would doubtless be better off for a habit that would stimulate them in their daily thoughts to a more frequent recognition of the providences of God. As a rule, however, an unbalanced development of this habit seems to tend in the direction of a substitution of presumption for a humble confidence in God.

The very emphasis the missionary properly places on secret prayer seems to tend in the same direction, if he be not adequately supplied with the corrective of fellowship in thought and prayer with others. The greater the secret struggles through which he has passed, either before reaching the field or in the course of making his adjustments to the tasks assigned him, the more he seems to be in peril at this point. In his hours of undisturbed communion with God he has seen visions and heard voices which have become determining factors in his career. He has learned the ecstasy of beholding the light shine on his path. Gradually he has come to feel that God's voice is most clearly heard in solitude, and then that for him God never speaks clearly under any other conditions. He has grown to trust ' direct revelations ' above all others. Two results seem often to follow such an over-emphasis on personal guidance.

First, there is likely to come a spirit of intolerance. Feeling assured that he is in possession of a fuller knowledge of God's will than is his neighbour, he finds it difficult to be patient with the positions his neighbour takes. To justify his own interpretation of God's will he seems compelled, at least in his own mind, to try to explain why his neighbour does not believe as he does. He begins to assign motives, or perhaps to suspect his neighbour of being over fond of worldly attachments, or of being lax in his habits of prayer, or too much influenced by modern thought. His fundamental

assumption is that he alone is right, and his neighbour therefore wrong. Some day a crucial experience in his own life reveals to him the egotism of his attitude. Through the magnifying glass of his tears, or perchance in the light of a sudden unveiling of hidden depths in the life of a brother missionary, he comes to see that solitary communion with God is an incomplete means of learning His will. He discovers that in insisting that God has spoken only to him and not to his fellow-missionary, he was either making himself perfect or limiting God. God's voice was so mingled with the Babel of his own desires that he had only partly distinguished it. He had taken a composite sound to be purely the voice of God.

A second tendency growing out of an exclusive emphasis on the ' still small voice ' will probably be a mistrust of all group judgments. The devil is thought to be particularly active when a number of Christian workers get together to seek God's will. Decisions reached ' in conference ' are therefore often looked upon with a special degree of scepticism, particularly perhaps when the conference has taken place at the headquarters of the missionary society thousands of miles away. Consequently little heart is put into carrying group decisions into effect. Even an attitude of insubordination is occasionally taken, uttered or unexpressed in thoughts such as these : ' God has already revealed to me what His will is ; I must obey God rather than men.' The voice of the group is thus assumed to be merely that of men. Our individualist refuses to confer ' with flesh and blood.' He must walk at any cost the path marked out for him in the quietude of his closet. But the hopeful factor is that, unless his heart be really stubborn and self-willed, this path will ultimately, because of the patience of God, lead him out to where it converges with other paths. This may come through some catastrophe whereby cherished plans are blown to atoms, or by the more gradual process of discovering the soundness of certain group decisions which had been questioned, though made in the atmosphere of prayer.

By some means or other our missionary-of-the-closet comes to see that he, with others, has a contribution to make to the reaching of reliable group interpretations of God's will, and that he also has a guidance to receive, which will come to him in no other way than when he sits or kneels with his fellows and compares his ' leadings ' with theirs. He comes to see that any different attitude really discounts the trustworthiness of his own ' leadings ' and casts a doubt on the greatness and justice of God.

IV

Another group of atheisms, related to the two groups last mentioned, and one to which the missionary seems also to be especially susceptible, is that which practically limits the working of God's Spirit to particular classes of minds. It finds expression in various ways. Sometimes it shows itself in an unwillingness to recognize the presence of the Spirit of God in the hearts of men of other faiths. It seems to assume that in their gropings after truth such men have felt the touch of no outreaching hand of divine sympathy. In essence does it not deny that the ' true light ' really ' lighteth every man coming into the world ' ?

Sometimes this same atheism assumes that all trustworthy revelation ceased when the Church Councils cast their final vote on what should be included in the canon of Holy Scriptures. It seems to assume that God does not speak to men to-day with anything like the same degree of directness as that with which He spoke to men of old, or that if He does so speak He has no new aspects of truth to reveal. Does not such an attitude place a limit of time on God's most intimate dealings with men ?

This form of atheism reveals itself again in a racial-centredness. It does not seem to expect God to speak as clearly to the members and leaders of the native Church, for example, as to missionaries from the West, or it expects that when He does speak to such members and leaders He

will use the same terms as He has used in the West. It fails to grant God the power to work in new ways His wonders to perform, and thrusts out its doubting hand to steady the trembling ark.

At other times this same atheism leads one group of missionaries to distrust another. The cleavage may be sectarian, but it is just as likely to be a separation between the ' orthodox ' and ' liberals ' of all communions. Either party is liable to discount the ability of the other to interpret God's will. The atheism is as inexcusable whether it is the conservative who sees no possibility of the liberal being right, or the liberal who feels sure that the conservative is wholly deluded. Do not both positions alike limit the operations of God's Spirit to a particular group and by so much constitute a denial of His greatness ?

Still another manifestation of this same lack of faith appears when the newly arrived missionary looks upon his senior colleague as an ' old fogey,' no longer open to fresh indications of divine guidance, or when the older missionary holds the opinions of his junior colleague in contempt ; as if in our day the Spirit of God no longer enabled young men to see visions, or old men to dream dreams !

V

Yet one more of the missionary's atheisms stands out. It is perhaps the worst of all—the atheism by which the missionary denies his own commission. ' As the Father sent me, even so send I you ' was the command he heard when first he started out. Into the darkness he went to make God plain to men, as his Master had done. Has he succeeded ?

The secondary duties of life have of necessity absorbed much of the missionary's time and thought. Have they done so to the exclusion of those that are primary ? Even in his preaching has he become lost in such details as correct idiom, form of argument, illustration or historical setting,

to so great an extent as to fail to convey a clear message of God and His love ? Or while busy preparing or preaching a spoken sermon, has he given sufficient thought to the unconscious sermon his daily actions were preaching to keenly observant eyes about him ? Does he ring true in the treatment he accords the servants he employs, or in his fellowships with co-workers of the race with which he lives ? He has questioned God's goodness and power in relation to the degraded masses. Having rebuilt his faith in that power and goodness, does his own attitude to the same masses tally with his conception of the attitude of the One he has come to reveal ? In dealing with their exasperating ways has he made it easier or more difficult for the spark of spirituality to catch fire in their hearts ? By word or deed has he been guilty of destroying the vitality of a single germ of life that otherwise might have fallen into potentially fertile soil ? Such questions as these are not likely to crystallize on the first failure of the missionary to live up to the Gospel he preaches. It may be many a day thereafter before they will take definite form in his thoughts.

One day, however, there stands forth in the missionary's presence, housed in a rough, unkempt and half-clad exterior, a sensitive soul. It has formulated no desires, except a curiosity to see the Jesus-man-from-across-the-seas. It has no definite expectations, except the vague one that the missionary will be better than other men. It has no conscious yearnings, but it is a receptive soul. The ' herald of the Gospel ' steps forth from the mystic portals of the ' mission compound.' Kindness will surely beam from his face as from the face of the Buddha of the temple. But no, his brows are knitted ; his eyes are darting hither and thither with evident irritation ; suddenly a cutting word shoots forth from his lips, quickly followed by an act of temper. The sensitive soul in the twinkling of an eye is disillusioned ; this far-famed foreigner is also selfish and subject to passion. And as the man with the sensitive soul turns to leave, he flashes the searchlight of his injured spirit

full into the eyes of the missionary. Oh, the torture of that gaze! It follows the missionary into the night watches; it burns into his inmost being, until he awakens to the realization that when he lost his self-control, this is what the sensitive soul heard him say: 'I do not sincerely and fully believe the God I preach to be the one true God of love.'

With bitterest tears, like Peter, the missionary weeps out his penitence to the God he thus has denied. As the days lengthen into months and years, there come oft-repeated reminders that the peril of such an atheism was by no means passed when first he recognized its presence. He discovers that his well-intentioned acts are liable to misinterpretation by the people whose race and habits differ radically from his own and sometimes bring discredit to his message. But his unbrotherly and un-Christlike acts are never misinterpreted; they are quickly understood; and only one such act may neutralize the work of years in some soul.

Atheisms which grow out of the missionary's environment have been passed in review. Also those due to a self-centred interpretation of Providence, or growing out of a too exclusively individualistic theory of prayer, or limiting the effective operations of God's Spirit to favoured groups; and those which show themselves in an attitude on the part of the missionary towards some of the people he is seeking to help which is inconsistent with his high office as an ambassador of God. It is not to be assumed that these several types of atheisms can always be easily distinguished from one another, nor that there may not be other types equally important. To what extent any of these atheisms may have counterparts in the experience of the readers of this paper it must be left to them to determine. There has been no attempt in setting them forth to soften the sting that may result from self-examination. One would not have dared to speak of them at all if one had not seen them with one's own eyes, yea, and experienced many of them in one's own soul.

D. Willard Lyon

REVIEWS OF BOOKS

HISTORICAL STUDIES OF HINDUISM AND BUDDHISM

Hinduism and Buddhism. A Historical Sketch. By Sir Charles Eliot. 3 vols. London: Arnold. 84s. 1921.

Quelques Pages de l'Histoire Religieuse du Japon. By M. Anesaki. Paris: Bernard. F. 21. 1921.

Sir Charles Eliot, British Ambassador in Tokio, in his long and distinguished career in the academic and diplomatic world has had unusual opportunities for studying the religions of Asia; he has used them magnificently. He has attempted here the colossal task of reviewing the whole history of Indian religion in its own land and in the surrounding countries of Asia. He is imbued with the spirit of the lands in which he has lived. This comes out again and again, and reminds us that in dealing with living and pulsating things like religions mere scholarship is not enough.

His material, which has been accumulating since 1907, is admirably arranged, and while great learning has gone to the writing of this book much of it is relegated to footnotes, and the narrative pursues the even tenor of its way. It treats of these religions as a whole. Very few men have the chance to live in so many Buddhist lands, and we have had to be content with monographs upon the different forms which Indian religion has taken. Particularly valuable to the western student is the attempt in the second volume to present the main features of Mahayāna, and to throw light upon the very obscure subject of its chronology and its relation to other religions. Japanese scholars are vigorously at work upon these matters, and Sir Charles Eliot is greatly to be envied in his position as a mediator between them and the western world. Volume iii is a record of the extension of Indian influence, and of the noble manner in which Buddhism carried out the great international task to which it set itself in the third century B.C. It seems a pity that, owing to his diplomatic position, the author has omitted the section he had prepared upon the Buddhism of Japan; perhaps he will write upon this on some future occasion. It is a subject so fascinating and so important that Dr Anesaki's lectures reviewed below are timely and go far to supply this gap in the larger work.

Of the more obscure Buddhist countries such as Cambodia, Champa, Java and Tibet, most of us know little and will be glad to have the information contained in this work.

Sir Charles Eliot deals also with the difficult question of the relationships of Christianity to these faiths and is rightly cautious in arguing for the borrowing on the part of the older religions ; yet new light is coming in from Chinese Turkestan, and to this he shows himself open. His long residence in the Orient has helped him to understand that just as to-day the religions of China are mingling and fusing so it is more than likely that heretical Christianity in the Manichæan and the Nestorian missions both gave to the other religions and took from them. We learn, for instance, that Mani was actually given the title of Buddha (*Ju-lai*), and that two Manichæan books are now included in the Taoist Canon. Yet these are unimportant details and in major points it is impossible at present to prove borrowing in either direction. In spiritual matters the term is perhaps an unfortunate one. It is becoming clear that similar human needs have called out similar ideas of salvation by faith in a loving God in different lands. What is really important is that the *Bhakti* forms of Hinduism and the Faith schools of Buddhism have to-day so much in common with Christianity that it is perfectly reasonable and scientific to argue that an Oriental form of Christianity may well find Hindu and Buddhist hearts prepared to accept it as the crown and goal of their long strivings in the past.

It is moreover important, in discussing this question of mutual indebtedness, to remember that Hindu and Buddhist works have gone through many editions, and that while the main substance of them is original, yet there are forms in which these doctrines have come to be clothed which may well have been coloured by actual contact with Christianity.

The work is enriched with a very admirable index, is well printed and is altogether a notable addition to our sources of information.

Dr Anesaki's lectures were given in the Collège de France where the author found himself in congenial company. In less than two hundred pages we are given a splendid picture, first of the early chaos and barbarism of sixth century Japan and then of the brilliant civilization of which Prince Shotoku was the pioneer. Converted to Korean Buddhism, he was at once student, editor, artist and patron of art and letters, who used the teaching of the Lotus Scripture of the unity of all life to bind together the warring tribes of his

people, and who was himself regarded as an incarnation of the merciful Kwanyin. Those were great days when Japan entered into the fellowship and culture of the Orient. Brilliant as the Meiji era has been, that of Shotoku was even more remarkable. Buddhism, thus introduced, was naturalized by the great priests Dengyō and Kōbō. From this synthesis new sects arose, as emphasis was laid upon one or other of these great aspects of Buddhism. Shingon or tantric Buddhism Anesaki has also brilliantly analyzed, and has indicated some of the great service which it has done alike to art and to the teaching of the masses. He treats also of the work of the pietist Hōnen, who found in the vision of Amida the simple rice for daily living, and made the cry 'Praise to Amida Buddha' a sufficient creed and prayer for the masses, till to-day three-quarters of the Buddhists of Japan belong to his Jōdo-shu or the derived Shinshu. Dr Anesaki himself is most at home in the more vigorous and bracing atmosphere of the Nichiren and Zen sects, to which he devotes other arresting chapters. Perhaps one may venture the suggestion that he largely remains a Buddhist because he finds in Nichiren a great prophetic soul who was at once man of vision, dreamer and reformer, and in Zenshu a practical method of religious meditation which Japan cannot afford lightly to throw away. He has also shown us how he finds in the great things of Buddhist art a strange spiritual kinship to the Italian masterpieces of the Quatro-Cento. It is this spiritual cosmopolitanism which makes our author so valuable an interpreter of the East to the West and of the West to the East. His concluding chapter upon some phases of present-day religion in Japan helps one to realize how valuable he is as a keen observer of present-day cults of his own people, and how in Japan, so often called irreligious, there are tides of the spirit which may mean much for the kingdom of God. He would be the first to tell us that there is a thirst which Buddhism does not satisfy, and that some of the great beams of its venerable house are rotten at the core, and he has told us of vital movements such as the Tolstoyan colony and the Franciscan Buddhist movement, in which it would seem that the spirit of Christianity is at its characteristic task of purifying and ennobling and kindling to new life.

This book ought to appear in an English edition. It helps to explain the seething intellectual and spiritual ferment of modern Japan in the light of her great religious past, and to reveal some of the choice things which she has to contribute to the kingdom of God.

Berkeley, California K. J. Saunders

BUDDHISM AS A WORKING RELIGION

BUDDHISM IN THE MODERN WORLD. By K. J. SAUNDERS. London: S.P.C.K. 3s. 1922.

MR SAUNDERS dedicates his little book to the missionaries working among Buddhist peoples. As one such missionary, the present writer, reading the dedication after perusing the book, could not help feeling that he was rather like the schoolboy who, after being chastised by his preceptor, is made a present of the rod!

The theme of this book is twofold: It is first of all a survey of the whole Buddhist world and secondly an appreciation of Buddhism as a working religion. It covers much the same ground as Hackmann's well-known book, *Buddhism as a Religion*, but this new work is too slight and superficial to take the place of the older one, whilst there are mistakes of fact in Mr Saunders' volume which give one the impression that parts of it were written hastily and not harmonized with the main thought of the work. A survey of the whole Buddhist world is an ambitious and difficult undertaking. It is ambitious, because very few people can hope to have an intimate knowledge of the Buddhism of more than one country. It is difficult, because divergent as are the answers to the question, What is Christianity? they are unanimity itself compared with the answers given to the parallel question, What is Buddhism? Most western writers have hitherto supported the contention of the Buddhists of Burma, Siam and Ceylon, that the form of Buddhism professed in those countries is the purest, and that Northern Buddhism is debased and heterodox. But Mr Saunders apparently takes the view, not only that the Mahāyana is the real Buddhism, but that there is a process of development going on in Southern Buddhism which will ultimately bring it into line with the reformed Buddhism of Japan.

So far as the Buddhists of Burma are concerned, they are not conscious of having anything in common with the religions of the people of China and Japan. The Chinese in Rangoon have their own joss houses and the Burmese habitually regard them as being worshippers of their own distinctively national *Nats*. Buddhism the Burmese people regard as peculiarly their own possession, and in common parlance 'Buddhist' and 'Burman' are convertible terms. During the nineteen years that I have spent off and on in Burma, I never once remember having heard any suggestion of

Buddhism playing a part in the movement 'Asia for the Asiatics' about which Mr Saunders speaks on p. 11. If there is anywhere a pan-Buddhist movement, it has not yet made its presence felt amongst the Burmese people.

What is Mr Saunders' aim in writing this book? One feels that he would probably answer in all sincerity that he was trying to blaze a trail for the Christian missionary which will enable him, in these difficult days of bitter national and cultural conflict, to lead the modern sophisticated Buddhist to the feet of 'Jesus.' This is a noble aim and the mere attempt at it must put all missionaries under obligation to Mr Saunders. But it is required in those that would blaze a trail that they must first of all know the way themselves, and in the contradictory statements made in this book one is haunted with the suspicion that the guide is hesitating between two tracks; that he has not made up his mind whether the missionary should aim at *replacing* Buddhism by Christianity, or at *adding* Christianity to Buddhism as a crowning touch to its achievement. He is apt to draw his contrast between a deteriorated Christianity and a revivified Buddhism. On the one hand, his indignation at what he calls (p. 13) 'our western pseudo-Christianity,' makes him seem to disparage Christianity itself; on the other hand, in the great advance (as he sees it) which Buddhism has made on its original negations ('Buddhism is everywhere to-day almost more like Christianity than it is like the Buddhism of Gotama and the Elders,' p. 12) he finds clear traces of the working of the Holy Spirit. These indications lead him, as we have said, to hesitate—or seem to hesitate—between the two 'tracks,' and offer to the missionary such uncertain guidance as this (p. 13): 'Either a revivified Buddhism or Christianity in its most vital form should come to the rescue.' What Mr Saunders means is, that Christianity if it is to meet the need, must be in its most vital form; but would he have us think that Buddhism, in any form, can possibly meet the need? Surely not. There are many passages in which he repudiates this view, e.g. (p. 2), 'That there is mercy in Heaven is the hope of every man. It is but a pathetic dream until we know that the heavens have spoken and declared that mercy in the Word made Flesh'; 'Buddhism has not succeeded in its task of building character' (p. 14); 'Christ can give strength to follow the Noble Path of which Gotama spoke' (p. 15). There are many missionaries who have a profound reverence for Shin Gotama, who recognize the work of the

Holy Spirit in the high ethic taught by the Buddhist religion, and who have a real love, born of intimate knowledge, of the Burmese and other Buddhist people. We have received much inspiration from Mr Saunders in the past and we look to him to speak less equivocally in his forthcoming volumes and to give us that guidance which we need if we are—as he so eloquently says—'to have the privilege of training to-day a St Paul, an Origen or an Augustine of the East who will give to the Church other chapters of Christian interpretation and a truly convincing apologetic of the Gospel to the world' (p. 46).

It is perhaps right to say, considering how important accurate observation is in such a method as our author's, that there are some mistakes of fact in his statements. One might have thought that Mr Saunders' residence in Burma would have saved him from saying that music is not allowed at the Shwe Dagon and that the Buddhists of Burma subscribe to Christian mission work for the afflicted. Musical drama is—or was till recently—frequently presented within the Pagoda precincts, and it is a notorious fact that although the bulk of the inmates of the leper asylums and other charitable Christian institutions in Burma are Buddhists, the subscriptions come almost entirely from Christians, Hindus and Mohammedans.

W. C. B. Purser

Kemendine

ROMAN CATHOLIC MISSIONS IN PAGAN LANDS

The Conversion of the Pagan World. Translated and adapted from the Italian of Paolo Manna, by Joseph F. McGlinchey. Boston, Mass.: Society for the Propagation of the Faith. $1.50. 1921.

This volume is one of many interesting indications of the growing missionary spirit in the Roman Catholic Church in the United States. It is translated and adapted for an American audience and is meant to inform both priest and layman on the call, methods and status of Roman Catholic missionaries in pagan lands. It is thus a comprehensive and rather elementary handbook. As such it should be of great interest to Protestant readers, for nowhere else in English, so far as the reviewer is aware, is there a summary so comprehensive and so simple of Roman Catholic foreign missions as they exist at the present time.

The volume opens with a section describing the mission field, emphasizing in a way familiar to readers of Protestant missionary

literature the opportunity and the challenge that the situation in the non-Christian world presents to the Church for the spread of the Gospel. A chapter on the Movement of Conversion describes the rapid progress made by the Roman Catholic Church in the past century in various pagan lands and another gives the status of Protestant work and a comparison with that of Roman Catholics. There then follows a section on The Workers in which the Roman Catholic missionary forces are described, beginning with the Congregation of the Propaganda in Rome and including the various missionary orders and institutes, the native clergy and helpers, and the work of missionary sisters. Then come an appeal to Roman Catholics to help in the work of missions and an outline of the various ways in which that help can be given. The volume concludes with a section which describes the great societies which have as their aim the aiding of Roman Catholic mission work in general, especially the recently founded Priests' Missionary Union and the older Society for the Propagation of the Faith and the Association of the Holy Childhood.

Protestant missions are, one regrets to say, criticized severely, and often inaccurately and unfairly. There is, however, a much greater tendency to treat them with respect than in Roman Catholic writings of a generation or more ago, and one of the motives presented to Roman Catholics for enlarging their efforts is that if they do not do so, Protestantism may become supreme in Asia. It is interesting to see, moreover, in many sections of the book the conscious effort to profit by Protestant experience in missionary organization at home and abroad. That does not mean that the Roman Catholics have copied blindly or that they have waited for Protestants to take the lead. It does mean, however, that they have studied Protestant methods and are endeavouring to adapt such features as seem to them of value for their purposes. It is easy in reviewing such a volume to be controversial, but no Protestant can read the book without feeling a certain great kinship in missionary motive and no open-minded Christian can have known many Roman Catholics who are giving their lives to missions without cherishing the highest esteem for their devotion.

The book is occasionally marred by a few defects of the kind which are, unfortunately, not lacking in Protestant literature on missions. The non-Christian faiths are not always presented fairly and their defects are either exaggerated or are emphasized and the good

features all but ignored. There are occasional misstatements that a moderate degree of care might have avoided.

It will be of the greatest interest to all students of missions to watch the growth of missionary enthusiasm among Roman Catholics of the United States and to see whether the Church can at the same time draw from Europe an increasing number of recruits for its foreign work. On both topics, as well as upon the general field of Roman Catholic missions, this book will prove of real value to Protestants as well as to Roman Catholics.

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AFRICA AND CHRISTIAN MISSIONS

The Partition and Colonization of Africa. By Sir Charles Lucas, K.C.B., K.C.M.G. Oxford: Clarendon Press. 12s. 6d. 1922.

The Dual Mandate in British Tropical Africa. By Sir F. D. Lugard, G.C.M.G. London: William Blackwood. 42s. 1922.

Geschichte der evangelischen Mission in Afrika. Von Professor D. Julius Richter. Gütersloh: C. Bertelsmann. M. 1250. English price, bound, 18s.; unbound, 15s. 1922.

These are three notable volumes. Sir Charles Lucas has had long experience of responsible work in the Colonial Office, and is the author of several books on larger questions of empire. In these lectures given to a study circle of teachers at the Royal Colonial Institute in London he has placed at the disposal of those who wish to know something of the geography and history of Africa the fruits of his long study and intimate knowledge of the subject. He traces the relations of Europe and Asia with Africa from the earliest times, describes the dark blot of the slave trade and the efforts for its removal, the opening up of the continent by missionaries and explorers, and the subsequent scramble for Africa by the European Powers, and after surveying in turn the principal divisions of the continent, gives an account of the effect of the war on Africa, and reviews its present problems. There are useful appendices on the Tenures of the Empire, on the Meaning of Protectorate, on Capitulations and on Mandates, and a selected bibliography. One could not desire a better introduction to the study of the African continent.

What the European occupation of Africa means in actual experience and practice is shown in *The Dual Mandate in British*

Tropical Africa, by Sir F. D. Lugard, who has spent over forty years in the tropics, and more than thirty of these in responsible positions in Africa. Into the six hundred pages of this volume is packed the ripe experience of a lifetime. Here we have discussion of the principles which should guide the policy of the European nations in the government of their African territories; of methods of ruling native races; of the problems of establishing the reign of law and justice, and of the recognition to be given to native customary law; of the adaptation of accepted principles to the endless variety and diversity of African conditions; of land tenure and the protection of native rights in land; of slavery and its suppression, to which the writer's life has in large measure been devoted; of the problems of native labour; of the opening up of the continent by railways and the development of transport; of the fostering of trade and the guarding against abuses which may follow in its train; of the kind of education best suited to the African peoples and the best means of providing it; and of many other related problems.

To the fundamental question of the principles which should underlie the relations of European Powers with the tropics, Sir Frederick Lugard is prepared to give a clear and definite answer. It is to 'develop resources through the agency of the natives under European guidance, and not by direct European ownership of those tropical lands which are unsuited for European settlement,' though he recognizes that European plantations, strictly limited both in number and in size, may be beneficial object-lessons in improved methods. The significance of this declaration by so high an authority will be evident when it is contrasted with a large part of the history of the relations of European Powers with Africa in the past. There is one aspect of Sir Frederick Lugard's policy of fostering and developing in every way native social institutions, and of ruling the country not directly but through a native administration, which must make a strong appeal to all who care for the welfare and progress of African peoples. The aim of the policy is primarily educative. It is designed to train native rulers of all grades in responsibility, and to provide them with the stimulus of promoting the advancement of their own race. 'Emancipation of the body,' Sir Frederick Lugard writes with reference to the abolition of slavery, 'is a lesser benefit than the emancipation of the spirit. It is not enough to set a man free from his legal status as a slave unless he learns his

responsibilities as a citizen' (p. 295). In this view, if it were to gain general acceptance, one might hope to find a real clue to guide the European governments in Africa through the maze of difficult problems which confront them in that continent.

What part have missions played, and may they play in the future, in the tremendous drama brought before us in these two volumes? For the answer we must turn to Dr Richter's book. This is the third volume of his monumental history of Christian missions, the first two, dealing with India and with the Near East, having already appeared in an English as well as a German edition. This we venture to think is the best of the three. It is a marvel of industry and painstaking research. Within its eight hundred pages the reader will find particulars of every mission working in the African Continent (except that Egypt and the islamized north-east of the continent were treated in Dr Richter's previous volume on the Near East). Yet nowhere does the author allow himself to become lost in details; he retains complete mastery of his material, and never loses his sense of perspective. Dr Richter is aware that missionary work in Africa has to be carried on in the midst of rapid economic transformation and revolutionary social changes, and in his treatment of his subject he never loses sight of this larger environment. While English readers will not agree with every judgment expressed by Dr Richter, more particularly in regard to the events of recent years, the book as a whole represents a remarkably unprejudiced and large-minded view of African problems and the Christian contribution to their solution.

The predominant impression one gains from Dr Richter's comprehensive survey is the utter inadequacy of what has yet been done, notwithstanding an immense amount of devoted labour, to meet the spiritual needs of this great continent. In large areas, most particularly those under French rule, there is scarcely any Christian witness at all; and in many others the Christian effort is too feeble to exert any appreciable influence. The situation here portrayed is a tremendous challenge to the present generation to carry forward the work their predecessors have nobly begun.

In these circumstances it is deeply to be regretted that the German contribution to the evangelization of the continent should, except so far as South Africa is concerned, have for the present been eliminated.

Again and again in Dr Richter's book comes the reminder that

a new day has begun to dawn in Africa. In all parts of the continent the inrushing tide of western civilization threatens to outrun, and it may be to swamp, the inadequate efforts of Christian missions. In the past at least nine-tenths of those receiving education in tropical Africa have obtained it in Christian schools. But everywhere governments are now beginning to assume responsibility for education and to control its development. A quite new effort on the part of missions is needed if they are to meet successfully the new conditions. Dr Richter and Sir Frederick Lugard are at one in holding that the only education which can recreate life in Africa is one which makes its appeal to the religious nature of the African.

Sir Frederick Lugard devotes considerable space to discussion of the work of Christian missions. While he is candid in pointing out their shortcomings, his attitude is that of an entirely friendly critic, and he cordially welcomes their co-operation. He would, however, exclude them from the Muhammadan districts of Northern Nigeria or at any rate admit them, if at all, only on very strict conditions. Dr Richter criticizes at some length the policy of the Nigerian Government in missionary questions. We are not sure, however, that the divergence of view is in reality as wide as might appear at first sight. There is much common ground, and conference might enlarge it still further. Sir Frederick Lugard invites such conference. ' I cannot too strongly emphasize,' he writes in words which will command hearty assent, ' this need for co-operation between all those who are interested in the education of the native races. No adequate results will be achieved if Government and missions work in separate compartments.' Such co-operation, however, presupposes that missions have a definite common policy. No one can read Sir Frederick Lugard's book without realizing that those responsible for the administration of Africa are thinking their way to a definite policy. Missions, if they are to adjust themselves successfully to their environment, must understand what that policy is. They must also come to have a clear, and as far as possible a common view, as to their own aims and their policy in regard to the many difficult questions that arise in their work. To gain such a view is one of the indispensable tasks of the next few years.

J. H. Oldham

London

MR DAN CRAWFORD'S NEW BOOK

BACK TO THE LONG GRASS, MY LINK WITH LIVINGSTONE. By DAN CRAWFORD, Author of *Thinking Black*. With Illustrations. London: Hodder & Stoughton. 16s. 1922.

THE double-barrelled title indicates that really we have here two books on different subjects. The first four chapters are concerned with 'Back to the Long Grass,' or, in plainer words, with Mr Crawford's journey from Elizabethville to Luanza, presumably in 1914, on his return from England. In chapter v we are suddenly jerked back some twenty years, and, as the author confesses, his chronicle 'hopelessly and irretrievably goes off at a tangent.' Here begins 'My Link with Livingstone,' the said link being that he, with his plucky wife, was the first European to visit Ilala after Livingstone's death. It seems that this happened in 1897. In chapter vii they set out on this journey; in chapter xxii they arrive. On page 76 he commences, and on page 294 he takes up again and completes, a description of the memorial service held around the Livingstone Tree. The question that the author asks once, readers will often ask: 'But where are we now?' He seems quite incapable of telling a straightforward story, but goes off the trail in all directions. The frequency of the expressions, 'But to revert,' 'But to return,' 'But, there, let us stick to our chronicle,' shows that Mr Crawford was not unaware of this daundering which is a source of irritation to readers. Better than either of the titles given would be that assigned to one chapter: 'On the Zigzag Trail.'

There are some excellent things in the book. Whenever he keeps to Livingstone interest is sustained. His hero worship evokes our deepest sympathy. He had the great advantage of conversing with men and women who remembered the circumstances of Livingstone's final sufferings and death. We would willingly barter most of his wearisome preaching and etymologizing for more of the tales told him of Livingstone by these people. All that is of real value in this book of 370 pages might have been compressed within the limits of an article in the Review.

Apart from faults of style, there are graver faults of substance. The author promises to keep a tight hold on the reins of his imagination, and to pull Pegasus on his haunches each time he attempts a too daring flight. Well, Pegasus has been too much for him. If this is what Pegasus can do on a tight rein, one wonders what he

would do were the rein thrown upon his neck. We cannot avoid the suspicion that when the author speaks about 'thinking black,' he really means 'thinking Dan Crawford.' He sees more in native expressions than ever man saw before; we do not hesitate to say that he sees more than actually exists. Take, for instance, what he says about native conceptions of death. He connects with the word *mfwa*, 'death,' a long series of words commencing with *fu*: *funda*, 'teach,' etc. etc.; then he apparently deduces that the natives speak of death as 'the perfect education,' etc. etc. If we are mistaken in this particular instance, let it be ascribed not to our stupidity but to Mr Crawford's obscurity. Professor Gregory's geological theory about the Great Rift Valley surely needs no such philological buttresses as Mr Crawford builds for it. The natives, it seems, on the banks of Lakes Mweru and Albert all speak of their lake as 'the locust-killer'; *ergo*, Gregory is right in saying that the two lakes have the same geological origin. So on the strength of the similarity between the words *di* (to be) and *di* (egg), and on other verbal coincidences, he links the Ba-luba with Eleusis, Osiris, with Hebrews and Greeks, with Pythagoras and Hegel. In one place he speaks of Mr Bombast (as he contemptuously entitles any traveller who has not had his philological opportunities) as living in a linguistic fog and guessing ingloriously. Mr Crawford, who likes proverbs, should remember the one about glass houses.

His worst performance on these lines is his derivation of the widely spread Bantu name for the Supreme Being—Leza. It so happens that the present reviewer has lately had to draw attention to the fantasies of two other etymologists who tried to explain the name. One of them says that it is simply the verb 'to come' in one form, i.e. *(u)le-za*, 'he is coming'; cf. Yahweh, 'I will be.' Another derives it from *ku-lela*, 'to nourish,' says that it is 'of purely Semitic origin,' and equates it with El Shaddai, which he says means 'God of the breast,' i.e. the great mother nurse. And now Mr Crawford says that the natives have not merely the genuine idea of God '*but that they have the identical name Moses used*' (the italics are his). The Semites used El; Ba-luba and other tribes use Le-za. All you have to do is to cut off the last syllable of the word and forget it; then turn Le round into El—and there you are! This seems to us to be mere jugglery.

Another thing we dislike is Mr Crawford's gibe at 'professional parsons.' He dwells complacently upon the alleged fact that

Livingstone was 'no parson, a layman.' Was not Livingstone ordained ? And he sneers at modern representatives of the apostles 'who want so much per year and a contract.'

A more blameworthy lapse from good taste is his remarks about Garanganze on page 36. If Mr Arnot (whom he does not name) erred in giving that name to the Katanga district, it is not for Mr Crawford to tell us so in this unpleasant fashion. As a matter of fact, it is Mr Crawford who errs and not the founder of the mission of which he is a distinguished member. If the present inhabitants of Katanga have forgotten that their country was once called by the name of which Mr Crawford says confidently, 'never, no never, was such a name known in all these latitudes,' it is no argument that it was never used. To this day, the Ba-ila living some hundreds of miles to the south refer to Mushidi's warriors as Bangalanganza. We cannot, therefore, believe that the name was not known to Mushidi's people themselves.

EDWIN W. SMITH

DOVER

EXPEDITIONARY MYSTICS

HENRY MARTYN: CONFESSOR OF THE FAITH. CONSTANCE PADWICK. London: Student Christian Movement. 5s. 1922.

RAGLAND, PIONEER. AMY WILSON CARMICHAEL. Madras: Diocesan Press. London: Marshall. 3s. 6d. 1922.

'TRUTH,' Bernard Bosanquet asserts, 'must be interpreted afresh to each generation in its own dialect.' The application of that process is needed, however, not only to abstract truth, but to causes —like foreign missions—and pre-eminently to personalities. A biography, for instance, that illuminated a man's personality in, say, the year of Prince Albert's Great Exhibition may actually obscure it for an undergraduate in 1923. The pedestal becomes a tomb. The man's whole life—its events, its vocational *motif* and its effect on his age—must be interpreted afresh to us in our dialect. That re-interpretation is overdue in many fields, but not least in the region of missionary biography for adults and adolescents. In the junior range much good and some excellent work has been done. It is broadly true to say that even the best of the older biographies (and *a fortiori* the second-best) bury their Cæsars rather than praise them. This is due both to their bulk and to their

dialect. A gulf is fixed between the biographical language and method of the great Dr Smith, the biographer of Carey and Martyn, to whom we owe an enduring debt for the mines of material that he assembled, and the mind of the younger Christian generation of to-day.

A thorough and well-conceived scheme of new missionary biographies has been planned by the United Council for Missionary Education in Britain; and of these, the first—*Henry Martyn* by Constance Padwick—has now been published through the Student Christian Movement. This first volume is almost sensationally successful. To maintain this standard will be difficult. But even to approximate to it will create a new era in missionary biography. It will help—not only to interpret the lives themselves—but to restate dramatically through personality the eternal verities of Christian vocation, mystical experience and heroic action.

We would give much to be able to see with our own eyes the astonished faces of Martyn's colleagues at Cambridge in St John's Combination Room when he announced his decision to go abroad as a missionary. No Englishman of his standing had done such a thing. The most brilliant of the younger sons of Cambridge, Senior Wrangler and first Smith's Prizeman in an unusually distinguished year, mathematician without a rival of his own age, a superb linguist, Fellow of St John's and Members' Prizeman in Classics, with the ball of academic eminence at his feet and the entrancing life of intellectual battle and triumph opening its golden gates to him, Henry Martyn chose what to the whole British consciousness of his day—civil, military and academic—was the line of lunacy, a life given to proclaiming Jesus Christ to—from their point of view—ignorant and contemptible savages. The paradox seems only the more astonishing when we discover that Henry Martyn, mathematician and linguist, was primarily a mystic, a type generally regarded as contemplative and quietist.

Why did he do it? The superlative gift of Miss Padwick's book is that for the first time we see with crystal clearness the answer to that enigma. By her own interpretative talent and by her presentation of Martyn's journal Miss Padwick has opened to us the innermost motive and revealed the progressive illumination of mind and spirit through which Martyn came to hear, with bugle clearness, his vocation.

Miss Padwick's achievement lies first in the delicate and sensitive

precision of her presentation of the India of the Nabobs of a century ago and then of the early life of Martyn, the Cornish boy and Cambridge undergraduate in the context of the last decades of the eighteenth century. She has, with a daintiness and sub-acid humour that recall Jane Austen, etched in the picture till we not only see it but are part of it. Then she with a reverent intimacy reveals the unfolding of the mystical life in Martyn that made him one of the authentic saints. The stimulation that came through Charles Simeon's personal fellowship and David Brainerd's writing was of primary importance in that development. A stronger missionary direction was given to his thought by the reports and journals of 'the immortal cobbler' Carey in India and of Vanderkemp in South Africa whose report he found so 'infinitely entertaining' that he 'could read nothing else while it lasted.' But there was no false glamour captivating Martyn's imagination.

'The thought that I might be unceasingly employed in the same kind of work, amongst poor ignorant people,' he confides to his sister Sally, 'is what my proud spirit revolts at. To be obliged to submit to a thousand uncomfortable things that must happen to me whether as a minister or a missionary is what the flesh cannot endure.'

His love for Lydia Grenfell now weaves strangely coloured strands into the tapestry—the pure gold of his love and the red thread of his suffering, with the baffling elusiveness of her own tangled motives that prompted her not to commit herself yet not to let him go. The pull of the love that he had for her intensified the discipline of facing the vocation of service abroad. But what Madame Guyon described as God's 'infinite desire to communicate Himself' burned in Martyn with an enduring flame. In that flame all the discomforts were consumed, all the physical shrinking disappeared, the human love was caught up in the divine love, and all men and women (Lascar or Nabob, blaspheming sailor, Mullah or common soldier's common brown drab) stood out as immortal souls needing the God who needed them.

He accepted a chaplaincy under the East India Company as it placed him in a position to invite 'his Lydia' to follow him, which she never did. He sailed in the year of Trafalgar. Miss Padwick carries us in a swift narrative through the voyage out in the war-convoy with its horrors of suffering and the fighting at the Cape; the companionship and conflict at Calcutta and Cawnpore; the

absorbing enthusiasm of pursuing elusive oriental words down the tortuous avenues of their meanings ; the slowly slackening physical strength ; the growing clarity and intensity of spiritual vision ; the brilliancy and unflagging industry that made his translating work the pathfinding of a new way that orientalized not only the words but the very idiom and atmosphere of thought ; and at the last the race with death into Persia to complete there his crowning gift to the world of the Persian New Testament.

To the end he is the mystic in action in whom the spirit more than conquered the flesh. To Lydia, as he moved near his death in that last amazing ride across Nearer Asia, he writes ' The love of God never appeared more clear, more sweet, more strong.' But he adds ' I must truthfully tell you that the possibility of my reaching England alive is but small.'

So, fainting and delirious with fever, he hurried westward toward Europe, along the track that was once the ancient Royal Road of Persian emperors and Assyrian generals, and collapsed and died in a vermin-infested camel-khan. The scholar-mystic died alone where his Lord was born—in a stable.

Of another missionary mystic, born in 1815, three years after Martyn's death, but again a Cambridge Wrangler and Fellow of his College—Ragland of South India—Miss Amy Wilson Carmichael writes. Her book comes from one working in Ragland's own mission field itself (just as Miss Padwick, too, is working in that Islamic world to which Martyn gave his life).

Ragland, Pioneer, is saturated with the atmosphere of the land. Presented by Miss Carmichael in her vivid, impressionist way, Ragland offers a curious parallel and contrast to the life of Martyn. We discover the same struggle against the drudgery of ' the secularities ' as Ragland calls them, the absorption in God's will, and the cry ' Let me be a corn of wheat.' Passionate, too, with the volcanic emotions of an Italian strain in his ancestry, Ragland disciplined himself like Martyn to serve in ' slogging ' team work in the damp heats of Tinnevelly. Like Martyn, Ragland's passion was for immediate direct face to face speech with the people themselves—though (unlike the other) he had no real gift for languages. We are taken through the camp-journeys over hundreds of miles of preaching and speaking to individuals and introduced to the committee work in which larger planning was effected. That does not look thrilling or epoch-marking in itself. Yet in the perspective

of the years it proves to be so ; for Ragland was the first Englishman actually to camp among the people of India as a missionary of Christ, and men to-day say that it was in Ragland's career that the work that created the outcaste mass movements began. Truly he won his desire—' to be a corn of wheat.'

Martyn and Ragland are here revealed as two of the authentic ' hero-spirits,' who ' pass the torch from hand to hand.'

BASIL MATHEWS

LONDON

BISHOP BASHFORD

JAMES W. BASHFORD, PASTOR, EDUCATOR, BISHOP. By GEORGE RICHMOND GROSE. New York: Methodist Book Concern. $2. 1922.

DR GROSE has given us a model biography of a great and good man. The object which he has set before him is to present an interpretation of Bishop Bashford and his life-work rather than to write a detailed biography. He has given a vivid and inspiring interpretation of the man and his work.

James Whitford Bashford was born in the middle of last century in Wisconsin, in a typical American home of the Middle West. He received his early training in the village school of Fayette. Like David Livingstone much of his preparation was done out of school hours. Livingstone learned Latin in the mill, Bishop Bashford learnt Greek at the plough. When he entered the University of Wisconsin he became a diligent student and formed habits of indefatigable industry which were kept up until the end of his life. It was while he was at college in the autumn of 1870 that he had a religious experience which confirmed his faith and led him to dedicate his life to the work of Christ and His Church. In 1874 he entered the School of Theology of Boston University, where he largely supported himself during the seven years of graduate study. At one time he was in charge of the elevator. He also earned money by serving as a student pastor.

The Bishop's adult life may be divided into three distinct periods of, approximately, fifteen years each. From 1875 to 1889 he held three pastorates in succession. He was a born preacher with a torrential rapidity of speech, and a church administrator of the first order. In 1889, when he was forty years of age, he became the President of the Ohio Wesleyan University at Delaware, a position which he held with great distinction till 1904. Dr Grose says ' The

students will never forget his bubbling enthusiasm and chuckling laugh. On the College platform, in his office, on the campus—everywhere—he was the same genial big-hearted, earnest man.' He gave his students a world vision and his ardent personality was a constant inspiration.

In 1904 he was elected a Bishop of the Methodist Episcopal Church and appointed to China. For fourteen years he lived a life of unceasing labour in his great diocese. He was known to many of the Chinese as 'the man with the shining face.' His genial and radiant countenance won their confidence, and his fair and sympathetic treatment earned their respect. He was in the truest sense of the word a missionary statesman. He interpreted China to the West, and his great book, *China: An Interpretation*, has already become a classic. He was a born leader of men, and his influence in the early days of the Chinese republic was very great. He strove earnestly for the territorial integrity of China at the time of Japan's 'Twenty-one Demands' in 1915. His letters on the subject to Mr W. J. Bryan and President Wilson are masterly state documents. In addition to his famous book on China he published five substantial volumes and more than two hundred pamphlets and articles. His books on *Wesley and Goethe* and *God's Missionary Plan for the World* (which he wrote after reading Dr R. F. Horton's *The Bible—a Missionary Book*) and *The Oregon Missions* will keep his memory green.

The Bishop's record of constant travel and unceasing work is the more wonderful when it is realized that for the greater part of his life, and especially during his work in China, he was never in robust health. From his early days he suffered from bronchial catarrh, and for more than twenty years he was never free from rheumatism and a racking cough. In 1918 he wrote in his journal 'In my lifetime I have had three great calls: the call to the Christian ministry, the call to China, and the call to suffering.' During the last years of his life he was an invalid, and his sufferings became intense. But with undaunted courage he kept up the fight for health, and planned for future work.

The most deeply interesting passages in Dr Grose's book deal with The Man and His Mind; The Man and His Character; The Man and His Friends and The Call to Suffering. Bishop Bashford died in California in March 1919; his last words were 'But Christ first.'

LONDON F. H. HAWKINS

BRAHMAN AND CHRISTIAN

SUBRAHMANYAM. THE STORY OF A PILGRIMAGE. By CHARLES H. MONAHAN. London: W.M.M.S. 1s. 1922.

THEOPHILUS SUBRAHMANYAM is an ordained minister of the Wesleyan Methodists in South India, who visited England in 1921 to represent India at the Methodist Ecumenical Conference. He is by origin a Smārtha Brahman of the Tanjore District. This book is mainly occupied with the account, drawn from his own description, of the long pilgrimage which he made through India when he decided in early manhood to throw up his medical training and 'turn his back on the world for ever,' so that 'as a sannyāsi in a cave on some lonely hill or in a forest he might find the peace denied him in the society of men,' and of his long and eager spiritual pilgrimage in quest of God—the fruit of that insatiable longing which is the age-long mark of the Indian *bhakta*, and which with him (as with Sunder Singh and Narayan Vaman Tilak) sprang in part at least from the early seed of devotion planted in his heart by a pious Hindu mother. The quest, which 'arose in the first instance out of an intense longing to be released from the coil of the mortal body,' led him finally to a richer *moksha* than he had conceived, through the loss of self in Christ and the humble service of the depressed and needy for Christ's sake.

The story of what he had to endure at the hands of his relations on account of his change of faith is a moving one which will make many ask themselves, 'Could I dare and suffer so much for Christ?' The days of such persecution are perhaps passing, for the story is of 'the more conservative tradition' of the village life of thirty years ago; but such things are not unknown even to-day. Yet we must always remember (what Mr Monahan tells us that Mr Subrahmanyam himself is ever eager to emphasize) that all such infliction of suffering on him who is deserting the faith of his fathers is done out of love for his soul. Surely, in days when love too often degenerates into amiable compliance with a child's whims, we can find something admirable in a parent's love which can care so much for his son's spiritual salvation that it would rather see even the death of his body if so be that his soul might be saved from destruction. We rather regret that earlier in the book (p. 17) Mr Monahan has adopted a less sympathetic attitude in this matter. It is not surprising that a man with such traditions behind him, and such a

spiritual history as Mr Subrahmanyam should feel himself deeply drawn towards the great apostle of 'soul-force,' of whom we get an interesting glimpse on pp. 89–91.

J. C. WINSLOW

JUNNAR, POONA DISTRICT

INTERNATIONAL LAW AND CHRISTIAN CIVILIZATION

INTERVENTION IN INTERNATIONAL LAW. By ELLERY C. STOWELL. Washington: John Byrne. 1921.

'INTERVENTION' has often provided severe tests not only for works on international law but even for the fundamental hypotheses on which that law is based, but it may be doubted whether such tests have ever been more severe than those which current events are now imposing. In his preface Mr Stowell defines intervention in the relations between states as 'the rightful use of force or the reliance thereon to constrain obedience to international law,' and he regards international law as based upon the principle of territorial sovereignty and looking to those communities which have the ability to maintain their independence for the enforcement of international law within the jurisdiction over which they are recognized as sovereign. The result is that we have to look for the justification of intervention to the principles of international law as recognized by such communities, i.e., in effect, by the Great Powers. But it is notorious, and many of the precedents which Mr Stowell quotes prove it, that in many cases the acceptance of a principle enunciated by a Great Power depends upon the political situation at the time. As has been wittily said the definition of international law is the limit of the conscience of the strongest. Moreover, current events are making it difficult to say from day to day what communities have the ability to maintain their independence, and the principle of territorial sovereignty itself is liable to be brought into question by the conquest of the air and the close intercommunication between powerful democratic forces recognizing no territorial limitations.

All these considerations unite to prove that when the hour and the man arrive a restatement of the principles on which the law of nations rests is badly needed. The striking success which has hitherto attended the League of Nations affords such a golden opportunity for the calm discussion and application of principles

which appeal to all that it may well be that the hour has arrived. Mr Stowell displays such courage and lucidity in stating principles and such fairness in explaining precedents which might seem to run counter to them that he may well be the man. But the enunciation of clear propositions is sadly hampered by the necessity of reconciling conflicting precedents, and so often does this process result in the introduction of the description ' humanitarian ' as a justification for what might otherwise lack justification that the phrase ' humanitarian intervention ' occupies more space in the excellent index than any other words or phrase referred to in it. The consequence of these difficulties is that when Mr Stowell comes to state his conclusions he has to allow for ' the necessary play or elasticity ' which he finds ' to lie mainly in the discretion which each independent state at present enjoys as to the manner in which it will fulfil its international obligations.' It is hardly too much to say that the difference between the extent to which such ' play or elasticity ' may be stretched by the strongest states and by the weakest is so great as to jeopardize any system of law which allows it. It has been said of the author's great namesake, Lord Stowell, who perhaps contributed more than any other man to establish international law on an equitable basis, that as no reports of decisions of the Court of Admiralty had been published before his time he was free to be guided by the writers on Roman canon and international law and by the historical material with which his own reading had made him familiar. May it not be that Mr Stowell, having absorbed all that precedents have to teach him, may put them behind him and proceed to enunciate principles based on some real ethical system which will be accepted by the constituent members of the League and will allow of no elasticity which might serve as an excuse for the stronger power to do less than justice ? If Mr Stowell will undertake this task it may well be that the fact stated by Oppenheim that international law is in its origin essentially a product of Christian civilization may afford a reason for hoping that principles based on Christianity will be more readily accepted than principles based on humanitarianism. Some support at least to this view may be found in the rule of transcending practical importance for the preservation of a just peace among nations which Mr Stowell claims to have formulated for the first time, namely, ' that no state shall unreasonably insist upon its rights or pursue its interests to the detriment of the opposing rights and

interests of other states.' This is not very different from Christian precepts, and if the word 'unreasonably' in this connexion is interpreted, in accordance with the view expressed by Mr Stowell in his concluding paragraph, by enlightened public opinion in each state and the citizen himself assumes his part of the responsibility for the faithful observance of international law, there will then indeed be reason to hope that 'the kindly earth shall slumber lapt in universal law.'

G. Edwardes-Jones

The Temple, London

THE WAR AGAINST OPIUM

The War against Opium. Prepared by the International Anti-Opium Association of Peking. Tientsin: Tientsin Press; London: Marshall. 3s. 1922.

The fact that this invaluable *vade mecum* for all who are concerned with the question of the Opium Traffic is issued by an Association which has its head-quarters in Peking in no way means that China alone is dealt with. The scope of the book is both historical and world wide, and within its 250 pages is a mass of facts and figures which have not previously been obtainable in this compact and authoritative form. As regards the careful survey of the present condition of affairs in China, much of the information regarding the cultivation of the poppy has been the result of the willing co-operation of missionary correspondents; especial thanks is tendered to the representatives of the Roman Catholic Church for the help rendered. These results are shown on a map, which, however, may with advantage be studied in conjunction with the even later, though corroborative, reports contained in the Association's Mid-summer Bulletin for 1922. The attitude of the British Imperial Government, of the Indian Government and of the various opium monopolies are exhaustively dealt with, and with a fairness that has not characterized all books on the subject—a fairness, however, which does not make the indictment the less damning. Full information is also given regarding the situation in the United States and in Japan, although the rapid awakening of conscience in both these countries, shown by the passing of the Jones-Miller Bill last summer, and the evidently honest attempt on the part of Japan to carry out the promises made in the spring at the Opium Commission of the

League of Nations to tackle the smuggling question, will necessitate addenda in a new edition. The book has fourteen appendices particularly bearing on the legal and medical aspects of the drug problem.

If it had accomplished nothing else since its formation in 1918, the Anti-Opium Association would have justified their existence abundantly by the publication of this book. In addition we have to thank them for their indefatigable work in a hundred and one other practical directions.

H. W. Peet

London

SHORTER NOTICES

The Christian Movement in Japan, Korea and Formosa, 1922. Edited by S. M. Umbreit. (Japan: Conference of Federated Missions.) The twentieth issue of this year-book is as well-edited and as indispensable as any of its predecessors. The work of Christian missions in Japan, Korea and Formosa is presented in detail, set in that background of social and political conditions and of non-Christian religious thought without which it cannot be rightly evaluated or interpreted. It is inevitable that in general form each issue of the year-book should resemble the other, but some new feature is added to give variety to each volume—this year in the form of chapters on non-Japanese people in Japan. One day—and the sooner the better—it may be possible to produce a year-book in English dealing alike with the work of the Japanese Churches and of the missions from other lands. Then and then only will students outside Japan have well-proportioned knowledge of what the Christian movement in the empire really is. The section on Korea, some 90 pages, is of unique value, there being strangely little really good material available on that most interesting mission field.

Nyasa, the Great Water. By W. P. Johnson, D.D. (London: Milford. 7s. 6d. 1922.) *Dawn in Swaziland.* By C. C. Watts. (London: S.P.G. 3s. 1922.) It is an interesting coincidence that these two volumes by the Archdeacons of Nyasa and of Swaziland should lie together on the reviewer's desk. They are both well-planned, well-written and well-illustrated. In *Nyasa, the Great Water*, following a study of the lake, its history and its ways, come chapters on village life, native agriculture, fishing and other in-

dustries, home life, the old chiefs (1864–1884), wizardry and superstition and a collection of stories told by Natives to the author. The book will interest both the ordinary reader and the anthropologist. *Dawn in Swaziland* is sketched in brighter colours and has more varied content. It too deals with topography and history and with manners and customs of the people. But it adds several chapters on missionary work. The two best things in the book are the record of the gradual disentanglement of the land from the reckless concessions granted by chief Mbandine, and the delightful chapter on the old queen—a most shrewd and determined and reactionary potentate. After thirty years of extraordinary influence the 'female elephant'—as the Swazis call her—was asked by the Government to retire in favour of her adult grandson last year.

The Vision of the Kingdom. (London: Marshall. 3s. 6d. 1922.) This report of the great Missionary Congress of the Scottish Churches held in Glasgow in October 1922 has message and meaning for all who attended the Congress and for the thousands who have been reached during the course of the Missionary Campaign in Scotland. But the book has more. Men who want 'live' missionary material should keep this report at hand. The addresses have been well edited, so that the maximum of arresting fact and stimulating ideal is given in the fewest possible words.

A Child of the Morning. (London: Morgan & Scott. 3s. 6d. 1922.) In its first French edition this volume containing the memoir and letters of Renée de Benoit was reviewed in these pages in April 1920. Since then over 19,000 copies have been sold in continental countries. It is a singularly attractive record of a beautiful and joyous missionary life and is sure of a welcome in its English form; the charm of the original is well rendered by the English translator.

G. A. G.

NOTES ON CONTRIBUTORS

M. Elie Allégret is one of the Directors of the Paris Evangelical Missionary Society. He has just returned from two years' work in the Cameroons. His article was written in French and the translation has been revised by him. It is based on a statement presented at one of the jubilee celebrations of the Paris Mission in November,

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Professor Kenyon L. Butterfield, LL.D., is President of the Massachusetts Agricultural College at Amherst, U.S.A. He went to China as a member of the Educational Commission under the leadership of Professor E. D. Burton.

The Rev. D. Willard Lyon, D.D., is well known to the missionary body in China, where he has worked for several years in connexion with the Young Men's Christian Association.

The writers of book reviews are : Professor K. J. Saunders, who holds the Chair of the History of Religion and Missions at the Pacific School of Religion, Berkeley, California ; the Rev. W. C. B. Purser, a missionary of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel at Kemendine, Rangoon, since 1904 ; Professor K. S. Latourette, Ph.D., Professor of Missions at Yale University ; the Rev. Edwin W. Smith, Literary Superintendent of the British and Foreign Bible Society ; Mr Basil Mathews, Editor of *Outward Bound* ; Mr F. H. Hawkins, LL.B., one of the Foreign Secretaries of the London Missionary Society ; the Rev. J. C. Winslow, a missionary of the S.P.G. in the Diocese of Bombay since 1914 ; Mr G. Edwardes-Jones, barrister-at-law, formerly Fellow of Pembroke College, Cambridge ; and Mr Hubert W. Peet, Secretary of the Literature Committee of the Society of Friends.

INTERNATIONAL MISSIONARY BIBLIOGRAPHY

In the preparation of the bibliography the Editors have the advantage of the co-operation of M. le Pasteur Allégret (Paris), Professor Harlan P. Beach, D.D. (Yale), Mr Marshall Broomhall (London), Rev. W. A. Crabtree (London), J. N. Farquhar, D.Litt. (Calcutta), Professor Arthur Jeffery, Ph.D. (American University, Cairo), Professor H. M. van Nes, D.D. (Leiden), Rev. Frank Rawlinson, D.D. (Shanghai), Professor Kenneth Saunders (Berkeley, Cal.), Rev. Fr. Schepelern (Denmark), Missionsinspektor Dr M. Schlunk (Hamburg), Eugene Stock, D.C.L. (London), Missionsdirektor M. Tarkkanen (Helsingsfors), Rev. S. H. Wainright, D.D. (Tokyo), Rev. Martin Westling (Stockholm), Canon A. Lukyn Williams, D.D. (Cambridge).

While the bibliography is concerned primarily with missionary literature, published matter on other subjects closely related to the progress of Christianity is included when it is of exceptional value.

Entries of magazine articles are distinguished by †.

Abbreviations of magazine titles are explained on p. 320.

Annotations in the bibliography do not preclude a subsequent review.

MAIN HEADINGS OF THE BIBLIOGRAPHY

I. History
II. Missionary Biography
III. The Home Base
IV. The Mission Fields
V. Works of Reference
VI. Theory and Principles of Missions
VII. The Training and Qualifications of Missionaries
VIII. Missionary Methods
IX. The Church in the Mission Field
X. Comity, Co-operation and Unity
XI. Christianity and the Non-Christian Religions
XII. Social and Political Relations of Missions
XIII. Hortatory and Practical
XIV. New Missionary Magazines
XV. Missionary Education Publications

I. History of Missions

†A Missionary Survey of the Year 1922. The Japanese Empire; China; India and Ceylon; Africa; The Near and Middle East and Egypt; The Jews; Other Mission Fields; The Home Base. IRM, 1923 (Apr.), 191–261. *159.*

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ABBREVIATION OF MAGAZINE TITLES

AMZ = *Allgemeine Missions-Zeitschrift*
CMR = *Church Missionary Review*
CR = *Chinese Recorder*
EM = *Die evangelischen Missionen*
EMM = *Evangelisches Missions-Magazin*
EW = *The East and The West*
HF = *Harvest Field*
IRM = *International Review of Missions*
JE = *Japan Evangelist*
JIR = *Journal of International Relations*
MRW = *Missionary Review of the World*
MW = *Moslem World*
MZW = *Mededeelingen Tijdschrift voor Zendingswetenschap*
NMT = *Nordisk Missions-Tidsskrift*
SMT = *Svensk Missionstidskrift*
ZM = *Zeitschrift für Missionswissenschaft*
ZMR = *Zeitschrift für Missionskunde und Religionswissenschaft*

When other magazines are referred to, the full title is given.

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THE
INTERNATIONAL
REVIEW OF MISSIONS

THE MISSIONARY SIGNIFICANCE OF THE LAST TEN YEARS

VII. IN INDIA[1]

By GARFIELD H. WILLIAMS

Foreword

There is a particular reason why the limitation of this study of modern India within the arbitrary period of a decennium is less objectionable than might be expected. The period gives us enough of pre-war times to serve as a background against which to depict the India of the Great War, and it gives just long enough a time after the termination of the war to indicate with some possibility of veri-

[1] The editors made arrangements more than a year ago with a distinguished Indian Christian for a paper on the Missionary Significance of the Last Ten Years in India. He was unfortunately prevented in the end by other claims from writing the paper. The editors in this emergency had recourse to Dr Garfield Williams who most generously responded to their request. What he has written does not entirely correspond with other contributions to this series. In place of a comprehensive survey of the main events in the general life and in missionary progress during the past decade, he has given us a vivid impressionist picture of these tremendous years as seen through the eyes of one acute observer. While certain matters which might have been expected to find a place in such a survey are not dealt with, many of these have already been treated in the pages of the Review. Any lack of methodical completeness in the survey is more than compensated for by the vitality and the stimulating and thought-provoking qualities of the presentation.

similitude the distinctive features of the New India so largely created by it.

The difficulties of an attempt such as this are, however, almost overwhelmingly great. No one ever has the material to write contemporary history and any one who has gathered together material for writing the history of a previous age finds the available contemporary records so littered with doubtful facts, wrong inferences and false impressions, as to make him very chary of writing impressions of the history of his own time for future historians to evaluate. Journalists, it seems, must be either very brave or very ignorant.

This then does not pretend to be anything more than a personal impression and the writer does not need to be told that it is a very imperfect one. He fears indeed that it is bound to be more than ordinarily imperfect, for apart from all the obvious limitations inherent in such contemporary studies and indicated above he has to plead a further limitation. This is an Englishman's impression of India, and India is one of the most mysterious lands in the world and is peopled by some of the most mysterious races. Their thoughts are not our thoughts and their ways are not our ways. There is thus an inevitable psychological limitation doubtless creating prejudices against which it is impossible quite successfully to fight.

All these difficulties, however, serve to make the attempt all the more fascinating at least to him who makes it, and if they also lay him open to much criticism that will only serve to clarify the issue and help somebody else to do the work better. That somebody should attempt the task is of vital importance, for it cannot be too strongly urged that the subject is not of merely academic interest. We are living in the time of India's Renaissance. In India's evolution great 'mutations' are taking place, *per saltum* changes whose effects admit of direction and modification. It is one of those periods in the life of a people when the elimination of the worst elements and the conservation of the best is of vital importance. If men have any measure

of free-will there must be a science of eugenics which can be applied to states and Churches as well as individuals, but in its application diagnosis must of course precede treatment and so far as India is concerned diagnosis is the real problem.

The India of the War

In any attempt to understand India it is necessary to bear in mind that we are dealing with the peoples and races of a sub-continent. Racial and linguistic distinctions are certainly not less definite in India than in any other commensurate part of the earth's surface. Indeed with the possible exception of Europe and parts of Africa they are more definite than in any other part of the world. Yet there can be no doubt that racial separateness and racial jealousies and antagonisms are so far from being the dominant factor in modern Indian life that they can be practically neglected in our present study without seriously detracting from its value. We do not think this will continue to be so. We expect to see the growth of a more distinctive and separate national consciousness among the various races of India in the near future. This will be one of the most interesting political phenomena of the middle of our century. These separate nationalities are a heritage of India's past. India is not a single nation and never will be. But not many years hence it will be made up of nations more definitely conscious of nationhood than they happen to be to-day, and it may later provide an example of a very effective federation of nations. Such considerations make it very difficult to find appropriate language for the conditions we find in modern India. We use a phrase like ' Indian national consciousness,' but really there is not such a thing in modern India. Even the expression ' racial consciousness ' is misleading. The curious unity of modern India is an artificial product which has its roots, I believe, in a common attitude to the Westerner. This attitude often amounts to definite antagonism at the present time. It does this, quite irrespec-

tive of race, among those Indians who are western-educated —that is, educated in western knowledge and by methods imported from the West. It does it among practically the whole of the Mohammedan community. Among the vast millions of India's peasantry it does not yet amount to actual antagonism, but it can easily be made to do so there also. And in understanding the India of the war it is these three categories, (1) the western-educated, (2) the Mohammedan, and (3) the illiterate Hindu peasantry, that should be used, and not racial, still less national, categories. It will be somewhat different twenty years hence—how different no one dares prophecy. It depends upon so many factors.

Western-Educated India

The effect of the war on western-educated India was, I think, quite unexpected. It was a wholly emancipating influence. Western-educated Indians were largely untouched by any of its disciplinary effects. Comparatively speaking they suffered not at all. Their prestige was increased, but by the sufferings of others than themselves. Their power was increased because it was possible for it to be exercised as never before. Knowledge is power, and they had knowledge, and knowledge got its opportunity in a hundred ways in the war. Leadership was needed among masses of illiterate people in many new directions, and they supplied this leadership, and what is more they succeeded in it. They helped more than ever before because Government needed help as never before, and they helped efficiently and knew they did so. They got the chance to do things, and they did them. Also they had sufficient knowledge to be able to think out some of the implications of the Great War, and the more they thought them out the less they admired a western civilization which had allowed itself to come to such a pass. They saw and understood most of the bad; they got no first-hand knowledge of the good—the unselfish suffering, the glorious *camaraderie*,

and the wonderful heroisms of the war. At the end of it for them the Westerner had hardly a shred of reputation left. His civilization seemed to them to have been proven a failure, his power a delusion, the inevitability of his dominance a pricked bubble.

Western-educated Indians have not gone through the phase of war weariness, for they did not take part in the war enough to be made weary by it. Fortunately or unfortunately those who did take serious part in it have been far too weary ever since to argue with them very much about it, but it would be idle to deny that they resented the criticism of those who to them had the appearance of mere onlookers. It is necessary to emphasize this because this difference of temper has been at the root of much of the misunderstanding between Indian politicians and the taciturn British official or military officer, or even missionary. It is going to need a very deliberate act of will on the part of every one concerned to attain peace—'Using diligence,' as St Paul said long ago, 'to keep the unity of the Spirit in the bond of peace.' Both sides are to blame. The war was not of India's making. The remarkable thing is that she helped us so much, not that she helped us so little. A certain type of Englishman seems still to think that the war is something to be proud of, and resents any suggestion to the contrary. The actual waging of the war doubtless did reflect credit on many, although it provided a grave for the reputations of still more; but its cheerful sacrifice, its dogged perseverance, and its splendid heroisms must in any case be a treasured national memory for all time. But that there ever was a war was proof of the bankruptcy of western civilization, and that at least is nothing to boast about. In the actual exciting cause of the war the Britisher may have taken little part, but he was quite as much responsible as any other western nation for the predisposing causes. The Indian knows this, and has made the fullest possible use of his knowledge, but when his criticisms have been just

they have been seldom tempered with kindliness, and when, as has often been the case, they were exaggerated or downright unjust, they have been so applied as to produce a maximum of pain and resentment. With a Westerner, war-weary and disillusioned and sorely wounded, the thoughtlessness and unfairness of much of the criticism of these last few years has been like rubbing salt into open wounds. This resentment of the Britisher has again reacted on the situation in making him more than usually unimaginative. He has written down the Indian nationalist politician as an 'outsider,' and refused seriously to study his point of view, and this again provokes just resentment on the part of the Indian nationalist. The whole movement revolves in a vicious circle.

And it should be realized that it has operated everywhere—almost as much among the western-educated Indian leaders of the Church as of the State. It would have been quite as much, had it not been for the American missionaries, whose effect on the thought of the Indian leaders of the Church during these last ten years has been on the whole a mediating influence. The fact that educated Indian Christians saw something of the war's realities as Y.M.C.A. officials has also made a difference. The Indian Y.M.C.A. gave the young western-educated Indian his chance. Magnificently he took that chance and proved his ability just as his compatriot did in the work of the State, and now if the Church is to keep these young men and build them up yet further in faith and character, it has got to re-organize itself to give such young leaders opportunities commensurate with their powers. Notwithstanding those moderating influences within the Church the same causes which have produced the antagonism between the British official and the western-educated Indian nationalist leader have tended to produce a state of tension and suspicion between educated Indian Christians and western missionaries. As the war dragged on, the average British missionary was just like the average British

soldier or civil servant. Brothers or sons or life-long friends had been taken from him never to be seen again in this life. The shadow of the war had settled upon him. He became more and more sensitive, and retired yet further into that shell of reserve which has ever made him difficult to understand by other nationalities. Moreover, while the British missionary became more difficult to get on with, the western-educated Indian Christian often became more and more thoughtless and insensitive in word and action. They 'got on one another's nerves.' I doubt very much whether under the circumstances it could have been otherwise. I am sure the Westerner was not in the right mood to make calm and dispassionate judgments and I doubt whether the average western-educated Indian, Christian or non-Christian, had the material for an understanding of the situation. This brings me to the crucial point as I see it in a correct understanding of these last ten years.

I have used the expression 'western-educated Indian' again and again. I have already said that I do not mean by this 'educated in the West.' I mean educated by so-called western methods in western knowledge. I believe the last ten years have proved the failure of much of this so-called western education.

The vital thing in western education is a certain 'spirit.' What for the most part we had been content to give to India was the 'letter.' In education the aim is not a curriculum taught or an examination passed, but a character won. The thing that really matters in an educational institution is its ethos—everything else is quite secondary to that and only of importance in so far as it helps effectively to produce and strengthen the spirit of the institution, or to train, to utilize and to apply the character formed largely by that spirit to the effective solution of the varied problems of the world's life and work. The British have seldom in their history given serious consideration as a nation to the problems of education; they are, I suppose, not sufficiently imaginative, and the practical effects of a bad educational

system are often not obvious until long after those who originated the system have passed away. In India we have gone on the principle that when we were giving India western curricula, western text-books, and western examinations, we were giving her western education. The fact is that in the mid-Victorian age we were under the impression ourselves that education was a machine which only needed to be wound up and set going in order to do its work. The result is that the British, in giving so-called western education to India, have given to India the worst features of their own education, and withheld from her most of the best. The evils resulting therefrom have been consistently aggravated by the fact that education in India has often been prostituted to immediate public necessities and national ends. The British concentrated on higher education to begin with, because they wanted to produce mechanically effective office subordinates. They were not thinking primarily of building character. They were thinking of staffing government offices and later of business offices. The result in India to-day is a travesty of western education.

There are, thank God, many notable and outstanding exceptions alike in Government and mission and privately-controlled schools and colleges, but it remains true that the general type of western education started and carried on by official and non-official bodies was a type that inevitably could produce only the results which have been described. The shame of it lies entirely at the doors of the Westerner. We have only ourselves to blame. I do not say that the missionaries are as much to blame as the Government, but I do say that without properly thinking through the problem for themselves they have often just followed the lead given them by Government and produced educational institutions in India which, from the point of view of the formation of character (which is the only thing that really matters), are not worth the running.

Two obvious results of the war were made manifest while the war was taking place. The first was an im-

mensely rapid growth of racial self-consciousness. As I have said above, it is very difficult to get the right terminology for this, but its immediate results were obvious. Western-educated Indians almost to a man ceased to feel any need for the assistance of the Westerner in the affairs of India. They wanted to govern their own country in their own way; they were certain they could do it. It was an emotion which swept through the heart of western-educated India like a fire on the prairie. The idea of self-government was not worked out to any logical conclusion—it came too suddenly for that. The same demand for self-government found expression in the Church, accompanied by a reluctance to face up to the financial side of the proposition, which was swept aside in the wave of a powerful emotion. It is right to add, however, that recent reports from India indicate that this phase is passing. A new disposition to face reality and to shoulder responsibility and a new constructive spirit are manifesting themselves among Indian Christians.

A second obvious result of the war which emerged during its progress was an extremely rapid revelation of all the past weaknesses of British political and ecclesiastical vision and administration. These weaknesses would have gradually revealed themselves in normal times, and probably would gradually have been rectified. The war was a great and intensely rapid revealer of weaknesses. Now this had a threefold effect. In the first place it made the administration look much worse than it really was; secondly it inevitably tended to rapid patchwork attempts at reform; and in the third place the reforms had to be attempted when the best men had all their time and thought taken up with the prosecution of the war, and tackled the problem of political reform as a work of supererogation.

Let me illustrate by reference to Indian political reforms. Before the war, even Gokhale, the great Indian nationalist leader, was largely content with the Morley-Minto reforms, and thought them a great advance. Within five years of

that everybody saw they were a failure. Their fatal defect was that they led nowhere. In point of fact, although they did some good in educating men in the conduct of political institutions, their chief result was to emphasize all the inherent weaknesses in the British administration of India, and to suggest that the one thing it was not doing was to educate the people for self-government. By the middle of the war they stood self-condemned, and something had to be done. But in the doing of it speed seemed to be of the essence of the contract. The news came that the Secretary of State for India was coming to India with attendants in his train. It was clear that the Government in India had to get busy, and the provincial governments likewise. Men could be seen laboriously working out constitutions for India. Gifts that had been given and developed for the ruling of 330 millions of people did not seem to be the right ones needed for making political constitutions. At last a man was discovered who knew something about it. He shall be nameless, for he still lives and works in and for India. Humanly speaking he saved the situation. The story of the next few months need not be told. All that need be said is that after a few months a Constitution for the 330 millions of India had been made and brought home to the Mother of Parliaments, which was busier than ever with the war. Appropriate committees and commissions were constituted, but nobody believes that they made any serious alteration of the general plan worked out in those few hectic months in India. I remember on one occasion a layman commenting upon a statement of diocesan finance, closing his speech with this sentence: 'Gentlemen, this is not finance, it is a miracle.' That is the only kind of comment I can make on constitution-making in the Great War. It was not recognized constitutional reform, it was a miracle. The amazing thing is not that the Montagu-Chelmsford reforms have, as many believe, so many faults, but that they have so few. I am not attempting here to discuss the merits of the reforms. I wish only to

emphasize the atmosphere of rush in which they had to be carried through. I believe this to be a clue important to the understanding of the psychological situation in India in the last few years.

As a matter of fact this constitutional reform did little to pacify the Indian Nationalists. What they wanted was their own reforms. The Montagu-Chelmsford reforms emanated from the West, and the West was by this time hopelessly suspect. By this time, I say, for in the interim practically the whole of western-educated India had been unified by allegiance to a great leader, Mahatma Gandhi, and this leader was, or at any rate thought and acted as though he was, a confirmed and conscientious opponent of nearly everything that had its roots in western civilization. The dominating figure during the last ten years in India is Mahatma Gandhi. He still dominates India from his prison, although the domination is less apparent now. For one thing his incarceration has synchronized with a succession of good harvests in India, and good rains and good harvests monopolize the conversational powers of the Indian villager and bring him home at night too tired to be influenced very seriously by rumour and propaganda. It will be long before anyone will be able satisfactorily to estimate the influence for good and for evil of Mahatma Gandhi. He stands for the soul of India. He is India personified. He sees too little of the bad in eastern and too little of the good in western civilization, but he is by no means wholly blinded by patriotism, and has given his compatriots some very bad shocks by his criticism of certain Indian social institutions. If he lives, and spends his time in prison thinking, he may yet turn out to be one of the greatest social reformers the world has ever seen. Nobody doubts his sincerity, except in moments of acute exasperation, of which there have been many. Many doubt his capacity as a practical reformer, but too often such people use western categories in their judgment of him. I prefer to think that Gandhi is a political genius as well as a spiritual

genius, but if he is, he is very definitely an *Indian* political genius, that is, of the type of King Asoka, not of the type of Pitt or Napoleon, and if we judge him by western comparisons we shall go hopelessly wrong. Spiritually his influence on India has been uplifting to a remarkable degree, and you are as likely to find photographs and little statues of him in the homes of educated Indian Christians as of educated non-Christians. It is he more than any other who has unified India in its felt antagonism to western civilization, an antagonism which is much more an emotion and a watchword than an actual fact. How great a man is Gandhi it is difficult to say, because never in history did a leader have a country so well prepared for his leadership as Gandhi. India was simply waiting for a national leader, and it got in Gandhi the only kind of leader who could ever move India—a religious leader. Contemporaneously he presents many most exasperating problems for the rulers of India, but his influence will live long after he and they have gone, and in the end it will be an influence for good, and will reach beyond the confines of India. His influence is a tremendous influence for good in the Indian Christian Church already. But this again is a disintegrating influence for the moment, and multiplies problems where there seem already enough and to spare. This is the characteristic of all great men. At the time they seem a great nuisance, but long after it is discovered that they are the people who as a matter of fact have removed the nuisances. Gandhi has raised the moral tone of western-educated India and he has spiritualized the Indian nationalist movement. By so doing he has made it infinitely more effective and infinitely more difficult to deal with. He has increased the problems of the Government of India in this generation out of all conscience. That is hard on the present rulers of Church and State in India, but it will simplify the task of their successors. Add the influence of Mahatma Gandhi to the influence of the European war and you have all the reasons you want for the terrific problem of modern India.

Only a hopelessly cold and unimaginative person could fail to sympathize with those who are trying to steer the ship of India through such a typhoon in national life. It must be remembered that all this reacts on the life of the Church in a way very similar to its reaction on the life of the State. The really futile thing is for missionary societies to go on thinking in terms of a pre-war India without a Gandhi.

The Indian Villager

It may be thought that I have written at undue length concerning the western-educated Indian. It is again and again emphasized by those who know India that 'the real India is the India of the villages,' but it was probably as true in England in the eighteenth century to say that the 'real England was the England of the villages,' yet none the less it was the educated Englishman and the Englishman who had authority and prestige who did most to mould the thought of the country, and so it is in India to-day. But in any study of the last ten years in India it is essential to realize that an extraordinary change has taken place in the life and outlook of the Indian villager comparable with the change in that of the educated Indian. Ten years ago before the war there were already plenty of signs that the horizon of the Indian villager was being widened. The greatest of all reasons for this was undoubtedly the growth of communications and the many and intricate ramifications of the work of Government in connexion with such things as canals, posts and telegraphs, hospitals, and dispensaries. In particular the beginning of the decennium saw an immense advance in the amount of elementary education in the villages. Nevertheless, the villages were still cut off from the life of the towns, and the great political movements of our century which were already stirring the towns to their depths had little or no effect on the villages. Had it not been for the war, so far as one can see, there would have been a quiet development of village life

very comparable to that of other agricultural nations at similar periods in history. But the war changed all this.

It is too long a story to go into the details of this change. The intensive educational influence of propaganda and counter-propaganda had some effect. The necessity for the raising of war loan and the rise of prices which was consciously related by the Indian villager to failure in the prosecution of the war had an effect also. But the factor which had the greatest influence of all was the recruitment of over 1,000,000 Indian villagers for the war. For the first time in India's long history multitudes of Indian villagers from non-fighting castes and tribes were trained to war, taken out of their villages and shown the great world beyond the confines of Indian village life and thought. When the war ended, a million of these villagers came back to their villages ever after to be discontented with the humdrum life of the Indian village. Never in history have so many illiterate villagers at one and the same time been educated in the life and work and thought and aspiration of the great world. The effect has been positively cataclysmic. The first and most obvious result of this has been the creation of a great restlessness among the masses of India, a desire for they know not what, a dissatisfaction with the *status quo* which they cannot explain and which they know not how to remedy. One of the results has been the experience of agrarian revolt—this has manifested itself most markedly in Oudh where the amelioration of the lot of the peasantry was long overdue. Once again in this we have an example of the war rapidly revealing defects in administration, but the chief result was to create a vast body of illiterate but restless people ready to be influenced by any kind of political propaganda organized by their more educated fellow-countrymen in the towns, and particularly to make them infinitely susceptible to the influence and work of a great national leader should he arise. In Gandhi, as I have said above, the Indian leader appeared. In the educated Indian, antagonized as he was to the

Westerner, an army of propagandists was at hand. The result was a foregone conclusion. But the plain fact is that a condition of affairs which would have gradually arisen over a period of twenty-five or fifty years was brought into existence in a couple of years by the influences which we have indicated above. And this affords us the supreme example of the effect of the war on the speeding up of processes which were originally developing in a comparatively quiet and normal way before the deluge of the war came. It is certain that much of the trouble in the Panjab and the United Provinces during the last year or two has been due to this unsettlement of the villagers brought about by the war. The danger of the villages in this condition is obvious, or at any rate it was made obvious by Gandhi's propaganda, and it was the effect of that propaganda upon the villagers of India which was the cause of Gandhi's imprisonment. It is difficult to see what else Government could have done. Yet they must have hated doing it, for they knew they were imprisoning India's spiritual leader and a leader moreover with immense potentialities for good as well as evil.

There has been one very interesting effect of this awakening of the Indian villager. It has brought into greater prominence the conditions of life in the Indian village. Ten years ago the English missionary and the British government official were practically the only people who worried themselves about the condition of the villagers. Already before the war, as a result of missionary activity, mass movements to Christianity on the part of the outcastes and lowest castes in Indian villages were in evidence. They have continued during the period of the war. Before the war little attention was paid by educated Indians to this work of the missionary, but now things are different, and among the best of the educated Indians there is a very wide appreciation of the work of social uplift undertaken by the missionary and a desire to follow his example, and it is certain that this desire is not simply due to anxiety lest the outcastes should become Christians and be lost to the Hindu

community. It is as often as not the real awakening on the part of the educated Hindu of a social conscience. In this he has been greatly stimulated by Gandhi and the best of his associates, and by some of the more moderate of Indian political leaders who are constantly emphasizing the need of Indian social reform. Nothing is more remarkable in post-war India than the rapid quickening of the social conscience of the educated Indian, and it has not seldom been associated with a real appreciation on his part of the work of the foreign missionary in village communities. Depressed classes missions are one phase of this movement. There is now a large and increasing body of Indian public opinion which the missionary can count on having on his side in any attempt he makes for the social uplift of the Indian villager. This is a new thing in Indian life. Outside the Servants of India Society, and certain small circles of reform movements within Hinduism, it was practically unknown in pre-war India.

The Indian Moslem

At the beginning of the century there were no more loyal people in India than the Indian Mohammedans—to-day the reverse is the case. The change first showed itself at the time of the Italo-Turkish war; it became more obvious during the Balkan wars; it increased greatly towards the end of the great European war and became complete during the few years that have passed since the Armistice. Here again the cataclysmic effect of the war is at once seen. We do not propose to go into this question in detail here as it has been dealt with in a recent number of the *International Review of Missions*;[1] suffice it to say that the defeat of the Turk meant to the loyal followers of the Prophet the defeat of Islam. This only became apparent to the world of Islam when the significance of the Peace Treaties became known to the rank and file of the Islamic

[1] *Indian Moslems and the Khalifate.* By W. Paton. IRM, 1923 (Jan.), pp. 82–97.

world. It united practically the whole of the seventy millions of Indian Mohammedans against the British in India. It is easy to show that they were thoroughly unreasonable, but it is not reason which moves people in critical times such as these. In the Greco-Turkish war of 1922 a succession of defeats at the hands of western powers was for the Mohammedan wiped out by a signal victory over his traditional western enemy the Greek and he conceived this event as a kind of *risorgimento*. Islam has often been difficult but has seldom been dangerous in defeat; it is always most dangerous in victory. It is not at its best when playing a losing game. I believe we are only at the beginning of our difficulties in our relations with the Mohammedan world, but I will not go into that question in this study—I merely mention it now just to round off the picture of an India, Hindu and Mohammedan, educated and illiterate, united for the first time in its history, and united by a common antagonism to the British as representatives of a western civilization which they partly fear and partly hold contemptible, but which unwittingly they none the less often desire to emulate.

The Missionary in Modern India

This is the India in which the missionary has been working during the last ten years. It is in this India he has been trying to preach a Christ who is supra-national and universal and who is the perfect and complete revelation on the plane of human thought and human life of God who is love. But the missionary has not been only or even chiefly trying to preach about such a Christ—still more has he been and always will be trying to 'live' Him. It has been a great time of testing for the missionary—a testing of the truth of his Gospel and of the power of Christ to change lives, his own life included. It has, however, not only been a time of testing for the missionary himself, but also, and quite as much, for his institutions. In particular he has

had to do much re-thinking as to what he understands by the Church. Missionaries of all denominations have had to face up to this. What is the Church? What part has the fact of nationality got to play in the development of the Church in India? What is the next move in the development of the Indian Church and when should it be taken? What further part in God's good providence have the missionary societies got to take in the building up of the Church in India? How and where should they decrease in order that the indigenous Church of India may increase?

As an example of the difficulties of this decennium let us take this question of the relations of Indian Church and foreign mission and indicate some of the problems involved. It might have been expected that the devolution of control from the foreign missionary society to the Indian Christian Church would have preceded action of a similar kind in secular affairs affecting the relations of the foreign-controlled British administration and the Indian Empire governed by it. If secure democratic institutions must be built up on a foundation of Christian ethics this expectation would seem to have been inevitable. In actual fact, however, it has not been so, and devolution of control in the Indian Church has not even occurred *pari passu* with similar devolution in the state. There are several reasons for this.

In the first place, British administration was a unified administration. Changes and developments could be brought about only slowly it is true, but quite surely, by recognized constitutional methods, inexorable in their working, and applied everywhere with practically equal authority. Mission administration, on the other hand, has no unification worth the name. It presents on the contrary almost the extreme antithesis of a unified administration. The power is divided between literally hundreds of committees of all sorts and conditions of people in all stages of western culture and experience. All these many committees are to a greater or lesser extent dominated by the ecclesiastical and national

traditions of particular sects in particular countries of the western world; while in the decennium under review they were in many cases made more than ordinarily separatist by national patriotisms, animosities, and distrusts—a legacy of the war from which no Christian sect was wholly free.

Further than this, the Indian Church, created by the faith and work of this disunited and disintegrated missionary body, is a disunited Church—true its disunities were not indigenous but were on the contrary superimposed upon it by western denominationalism, but they are disunities none the less. Any serious and effective devolution of authority from a disunited mission body to a disunited Indian Church was of course impossible, and this fact explains why devolution in the sphere of the Church has not been accomplished on anything like the scale that has been witnessed in analogous branches of state administration. This failure, for it is nothing less than failure, has opened people's eyes in India as nothing else has to the disastrous consequences of disunion in the Church, and in this decennium there has been as a result a relatively large advance towards union both in the work of Church and mission in India. The advance is pitifully small as yet, but in comparison to such advance in western Christendom, it is great. Indian Christians have more and more replaced the uncertain and discordant sounds issuing from the different western ecclesiastical bodies by the single voice of an Indian Christian community, and signs are not wanting that, though they will demand liberty to form various sects of their own if they choose to do so, they will refuse much longer to be branded like sheep by some western ecclesiastical owner and divided from their fellow-Christians by factors of which they know next to nothing and care less. Why the Indian Church should be divided by the mistakes made by a lot of western Christians centuries ago is a question which every educated Indian Christian is asking himself to-day—and echo from the West, still faint but growing louder, answers ' Why ' ?

Similarly signs are not wanting that the missionaries on the field are heartily sick of the present disunited mission administration, and there is not the slightest doubt but that they are eagerly seeking relief by national and provincial mission councils which seem at last destined to come into their own. The fact is the mission body sees that it must discover a single voice somewhere or other—if it is to live and work in this new age in post-war India. It cannot remain content to be divided up into a number of separate groups each echoing exactly and demurely the particular tune which some British or American or European mission committee happens to be playing at the moment. This is not disloyalty to the home committees ; anything else spells disaster to the Cause and everybody knows that disaster to the Cause is the last thing the mission committees want. The fact is, there simply must be some kind of unity found somewhere, and it is out of this utter necessity for at least some lowest common denominator of united mission policy that the national and provincial councils of India are setting their houses in order and making themselves something more than missionary debating societies. Again, it is out of this same necessity that the various national conferences of missionary societies in the western world and the International Missionary Council have come into such increasingly effective existence. If anything is certain in Indian mission policy it is this, that unless these national and provincial missionary councils in India and these conferences and international groups of missionary societies in the West become far more effective than they have yet had a chance to become, then again and again and increasingly in the future, as in a measure has already been the case in the last ten years, the psychological moment will come for united missionary action and will pass unused, not because missionaries have not sensed the importance of the moment, but because there was no single missionary body to think and act.

A proof that the necessity for some kind of united

thought and action in missionary work has been in the minds of practically all mission administrators in the last decennium in India is afforded by the fact that almost every one of the greater missionary societies which have work in many parts of India has evolved some kind of central all-India controlling or advisory body for its work. This is already helping in the creation of a larger mission unity. The chief danger now lies with the home boards' failing to recognize the profound necessity of inter-mission policy. During the next two or three years the discussions and actions of the home committees of our great societies will make or mar the work of foreign missions in India for at least a generation.

Another factor must be obvious to anyone who compares Church and State. The Indian state is largely financed by the Indian people. The Indian Church is very largely financed by the western Church, and it is no use burking the fact that although the western donor may be perfectly willing to forgo his privilege of ' calling the tune ' when he ' pays the piper ' yet if the tune that is played is not at all to his liking there will not be much more money for the piper. And surely he can hardly be blamed for this if he has a real sense of the stewardship of money. Surely he must convince himself that the money he gives is rightly used, and he has got to decide that question for himself on the evidence presented to him. The question therefore of self-support is of paramount importance in the devolution of authority from the foreign mission to the Indian Church, and in the last analysis it must be true that there can be no real devolution of authority until the Indian Church is self-supporting. Curiously enough, this reflection suggests one of the good effects of the war, for the retrenchment which is necessary for British and European missionary societies is certainly fostering self-support, and one of the lessons of this decennium is that retrenchment is not *necessarily* a calamity.

But whatever be the relations of Church and mission

in regard to the ordinary evangelistic and pastoral work of the Church, there can be no question whatever that the Indian Christian community will not for many a long day be able either to finance or to administer the work of Christian education. Accordingly if the Church in the West is still to give a serious contribution to the future Church in India without interfering with the Indian Church's autonomy, the greater part of this contribution will be given most profitably through education. Nothing is or can be felt to be demeaning to the Indian Christian community if the organization and control of higher education remains for some years to come in the hands of foreign missionary societies, provided always that the Indian Christian educationist is increasingly associated with his English colleague in the work of control. At the present moment there simply are not enough Indian Christian educationists to undertake unaided the work that has to be done. It must therefore largely be done by western educationists, or else not at all. As for its financing, this at the present moment is completely outside any possibility of achievement by the Indian Church. The same thing is true in regard to educational experimentation of all kinds, and in regard to the training of teachers.

To take one simple example. In the last ten years, the most obviously outstanding feature of missionary progress has been in connexion with the mass baptism of outcaste Indian villagers. The problems resulting from this rapid influx into the Church of vast numbers of only very partially Christian and quite abysmally illiterate people have during the decennium been becoming more and more obvious. But nobody has any doubt but that these mass movements are of God and are a tremendous challenge to the whole Church to-day, for past history suggests that they come in waves, and the opportunity of bringing these desperately needy villagers into the Church may cease at any time for an indefinite period. Nobody doubts but that we must go on receiving into the Church these poor village folk if they

ask us to receive them. Who are we to deny them admission? But the plain fact is, and its significance has been growing upon us during these last ten years, that unless we can somehow or other raise the social and economic status of the community, then if the movement goes on at all at its present pace, financial disaster looms ahead, and of course it is not only financial disaster. An utterly illiterate and poverty-stricken village Christian community only very partially grounded in the faith is supremely dangerous for the Indian Christian Church.

During the whole of these last ten years, the problem of the future of these so-called mass movement Christians has been continually before the missionary body as a whole. It seems clear that the only prospect of a solution of this problem lies in education. But it must be a particular type of education which really meets the needs of the community. What is needed is experimentation on a large scale, and at present it is clear that this experimentation must be undertaken and financed by the foreign missionary body if it is to be done at all.

And this is not the only sphere in which educational experimentation is needed. Looking back over the last ten years it seems quite clear that the whole trend of foreign missionary activity is in the direction of a concentration on the work of education. To the missionary in touch with modern movements in India this seems to be the only way through the innumerable difficulties of to-day. From every point of view we can do our best work by influencing the educational development of India and particularly the educational development of Indian Christians. There is still a considerable body in the mission field, and a much larger body which supports missions in western lands, which views this concentration upon education with grave misgiving. It looks upon education and evangelization as antithetical. It fails to grasp the fact that our Lord's method of the training of the twelve is the only possible method, and that was why He used it. One outstanding

need to-day in the home base is a realization on the part of those who support missions that the greatest thing that they can ever do with their money and their prayers is to help to train an Indian disciple in order that he may go and win his fellow-countrymen for Christ. It is still harder to convince the average Christian man and woman in the West to-day that slowly to leaven the whole lump of India's thought-life—which is the effect of the higher educational work of foreign missionary bodies—is that great thing of which our Master spoke—the Kingdom coming 'not with observation.'

But whatever the western Christian feels about this or that method of missionary work, one thing is absolutely clear from a study of these last ten years in India, and that is that the Indian Church is going to control its own destinies in the future. It will be glad of western financial help, but it will not tolerate western administrative control. It will be glad of western sympathy and co-operation, but it will not tolerate western domination. It will be glad to receive all the learning and enlightenment that the West has to give it, but it will demand the right itself to select what it wants for its own use.

GARFIELD H. WILLIAMS

RURAL EDUCATION IN INDIA

AN ACCOUNT OF THE COMMUNITY MIDDLE SCHOOL AT MOGA

By W. J. McKEE

The problem of rural primary education in India is one that has agitated the Government, missions and other private agencies for many years, as is shown by the many discussions in the press, the frequent appointment of committees of inquiry and investigation and the publishing of reports and pamphlets on this subject. All over India there is a strong conviction of the importance of education and the necessity for its rapid extension, if India is to take her proper place among the nations. Yet despite this fact there is a lack of unanimity as to how this is to be accomplished and what type of education is to be given.

There are many reasons why this problem is so difficult to solve. In the first place its very magnitude is appalling. Think of 280,000,000 people (over 90 per cent of them illiterate) living in over 700,000 villages. Consider merely the cost of elementary education for such a host of people; the number of teachers and supervisors that would be required; the buildings and equipment that would be needed. One's mind finds it difficult to visualize so gigantic a task; to work out in cold figures the barest educational requirements for such a multitude is most disheartening. Yet this must be accomplished if India is to be prepared for responsible government and for a place of equality in the Empire.

Even the consideration of the smaller problems of missions in educating several millions of Christians who have come from the depressed classes is a tremendous one. Not only are these people illiterate, with inadequate ideas of the

value of education, but they are widely scattered in tens of thousands of villages, with frequently an insufficient number in a village with which to organize a school. They have been neglected and despised for centuries, are almost unbelievably poor and have overwhelming needs in every phase of life.

There are many more difficulties, however, than the mere fact of the numbers involved. The poverty of the people, their need of their children's time to secure even the meagre economic help they can give ; their indifference to education and its benefits ; the lack of public opinion in favour of educating the labouring classes ; the divisive force of caste which makes it most difficult to educate caste and outcaste pupils in the same school; the small size of the villages (average population about 360) which necessitates small and hence expensive schools ; the conservatism of the people and their unwillingness to co-operate in a consolidated school all add to the problem.

Yet difficulties are not only extraneous but exist within the system of education itself. Even if sufficient money, equipment, teachers and pupils were available, there is at present no suitable type of education for these rural communities. There is no enthusiasm for the present government course of study. The village people are dissatisfied with it. They feel that it does not lead anywhere, that it makes their children discontented with village conditions and yet does not prepare them for life in the cities. There has been considerable agitation for ' national education,' and yet even those who strongly advocate this seem to have little conception of what it involves. As yet they have not worked out any original curriculum or programme. It is, however, an indication of the people's desire for an education more closely related to their heritage and environment.

The pupils also have a dislike for the present type of rural school. The work given is not interesting, it bears little relationship to their experience and needs and as a result their progress is slow and discouraging. The retardation

figures are startling. Pupils frequently take two or more years to complete the work of the first grade—work which might be accomplished through the use of better methods in six or seven months. Due to their lack of progress many become disheartened and drop out of school. Even those who remain are ill prepared for advanced work, because of the habits of inattention and apathy which are engendered. Is it any wonder then that the cultivator feels that it is more profitable for his boy to spend his time herding cattle than going to school?

Government and missionary societies are also dissatisfied with the present system. The returns for the money expended are very small. Even of those who gain the tools of literacy, 30 per cent lapse back into illiteracy within a period of five years. Moreover few of those who have received an education have returned to the village to help to uplift their fellows, with the result that the general level of village life (where one finds most distressing conditions and needs) has changed but little. The attitude of missionary societies can be most forcibly stated by a few quotations. The Missionary Educational Council of South India expressed its conviction in the following resolution: 'That the system of primary education as at present given does not adequately meet the needs of our Christian community may be accepted without further controversy or proof. We are not securing under our present system of general education what we set out to accomplish, but in certain directions we are actually demoralizing the communities amongst which we are working.'

In a recent interview, General Bramwell Booth gave the following criticism of the present type of education. 'While I do not wish to dogmatize, it seems to me to be a dangerous policy to give a form of education to children which makes them indisposed to follow the industries by which their fathers have earned their livelihood. It ought to be possible to give the children of India an education that would enlighten them without turning their thoughts and minds away from the life and work of their native villages. It is

unquestionably a fact that much of the present educational system in India is having just that effect.'

If these criticisms are justified, what is being done to find a type of education which is peculiarly suited to the existing conditions in India? Government has been carrying on various experiments seeking to relate rural education more closely to the needs of the people. Over three years ago a Commission on Village Education was appointed by British and American missions to study the methods being used in various parts of the world in the education of rural peoples and also ways in which these could be applied to India. A most illuminating and helpful report was published, but up to the present few of its recommendations have been widely put into practice. Another conference on Rural Education recently called at Moga in the Panjab was described in the April number of this Review. It emphasized the unique opportunity missions have in the educational work they undertake to seek to set up model Christian institutions, and through them to make a real contribution not only to the community to which they minister but the solution of some of the difficult educational problems of the country. Reference was made to the school at Moga as a concrete illustration of the type of school which the conference recommended for an agricultural area. It was recognized that it would not be advisable for any large number of these community schools to be established by missions, but there was need for at least one or two in each province or language area and it was hoped that these might be union institutions with sufficient support to make them really model schools.

Since this problem of rural Christian education so bristles with difficulties it might be helpful to describe the school at Moga in detail, for all educational experience and attempts at the solution of this problem are likely to be valuable.

The aim of the school at Moga is to give an education to selected village Christian boys suited to their rural life and needs with the object of their returning to the villages to help uplift their own people. In this aim three things are

specifically emphasized : the matter of selection ; the adaptation of the school life and activity, curriculum, etc., to village conditions; and the purpose of the education given—the developing of the individual for the service of his community.

1. With regard to selection, it is clear that an education provided indiscriminately for all in a residential school where the parents are able to contribute so little towards the cost of keeping and educating the boy, is altogether too expensive. For this reason it is necessary to select pupils carefully and to endeavour to secure those who will exert a real influence in their communities when their schooling is finished. Emphasis is placed upon evidence of character and personality and upon mental capacity. At present reliance must be largely placed upon the recommendations of the missionary and school supervisor who send the pupil and upon his previous record in the village day school. However it is hoped that this can soon be supplemented by the use of intelligence tests adapted to India. Various people are working at this problem, and it is likely that a standardized scale will be available by next year for pupils from four to thirteen years of age. When these scales have been thoroughly tested it should be possible to eliminate much of the wastage that is now so prevalent in residential schools for village children.

2. Regarding the second part of the aim of the school, that the curriculum and school life be adapted to village conditions, it was necessary in the beginning to make a careful study of the social life of the village, so as to determine what type of curriculum would best meet the pupil's needs. This involved a consideration of many things—the activities of village people, and the information needed in order to fit into the village life and to meet the tremendous social and moral needs of the people with a view to bringing about a definite improvement and uplift in village conditions. But information of itself was insufficient. It was also necessary to study the village child to discover his weak and strong points and how the curriculum and school life might contribute in

developing his character so that when he returned to the village he would exert a vital influence for good upon the community. His interests, impulses and experiences were also investigated and an effort made to utilize these to the best advantage in his education. Along with this, it was felt that the village child's racial inheritance—his love of song, story and the dramatic picturing of events, the folklore and useful customs of the village—should be used so far as possible.

In all this our goal was to provide an education arising out of the child's experience and environment, using his natural impulses and interests with the object of inspiring and preparing him for real community service. Our effort was to get him to see not only the present needy condition of the village, but what the village and his own people might become through Christian service, and that he had a peculiar responsibility and privilege in the light of his training to go back and help in their uplift. We cannot claim to have accomplished this objective but several things have already been achieved. We have succeeded in getting our graduates to go back to the villages and also there is an enthusiastic desire to give their time and strength for the uplift of their people.

In describing in detail how we are endeavouring to have our curriculum closely related to village life and needs, we shall discuss it under three heads : classroom instruction ; character development ; and school life.

With regard to classroom instruction, we have felt that the Project Method of teaching is peculiarly fitted for the purpose we have in view, provided efforts are made to find subject-matter related to some problem or activity of the community. Here the emphasis is not upon a text-book, but rather upon the pupil's environment and the problems that arise in it. In the solution of these problems and the carrying out of these activities in their natural setting, pupils find a need for relevant information, and for the organizing of this so that it will accomplish their purposes. The

advantage of such a plan is that pupils are carrying on in school the activities of their parents and also the very ones they will probably be engaged in when they leave school. They are meeting the same problems and learning better methods of solving them. They are also learning to use the same method of work that we all use in life: namely, the formation of a valuable purpose; the securing of the necessary information to carry out that purpose; organizing that information so as to accomplish our purpose (planning); executing the work according to the plan; and judging the result and determining whether we have accomplished our purpose or not. Whether we prepare a sermon or make a garden, we tend to use this type of procedure.

Now to illustrate more clearly the working of this project method, let us examine the work of the first class. Their project is the Village Home. During the year they study the life and work of the village family and help in the solution of the many problems that arise in the feeding, clothing and housing of its members. In solving these problems they find a need for arithmetic, reading, writing, hygiene, Bible study, etc.

When they first enter the school, the teacher talks with them about their home and its relationships, because that is so close to their experience and interests. Gradually various problems arise and the pupils become interested and purpose to find solutions for them. It may be the problem of housing the family, and the pupils purpose to build a house. They observe other houses, make inquiries and mobilize their own experience. They decide in consultation what materials they will use and how large a house they wish to build.[1] In the measuring of this and laying out the plan, there is the necessity for learning how to measure and how to count (arithmetic). Suppose they decide to build their house of sun-dried bricks. They must make these bricks and that raises the question of their size; the making of a mould, the

[1] When the Rural Education Conference met at Moga, the house in building was about four feet high, large enough for the smaller boys to go in and out of it.

determining of the number they will need for each row (more measuring, counting and arithmetic). In the building of the house, questions of drainage, lighting and ventilation soon arise, so that hygiene and sanitation become living and practical subjects to the children. Soon the need arises for writing down figures or labelling the things they have made; they become desirous of learning how to write. They have found that it is something they need to know in order to solve their problem and carry to completion their activity. The same is true of reading. They cannot secure all the information they need through observation and inquiry, so the teacher writes simple directions on the blackboard or refers them to a book, and reading is found to be one of the tools they urgently need. Or, the teacher may read stories to them about certain homes and the pupils form the purpose of wanting to read such stories for themselves. In this connexion all the beautiful Bible stories about home and home relationships are available either for the teacher to tell or read or for the pupil to read. The problem of beautifying the house and grounds, and the animals in connexion with the village home, furnish opportunities for nature study. Elementary geography is provided for in deciding upon the direction the house is to face, the determining the time of day (sundial) and in meeting other weather conditions as they affect the health and comfort of the family. In all this work the pupils' thoughts are directed to their village homes; in solving the problems which arise there, and in the improving of present conditions they find the need for a wider knowledge and outlook. The emphasis is first upon the village and its life; then upon the wider outlook (additional information and experience) with the object in view of using these to improve existing conditions. The responsibility for finding a solution to these problems is largely placed upon the pupil. They collect the information, formulate their plans, carry out the work and judge the results. The teacher acts mostly as a guide, seeking to direct the work into the most profitable channels and to keep alive the pupils' interest and

enthusiasm. This method of organization has not only educational advantages but cultural ones as well. These will be spoken of later.

This same type of curriculum and method of organization is used throughout the middle school. The second class has a project on the Village Farm, with all the problems which arise there related to nature study, geography, arithmetic, Bible study, reading and writing (records). The third class has a project on the Village Bazaar (shops) and the fourth class (which completes the primary stage) on the Village and its Relation to the Outside World. In the middle classes, the fifth standard at present has a project on the lumbering industry, which has developed until it has included a great deal about canals, rivers and irrigation. The sixth class has a rather comprehensive project on the town of Moga, and the seventh class has the Moga Post Office and a study of its relation to India and the world.

This project curriculum has led to a great increase in the pupils' interest in the work, because most children desire to construct things, to work out difficulties closely related to life and work, and to imitate the life and work of parents and acquaintances. This interest, together with modern methods of teaching the various school subjects, has resulted in greater accomplishment, for it is now possible for many pupils of the first grade to complete both sections of that class and all the second grade work in one school year. In many ordinary village schools as much as two and occasionally three years are spent in completing the work of the first grade only. The government educational authorities are also greatly interested in these methods and have not only highly commended the work and given the school their hearty support but are experimenting with parts of the method in their own schools.

3. Regarding the development of character, investigation and experience indicated that the village child was frequently lacking in initiative, persistence, self-reliance, organizing ability, co-operation and the spirit of service, and a

sense of responsibility. In many cases the dignity of labour needed to be emphasized, education being looked on as a means of escape from manual labour. To meet these conditions, the school seeks to make use of both the classroom and the school life and activity. In the classroom work, the project method contributes much to strengthening these weaknesses. Initiative is developed in the pupils as they are encouraged to put forward their own purposes and plans and the means they wish to use to achieve them. Persistence is emphasized in that a project once begun must be completed and the difficulties in the way must be surmounted. Self-reliance is developed as the teacher is only a guide and the pupil must secure his own information, make his own plans and carry out his own work. Organizing ability is exercised in the necessity for selecting relevant information and grouping it for a definite end. The pupils find it necessary to look ahead and plan for possible contingencies. Co-operation is emphasized in class projects, where each pupil contributes his own ideas and where all help in the making of plans and in the carrying of the work to completion. A pupil learns to abide by the decision of the group and to subordinate his own ideas and plans, if the group approves of others. All through the project the pupils are led to realize that the project is theirs and that they are responsible for all its details and its satisfactory completion. The dignity of labour is emphasized in the handwork which it is necessary to do in constructing the various projects.

This, and most of the other characteristics mentioned above, are emphasized in the school's gardening, farm and village, home industry work, which is also organized partially on a project basis. Each pupil has a garden plot of his own and from the fourth class up each has both a garden and a farm plot. These latter are one-sixth of an acre in extent and the garden plots are thirty-nine feet square or about one-twenty-eighth of an acre. The pupils are entirely responsible for these. They decide in consultation with their teacher what seeds they wish to plant. They make their plans, pre-

pare their plots, sow the seed, do the cultivating and reap the harvest. They are entitled to what they produce and with this money they pay part of the cost of their education. Accounts are kept by each pupil and also by the teacher. They also keep their own records of the progress of the work and meet frequently for consultation with their teacher. Pupils work an hour and a half each day on these plots and also give one full day's work each week. Each day of the week there is one class of the school working on the farm and in this way there is a constant supply of student labour, so that it is not necessary to employ gardeners or farm labourers. The emphasis in this work (as on that of the classroom) is both upon its educational value and the character advantages. These latter consist of emphasis upon initiative, industry, application, co-operation and self-support. Speaking of the school farm, the government agricultural inspector wrote: 'I questioned the boys of the various classes as to their knowledge of agriculture and I was satisfied with their answers. I also saw boys engaged in hoeing and ploughing a field with the Meston plough. They seemed to be very interested and understood intelligently what they were doing. The farm shows satisfactory management and it was a privilege to visit it. This school is doing a rare service to the rural community and the school authorities deserve congratulations for the success achieved in the initial stages of the farm's growth.'

While most of the fathers of our pupils are engaged in agriculture, yet in unirrigated regions, where only one annual harvest is possible, they have considerable leisure during part of the year. For this reason supplementary home industries are made part of the curriculum. It is hoped that pupils going out from this school will, for the economic improvement of the people, introduce these industries in their villages, as well as better methods of agriculture. The industries are all very simple and require little in the way of equipment. Rope making and weaving, basket making, brick making and the building and repair of *kachcha* masonry,

rough wood and iron repairs and sewing and mending are taught. These are also related to the educational work of the school and are on the same economic basis as the agricultural work, the pupils being entitled to what they produce.

The foundation and principal source of character emphasis, however, is the Bible and the religious life of the school. Each morning before the beginning of any other work the pupils assemble for a short devotional service followed by a half-hour of Bible study. Again during the school session there is a period devoted to Bible study and this often bears a vital relationship to the project of that class. Frequently classes undertake special Bible projects, such as the preparation of a drama, the construction of some special devotional programme, the making of a model, picturing some Biblical event, or the preparation of a special poster or chart. These are usually used for the instruction and help of the other classes in the school. The evening service of worship is in charge of the pupils themselves; they prepare their own programme and appoint those who are to take part. In these meetings their natural musical, story and dramatical gifts find expression and they also provide a means for training in worship and the conducting of group devotions.

In the upper classes the Bible study work has special reference to the life of service to which we hope each of our pupils will devote himself. The seventh class studies the social teachings of Jesus; the eighth has a course on the dedication of life to the service of Christ. Emphasis is laid upon social service and pupils are encouraged to make the best use of the opportunities which present themselves. They look after those who are ill, help smaller boys or sick ones with their garden plots, render help of various kinds in their villages when they return for their vacation, visit surrounding villages each Sunday to conduct Sunday schools and services, spend from two to three weeks in teaching and community service, under supervision, before the completion of their course, help in the local cattle fairs, carry on evangelistic work in Moga and assist their fellow-students in various

ways. The school vacation is also given at the time of the spring harvest, when their services are most needed by their parents and the village people. The pupils also contribute each month to the support of the pastor of the church, and several times each year raise money for special objects, such as Russian Relief, Near East Relief, etc.

The general school life also makes its contribution to the development of character. A considerable measure of self-government is given to the pupils. In the beginning of the year they have a meeting in which nominations are made for the student *panchayat* or governing body, and later the pupils vote for the five of these whom they wish on this council. This council looks after much of the discipline of the school and its general welfare. Visitors to the school have commented on the fact that most of the pupils' possessions are in open shelves and have inquired whether there is not the danger of theft by other pupils. Such occurrences are very rare; when they do occur the council gives the culprit a trial and if he is found guilty the attitude of the council and the student body is such that the offence is not repeated. A healthy sentiment has been created in the school against the breaking of promises, disloyalty, unclean talk and similar offences. There are other weaknesses against which a strong public opinion has not as yet been created in the school, but there is little doubt that once such a strong, social sentiment is prevalent it accomplishes far more than a similar attitude taken by the staff.

The pupils are also made responsible for all their living arrangements. Cooking parties are appointed which take their turn in cooking for all the pupils of the school. A student committee does the buying, keeps the accounts and works out the cost of the food for each pupil. Boys wash their dishes, care for their rooms, wash and mend their clothes and help in the school chores.

The social life of the school centres about games (which are of the inexpensive variety, so that they can be used in the villages), discussion groups for community betterment,

dramas and school entertainments. One class has a course on village social and economic problems, in which each of the great needs of the village is taken up and methods of meeting it discussed.

Lastly, in a school like Moga, where the aim is to inspire boys to go back to the village for its uplift, it is necessary that the school should set an example in extension work and should also seek to keep in touch with its old students, so that their enthusiasm and spirit of service may not be lost. Several supervisors are at work in the villages of our mission area seeking to help the teachers and old students now in service there. Also conferences and demonstration (model) schools are conducted for them. Each year for two weeks they come into Moga for a ' refresher ' course and a special normal course lasting five months is also available for those in service who cannot attend the longer training course. A monthly journal is published in the school which is sent to most of these men. In addition to this there are two gatherings of village people at Moga ; one at Christmas-time and the other a convention usually held after the harvest season. Plans are now being made for a concentrated community effort in a village near the school with the object of trying to make it a model village.

As will be seen by the foregoing description of the institution at Moga, a school day there is a busy one, yet the outdoor activities are so interspersed with the mental ones, the work is so varied and interesting, that the students are happy and keen and feel that they are doing things which are worth while. This is evident not only from their appearance and the spirit of the school but by their own testimony. Last year one of the old boys of the school, in speaking to the newly admitted students, stated that when he first entered Moga he felt that the work was too hard and that he was lowering his dignity by engaging in such manual work. ' Twice,' he said, ' in the first two months I made up my mind to pack my things and go home but something seemed to hold me back. Now I know it was God's Spirit keeping me

here, for I would not have missed my year of training at Moga for anything. It has given me a new outlook on life and has made a different man of me.' One of the most encouraging things at Moga has been this development of character and outlook and the growth of a spirit of service in the pupils. The future alone will show to what extent this will carry over and persist in a depressing village environment, but we are confident that this type of education—arising out of the environment of the people, exalting the village and showing the possibility of its transformation through the energizing Spirit of Christ working in and through trained and dedicated lives—has far more possibilities of success than the prevalent educational system.

W. J. McKee

THE TRAINING OF THE VILLAGE WORKER IN INDIA

By THE BISHOP OF DORNAKAL

The paid lay worker is a creation of the modern missionary enterprise. He is called by various names: mission agent, mission helper, lay worker, teacher, catechist, teacher-catechist and so forth. These together with ordained Indian pastors number about 30,000 men in the Protestant missions in India. Of these 25,000 may be safely estimated as village workers.[1] Even reckoning on an average salary of Rs. 16 per mensem, we get the huge sum of Rs. 4,800,000 per annum, i.e., £320,000—spent by the missions and Churches in India on the Indian village worker.

The importance of the place this worker fills in the economy of village missions cannot be too highly estimated. He is the village schoolmaster and must take the unwilling lads of the village through the three R's. He is the unordained village pastor, and it is his duty to shepherd the Christians in the locality and possibly in one or more neighbouring villages, to prepare catechumens for baptism, to teach confirmation lessons to the baptized and to build up the Christian life of the young and old. He is the village doctor, to whom men and women turn in times of illness incident to rural communities. He is the village arbitrator and decides all disputes between men and quarrels between women. He is the village legal adviser and as such he advises the villagers upon all matters that bring them to seek Sirkar aid. In short, the village worker is the centre of light and learning and the leader of religion and piety in the village where he is employed.

[1] Statistics for 1922 gathered by the National Christian Council of India.

The life history of almost all our present village workers may be represented roughly as follows :

As the son of a Christian in a certain village he attended the local village school. In between school hours, he helped his mother and perhaps looked after a few goats besides. Some years later, when about ten years of age, he was taken to the missionary headquarters and after an entrance examination, which he passed, he was admitted into the boarding school. His career was now fixed. After five or six years in this boarding school he was sent for two years to get the government trained teacher's certificate. When he finished that he was made a mission agent.

That workers selected and trained in this way have to any extent proved a success is a remarkable testimony to the skill of the missionary in training workers, to the power of the mission boarding school, and to the latent capacities and gifts of the rough country village Christian. No one is more conscious than the writer of this paper of the failings and weaknesses of the workers we are discussing. With some 1500 such workers in his diocese he comes to know the worst about them. But he will yield to none in his admiration of the lowly paid mission worker who with everything against him in his rural existence is still the backbone of the missionary movement. This fact, however, cannot blind us to the changed conditions of the present times and the defects of the present system for the training of the village worker for his difficult position of many-sided responsibility.

What are the defects ? They may be summed up in a few sentences. The present system is defective because there is no place in it for freedom in the choice of a vocation. It is unfair to the individual, unjust to the society, and harmful to the Church that every boy who obtains a middle school education should be made to become a village worker. ' What are you going to do when you finish your school ? ' was once asked of a boy in the top class of such a school. ' I do not know : that will be determined by the Sahib,' was the answer. A second defect is in the fact that while a

village worker is expected to be a spiritual *guru*, guide and counsellor, the training is largely and almost solely concentrated on his being a village schoolmaster. The Government sees to it that he holds a trained teacher's certificate before it will part with its grant in aid ; the Church does not equally insist that he is equipped for the spiritual work before it will spend its money on him as a religious *guru*. Further, even his educational training is defective in that it fitted him only to teach the three R's to little children, whereas by his position as the only educated person in the locality he is called upon to advise and assist the whole village in all that touches the community welfare. Again, no sufficient attention is paid to the spiritual and mental needs of a worker who by the conditions of his work is often destitute of any means of improving either. Attenuation is inevitable to the best of us under such circumstances. Once more, the present plan of training does not make it possible for the wife of the worker to receive any special preparation for the position she too is called upon to hold. No training is complete which does not take this factor into consideration.

The writer does not wish to suggest that these defects are not recognized by missionaries. Some at any rate are patent to them all and various remedies are in vogue in most missions to minimize the evil effects of an unsatisfactory system. The attempts already being made to improve the quality of the village worker form the basis of the suggestions here put forward for consideration.

The early education given must be such that no one should be compelled to be a village worker who does not want to be one ; room should be left for vocation. It is personality that counts, and personality cannot be developed without freedom. Where the only way open to a Christian boy to obtain any education above the elementary grade is to pledge himself to be a village worker, there it cannot be said that recognition has been given to this principle. What is of prime importance therefore is the necessity for a change in the aim and ideals of this type of missionary

education. To secure a regular supply of mission workers was the primary object of the missionary education of Christian boys. It is time now to undertake this task for the sake of the boys themselves and the community of which they are members. We have hitherto educated them for our sakes; now we must begin to educate them for their own sakes. This indicates considerable alteration in the methods followed by missions. Boys received into a middle school should not be required to enter into any bond, explicit or implied, pledging themselves to serve the mission after their schooling is over. No penalty should be attached to any one who does not want to do so. Unless any boy feels he has a vocation for the work of the Church he ought not to be encouraged to enter it. It must be possible for the boy to choose for himself any career. Some may have aptitude to go back to the village as artisans or farmers. Some may show ability to go on to higher grades of education. Some may feel a call to serve the community through public and state service. Others may give evidence of gifts which may develop later into a definite call to service in the Church. All these callings are perfectly legitimate and boys must be free to enter any of them. There should be opportunity for all to receive adequate preparation to fulfil these positions honourably and in a way worthy of the Master whose followers they are.

This ideal cannot be realized unless the present prevailing type of boarding schools be changed into that type of residential school called by the Village Education Commission the Vocational Middle School, and at a recent conference held in the Panjab, the Rural Community Middle School.[1] It is a middle school—that which comes between the elementary school, on the one side, and the high school or the teacher's training school or the advanced technical school or a profession, on the other side. It is a vocational school—as it affords the chance for each boy to choose his

[1] *Report of Conference on Rural Education in India*, held at Moga, Panjab, December 5–11, 1922.

vocation and to be trained for it. It is a community school, because it 'trains men for more abundant service to the community' and through such men seeks the uplift of the community. It is a rural school, because it seeks 'to use the activities and valuable interests of the village as a means for educating rural boys and girls.' In such a school there is scope for choice, and it is boys who feel the vocation for village service who ought to pass on to further specialized training to equip them for that work.

Training as a teacher would follow next. This is best done when our prospective village worker is still a bachelor. He has finished his course in the middle school. He has felt he has a vocation to be a village worker. We now begin to equip him for the task that awaits him. This should be definitely undertaken at the training school. The village worker is first of all a teacher—a teacher of children and a teacher of adults. Teacher's training is therefore of primary importance in his equipment.

The normal training that village school teachers get at present is entirely in the hands of the Government. The Educational Department prescribes the syllabus, sets the standard, conducts the examination and gives the diploma. Hence it is difficult for missions to strike out on their own lines in the training of village workers. Yet it is apparent that unless some experimental work of the right kind is undertaken by missions there is not much chance that rural missions will secure adequately equipped village workers. A few points may be mentioned as essential for such a training school. It should be located in the rural area and established under rural conditions, the students conforming themselves as far as possible to the simple life of the Indian village. It is desirable that the model practising school should have in it real village children rather than children of the teachers and servants in the mission compound. The curriculum should be so drawn up as to give the maximum attention to training the student how to impart to others what he already knows rather than to imparting to

him additional knowledge. The Village Education Commission has emphasized this same need, though it is not clear that so far any great attention has been paid to the suggestion by managers of training schools. The Commission writes : [1]

> It cannot be too clearly stated that the normal training must be of the simplest character. Only such educational theory should be taught as can be learned from intelligent discussing of the practical teaching which the student sees or himself carries out. School practice and discussion of modern educational methods will occupy the greater part of the time. It scarcely matters whether much or little be added to the student's middle school learning, but it does matter that he should understand the village child and what he is trying to train him for. . . . The course should include, in addition to the simple introduction to the art of teaching referred to above and some teaching practice, instruction in methods of teaching reading, writing, arithmetic, nature study, and simple hygiene, with the handicraft already acquired in the middle school, with the addition, where feasible, of games, drawing and music. There will be emphasis on professional as against academic work. Everything will be taught with a view to the teaching of the young child, not to imparting further information to the student.

It must also be remembered that ' training of the teachers depends mainly on the personality of the trainer.' No training school succeeds very much which has not at its head a man—European or Indian—who has an inspiring personality and who, like our Lord, trains his disciples through the power of incarnation. It is in the provision of the trainers that the Churches of the West have to make their largest contribution to rural evangelization.

We may presume that our student is now a certificated and qualified teacher in a rural school. But he still lacks the necessary equipment for the religious work he will be called upon to do in his village. Therefore Bible training must come next. The consequence of any neglect in this is that while a village worker may be a qualified teacher meeting the requirements of the government grant-in-aid code, he does not know what to do when the people gather together in the chapel for their evening worship. The best teacher is apt to think he ought to reproduce in the village chapel

[1] *Village Education in India*, pp. 92–3.

what he had seen in the headquarters church. The result is English hymn tunes (or American, German or Danish as the case may be), and Anglican chants; Prayer Book mattins or evensong are introduced into the village, making the whole worship foreign and unnatural. Others perhaps do not even know enough to do this. The results on the infant congregation is too often disastrous. It is therefore indispensable that the student should have a short course of training as to what and how he should teach the people and how he should shepherd and train the flock committed to his charge. In short, he needs a short course on rural *pastoralia*. This must include vernacular music, exposition of vernacular lyric, lessons to the catechumens and the baptized Christians, problems of rural religion and church life, ecclesiastical order and discipline. Even a few months' training along these lines will bear much fruit in the spiritual growth of village congregations. Under rural religion ought to be included rural sociology—including instruction in temperance work, co-operative credit, and simple sanitation and medicine.

A third stage of training may be given in vacation courses to the village workers. Village conditions are such that without provision for occasional 'refresher' courses, sooner or later workers deteriorate both in keenness for work and in personal religion. Summer schools or vacation courses become indispensable. These ought to be held during the slack month in the village school for one or more weeks. Arrangements ought to be made for all the married men to bring their wives too. Special courses of lectures in the newest methods of teaching may at this time be combined with Bible instruction and inspirational addresses. Whatever has been lacking in the training may be supplied in some measure during these weeks. In the Telugu country something akin to a vacation course has been tried with considerable success. Students who finish their school course or training course are kept during the midsummer vacation for a three months' special course of training in pastoral work before they are sent out as village workers.

Teachers who have not had any special training are also brought in for six months for a special Bible school. Of course much of the success of this kind of work depends upon the man or men who conduct the school. Enthusiasm, personality and a deep devotional life count for much.

A further factor in the training of the worker is the training of the wife. Missions have on the whole shown a deplorable lack of imagination in this matter. Some missions spend a great deal of money and energy in training unmarried girls as teachers. Others have very efficient Bible schools to train Biblewomen. But comparatively little is being done to equip the teacher's wife, the catechist's wife or the pastor's wife. India respects wifehood and motherhood. The wives, here more than anywhere else, are the queens of the land. And yet they are often left out, while missions either train the unmarried girl or wait until she is widowed. The wives of village workers are a great factor in the village life and their training ought to occupy a far more important place than it does in modern missions. They should always be invited to vacation schools, but separate courses ought to be arranged for them too. Where there is a theological class to train catechists or pastors the training of the wife ought to be as seriously undertaken as that of the husband. Failure to do this has meant an incalculable loss in efficiency and effectiveness.

Bible lessons to enable the wife to conduct a village women's Bible class, elementary hygiene and nursing, and Indian music may be suggested as subjects to be taken up in such a class. The writer has personal knowledge of a class conducted on these lines for the benefit of the wives of village teachers and village pastors. Such a regular course of training more than anything else helped the wives to realize the important position they were about to hold in the village.

The above proposals need money, men and leisure. But thus alone can the villages of India be captured for Christ; thus alone can the kingdom of God be established in rural India.

V. S. Dornakal

THE DEVELOPMENT OF AN INDIGENOUS CHURCH IN CHINA

By C. Y. CHENG, D.D.

For more than a century China has been enriched by the teachings and ideals of Jesus through the instrumentality of the Protestant missionaries from Europe and America. Working in a strange land, and under trying circumstances, it is only by superhuman power that so much has been accomplished. The imparting to the Chinese people the ideals of Jesus has greatly enlarged the old conceptions of God, of self and of their fellowmen. Whether we speak of the benefit of Christianity to the Chinese race in the realm of religion or of material life, it cannot be honestly denied that China is being greatly enriched by the sacrificial work of the Christian missions.

But the Christian worker has his critics. His most severe critic is himself. He is more conscious of the failures and shortcomings than any other. One thing he does is to press on toward the goal that has been set before him by his divine Lord and Master. He knows that the so-called Christian nations are far from Christian, he knows that his own life is not quite the reflection of the life hidden in Christ, he knows that the work in the mission field has not yet been crowned with universal success, he knows that the name of Christ is not infrequently dishonoured by a wrong move or an ill word on his part. In a word, he has not yet reached his ideal, which is the ideal of Jesus Christ. It is with a like spirit of humility that we approach the subject of this article. There are many pressing problems regarding the development of the Christian Church in the mission field, but for the present we limit our attention to one, viz., the development of an indigenous Church in China. It is not

possible to give a solution to all the questions raised, but by considering these problems together we may gain a better understanding of the situation as a whole.

What is an Indigenous Church?

Our first question is 'What is an indigenous Church?' There is some doubt as to whether there can ever be an indigenous Christian Church in China since the Church was not produced or born in the soil, but imported from foreign countries. Probably 'indigenous' is not the right word in this connexion. We use it to express an idea which has become commonly accepted, rather than in the strict meaning of the word.

One other misconception has to be cleared away. In using the word 'indigenous' we do not mean that the Church becomes nationalistic in the common understanding of the term. Christianity is a world religion, and as such it does not rely for support upon nationalistic feelings. Too much has been said of the rising of the national spirit of the people in the Orient, and much has been attributed to it in the development of self-reliance in the Christian Church. While this national spirit may have awakened the patriotism of the people in the East, the development of the Church was the result of life within the Church itself rather than of pressure from without.

It is true, to our shame be it said, that we who profess to follow the footsteps of Jesus have allowed ourselves to be entangled in these nationalistic views and ideas and have not risen above our racial and national prejudices. But the ideal of Christ that, to use a Chinese expression, 'the whole world is one family and China is a member thereof,' is still shining before us like the light of the sun. Christianity has not failed, but we have. It is not because we have too much of the spirit of Christ but too little of it. To make the Christian Church Chinese in this nationalistic sense of the word is belittling the spirit of the Head of the

Church. In our sense of the word an indigenous Church means nothing more or less than the power of the Christian Church to adapt itself to the people of China, and to be able freely and fully to express itself and determine its work. Christianity is always congenial to the environment and atmosphere of the place in which it finds itself. The fundamental principles of Jesus are applicable to all mankind; but the forms, methods, modes of thought, ways of doing things, are adaptable to varying conditions of all peoples, at all times and in all places. Therefore Christianity in China becomes Chinese Christianity, i.e. a Christianity that fits in with the life of the Chinese people.

As a matter of fact Christianity has always moved thus in the world. This has also been the way other religions found their place not only in the soil of China but in the heart of the Chinese people. Buddhism and Mohammedanism, while retaining much of their essential characteristics in China, have very largely become naturalized in the country. The adaptability of the Christian religion to the needs of different peoples cannot be questioned. The question at the present time is rather to make those who come to preach this religion more adaptable to the needs of the people with whom they work. This is all the more necessary because of the somewhat aggressive and domineering tendency that characterize the missionary of the West, a tendency which is greatly heightened by the material progress that has been made by the European and American nations.

St Paul seemed to have found the secret of success in his religious task when he tried to adapt himself to the people for whom he laboured, not asking the people to adapt themselves to him. In other words, he tried to turn the people to God and not to himself. This is of course more easily said than done. But the degree of our ability or inability to adapt ourselves to the needs of the people will largely determine the success or failure of the work which we attempt for our Lord.

Lest there be any who fear that Christianity may lose its identity, it must be made plain that to make the Church indigenous does not mean that we are to give up the ideals of Christian teaching, or lower the standard of Jesus Christ; not by any means. The love principle of Jesus is age-abiding, and Christ the manifestation of the father love of God shall for ever be our source of joy and encouragement. This we proclaim with no uncertain sound. While Jesus has laid down great principles which direct our relations both to God and to men, He left us practically no methods, no forms, no organizations. He left to men of varying temperament, training, environment, disposition and time, the application of these principles for themselves. While living nearly 2000 years ago amid the limited and prejudiced outlook of the Jewish people, He penetrated far beyond His time. This marks His greatness as a religious Leader.

Why should we desire an Indigenous Church?

Whatever success the Protestant Christian movement in China has had during the past 116 years, it has certainly come to be universally regarded as being a foreign religion! The Christian religion is the only one of the religions of foreign origin for which the Chinese reserve the designation 'foreign religion.' The foreign taste of Christianity is too strong for the Chinese people to like it. In introducing to the people of the East the teaching of Jesus, the missionary has brought with him many of the traditions, customs, habits, interpretations, that he acquired in the West. We make no reflection on the good work done by the worthy men and women of by-gone days. They could not, believing as they did, have done otherwise. We should undoubtedly have done the same had we been in their position. It was also remarkable with what great patience and obedience the not too well-informed native believers swallowed it all meekly without even a frown upon their faces.

The imitation of the West has also a further disadvantage. The acceptance of things that come from the Occident as being a part of Christian truth has led to the discarding of not a few of the acceptable and beautiful ancient customs of the Chinese people. It should, however, not occasion great surprise to find men belittling the good in others when they avowedly believe in such a statement as that no man anywhere who does not believe in Jesus Christ can possibly do anything that is really good. Many a man in China would have long ago become a devoted follower of Jesus if it had not been for this attitude of aloofness and disregard shown by missionaries and other professing Christians to the civilization of the East.

With modern modes of thinking there is both a desire on the part of the progressive type of the missionaries for a change of attitude and a demand on the part of the better educated native Christians that such a change be brought about. Men are beginning to call attention to the words of Jesus uttered twenty centuries ago, 'I came not to destroy but to fulfil.' China has her share in the building up of the body of Christ; she has her contribution to make to the world's progress. This change of emphasis is certainly a right one, one more in keeping with the spirit of Jesus, by whose standard we are determined to go.

Situated as the Christian Church in China has been, and is to a large extent at the present time, it cannot be denied that it has been markedly dominated by the stronger hand of the foreign missionary. This is partly because of the temperamental characteristics of the men of the Occident, partly because of the force of circumstances that have contributed to the bringing about of this undesirable situation from which the young Church seeks to be freed. Christianity started its work among the less educated and less influential classes in China. The missionary is generally the better man in more senses than one. The faithful but hardly literate Christian had no deep understanding of Christian truth, no creative thinking habit in his new faith,

he could not reach the better classes in society and had no money to build his church or support his pastor. His knowledge was limited to the catechism and the four gospels and his contributions were but a few copper cash. The missionary had to stoop down to foster these weak brethren in Christ, and the native believers were contented to look up to their pastor-teacher for help and direction in spiritual, intellectual and material matters.

But the day for better things is dawning. The missionary is realizing his false position and is keen to get out of it. The native believer is unhappy and ashamed of himself at being always fed as if he were a babe in arms. There is aroused in him a sense of responsibility, of dignity, and of dissatisfaction that is divine and holy. Christ is his; the Bible is his; the Church is his; the burden is his; the responsibility and joy are all his. Never in all these years has the Church so realized its position and task. A holy fire has been kindled that cannot and must not die but get more and more widespread until the entire Christian community is burning with the desire to shoulder its responsibility for the extension of the kingdom of God.

How may we hope to secure an Indigenous Church?

Each stage of Christian work has its peculiar requirements and adjustments. Those who read the signs of the times and steer their course in accordance with them will ultimately win. We believe that an indigenous Church is what is needed for present-day China. Such a proposal would have been less intelligible and less desirable had it been brought forward for consideration, say, fifty years ago. But now it is regarded by leaders both in the mission and the Church as one of the essential and vital steps to be taken. To cling to the old-time method is surely detrimental to the growth and advancement of the work.

But there is always real difficulty in unmaking and remaking a situation that has already been created. Both

destructive and constructive measures have to be taken. It is by no means a pleasant or an easy thing to be engaged in this sort of work. How can it be done? In our opinion it can only be effectively done by means of education. There seems no short cut to a success that is real and lasting. If Christianity is life, then it is a matter of growth. Growth in turn is a matter of natural development. The Chinese sage Mencius was right when he said that we should not imitate the man of Sung who tried to hasten the growth of his grain by pulling up the blade. An unnatural growth, whether for an indigenous Church or any other good thing, is neither desirable not fruitful. The somewhat slow process of training and education seems to be the really effective way to secure good results, though it may take time and require patience and perseverance. Nor must the process of education be limited to the Chinese alone, the missionary requires to remould his thinking and revise his methods as well. To a very large extent the direction of the work and the shaping of policies is still in the hand of the missionary, both directly and indirectly. His influence in the matter is great. Since the missionary and the Chinese worker both earnestly desire the best interests of the Church in China, it is simply a matter of a change of emphasis, a change of attitude and of method, in order more speedily to gain the ultimate end which they both have in mind and for which they are giving their lives and service.

One other matter: there is no royal road to make the Church truly indigenous except by giving the Church a free hand to manage its own affairs. When the Chinese have taken over work now under the control of the mission, the Church cannot help becoming indigenous in character and colour. In the nature of the case it cannot be otherwise. Here we touch upon the much-talked-of topic of devolution, of transfer of control from the mission to the Church which, we are convinced, is one of the most effective ways of getting the Church to become indigenous. In this period

of transition it is unavoidable that many mistakes will be made and false steps taken. We need a double portion of the spirit of patience and sympathy. The Church can only learn to do the work by actually doing it. There will be times that are discouraging and disheartening, but by the mercy of God His Church will come out triumphant and victorious.

How far has the Church been developing along Indigenous Lines?

In the mission field of China unmistakable aspirations and desires are voiced by the thinking element of the Christian Church. This may be illustrated by two movements in the Church which show the self-consciousness of the native believers. One of the movements reveals the feeling of dissatisfaction in slavishly following the ways of the West; the other shows a re-kindled appreciation of oriental culture and civilization.

While we do not wish to over-emphasize the soundness of these views of the Christians in the East, the fact of their thinking in terms of a Christianity congenial to their own up-bringing and atmosphere is a sign of health and life. The re-interpretation of truth and readjustment of mission methods and policies may call for a great deal of care and even anxiety on the part of those who are in responsible positions in the affairs of foreign missions both in China and in the West; we nevertheless would rather see the day when the Church on the field comes to its own and realizes its position and leadership in the glorious task that has been entrusted to it from God. The missions are to be congratulated for this wholesome unrest already manifest in the Chinese Church, which will be more and more manifest as the days go on. It would be a poor showing for the Christian movement if the native Christians were contented to remain always inactive, passive and taking things for granted, without weighing the pros and cons of the matter. Now,

signs of life are not wanting, even though we may not approve of all the steps that are being taken. The Church will learn, as others have learned, by mistakes, but in the end truth will prevail and will occupy a central position in the Christian Church in China.

On the negative side the Church in China has raised her voice in protest against the tendency of superimposing upon the people of the East the sectarianism that has been developed in the Christian religion in the West. This for several reasons. In the first place sectarianism has been the cause of a good deal of misunderstanding and unfriendliness within the Church of Christ itself. Again, it has been the cause of much waste of energy and of resources in carrying out the missionary task. Only through united and co-operative effort will it prove possible of accomplishment. Furthermore, each denomination has its peculiar temperament, special policy, and emphasis on teaching. This has confused the mind of the simple believers of the Orient. In short, the whole idea of planting bodily a London mission, a Berlin mission, a Baptist or Methodist mission (north and south) is strange and foreign to the average Chinese both within and without the Christian Church.

We are not inclined in any way to handle lightly western denominationalism, ignoring its historical and practical significance. It would be sheer foolishness to brush aside such great religious developments in history. Each great denomination has in the past stood for something that was of real importance. This may even be true in a lesser degree to-day. One has a right to be proud of the denomination of which one is a member. It is a source of inspiration and strength to look back to religious heroes like Martin Luther, John Calvin, John Wesley, and a host of others. They are monumental witnesses of religious progress and are leaders among men. Neither is it to be supposed that even were western denominationalism to be done away with in the Christian Church in China to-day, the Church in that land can be so safeguarded as that it will remain

for ever undivided. Sectarianism may spring up in China just as it has done in the West. The Church may even be more divided. We do not know. But the fact remains that oriental Christians are unable to bring themselves to a full understanding and appreciation of the divisions maintained by the Christian Church of the West. They have seen many of the bad points resulting from them, and little of the good. They are not happy in taking over something in the formation of which they have had no part. They are confronted with a small force challenging a great foe and are feeling that they cannot afford to have that small force unable to do real team work. Should similar division arise in China later on, let it be as an outcome of their own religious convictions. But do not impose upon them one that is foreign and unexpected. Let us repeat that whether or not we agree with this view of working together, this is, as far as we can trace, one of the aspirations of the Chinese Church, which comes out in many ways.

It is not to be understood that the Chinese have found out the solution of this very complicated problem, or have one definite theory of development to advocate. They welcome any step that can be taken to diminish the marks of division and to strengthen the tie of unity. They are ready to take advantage of the next step toward fuller and closer co-operation and unity. Some of the steps that have already taken place and some of the suggested ways and means toward the solving of this problem must be dealt with elsewhere.

Then, on the positive side, there is the rekindled appreciation of things beautiful and true that are indigenous in the land of China and which are fully in keeping with the spirit, though perhaps not the form, of Christianity. With regret we have to confess that, speaking as a whole, the Chinese Christian in accepting Christianity has been so absorbed in the new found faith and joy that he has completely overlooked the rich possession that God has been pleased to give him in his own land. He was led to believe

that it was a sign of disrespect and a dishonour to his new Master if he associated any of the old traditions that could not lay claim to coming from the Churches in the West. When he awakes from this wrong conception of the Christian faith, he begins to see that truth is one all the world over, and Christ is a Friend to all truths for He is Himself the Truth.

Take one of the ancient Chinese customs as an illustration : From time immemorial the Chinese race has cherished and observed the remembrances of their departed parents. Ancestor commemoration has always held a strong place in the family life of the people and continues to do so even up to the present day. Chinese life is built upon the unity of the family, and filial piety has been the backbone of the Chinese ethical code. But, alas, this simple and perfectly commendable tradition was in time corrupted by the introduction of a good deal of superstition and idol worship. People departed from the original custom and added to it much that is not desirable and helpful. It became a mixture both of ethical reverence for one's ancestors and of superstitious practices. When the Christian religion made its entrance to China, this custom of the commemoration of ancestors had drifted far away from its original and pure form, and had in it much that could not be reconciled with the teaching of Christ, who enjoined the worship of the one and only God our Father. It was due partly to this complicated situation, partly to the fact that the Christian missionary of those early days was rather less willing to seek to appreciate the good in the things of the non-Christian world, that the matter of ancestor commemoration was looked upon as something to be avoided and forsaken. In not a few cases it was made a condition for admission to the Church that one should destroy the ancestral tablet and sever one's connexion with the ancestral halls as a token of embracing the new faith in Christ. It was often even required that the ancestral tablet be publicly destroyed.

This, no doubt, kept the Church absolutely free from maintaining its former connexion with idolatry and superstition, but at the same time it did a great wrong to one of China's most beautiful traditions and placed Christianity in a bad light, especially in the eyes of the better educated classes. For years this was the greatest obstacle in hindering men and women from becoming followers of the way of our Lord. When the restriction was made, it was of course with the simple intention of keeping the Church from idols. The restriction was, however, interpreted by the non-Christians as nothing less than the insistence that, in order to become a Christian, one had completely to discard reverence and remembrance of parents, an offence no decent Chinese could forgive.

Since the Christians have begun to think for themselves, the whole question as to what observances are consistent with the Christian faith has been re-opened. There is a strong feeling that, after throwing away all that is objectionable and contrary to the teaching of Christ, there yet remains much that should and could be retained. As a practical result, in not a few of the Christian communities in various provinces the commemoration of ancestors has been purified and restored by the Churches and by individual Christians. A special memorial day is observed by some at Easter, by some at one of the Chinese festivals in September; on these occasions the Churches unite in conducting a memorial service in remembrance of the departed parents of their members. In so doing the Church is not only doing its duty but is actually removing one of the greatest difficulties that has been barring men and women from rallying round the banner of Jesus Christ.

In this and many other ways the Chinese Christian is finding that the new religion he has adopted is by nature so universal and tolerant in its spirit that he has no reason for accepting traditions and customs simply because they happen to have come from the West, or of rejecting them because of their oriental connexion. Its adaptability makes

the religion exceedingly congenial to the people of the East, exactly as it is to the people of the West.

Space will not allow us to enumerate the various ways in which this power of Christianity to adapt itself to new conditions can be put into practice, such as the re-interpretation of Christian truth in the light of the teachings of the sages of the East, or the re-adjustment of many church customs and rituals in order to make them more in keeping with the temperament and taste of the people of the land. We look forward with reverent prayer and earnest expectation to seeing the Church of Christ expressed to the Chinese people in ways that will make the teachings and ideals of Jesus Christ more attractive and intelligible to the seekers after truth and light, which can be fully supplied only by the Christ of the Christian religion.

What are the Obstacles to an Indigenous Church ?

Our diagnosis of the situation would lead us to believe that the two chief difficulties in the way in the naturalization of the Christian religion in China are, first, the lack of a spirit of adventure, and secondly, the lack of preparedness. Those who have come to minister to the flock of God in China, filled with the idea that they possess something in the West that it is their duty to transplant in China, naturally feel timid about any suggestion of re-interpreting and re-adapting Christian truth in order to make it more fitting for the Chinese people. 'If you once begin,' they argue, 'where are you going to stop ? And if you do not stop, what will be left of the Christianity that we have brought to you ? It will cease to be Christianity at all.'

Moreover, there is also the glaring fact that the infant Church in the East can in no way be said to be intelligently prepared for the adventure. The Christians have far too little real understanding of Christianity, and practically no knowledge of the teachings and views of other religious

faiths. They have been swallowing, without proper mastication, teaching that has been furnished by the pastor-teacher from over seas. Many assert, also, that it is certainly unwise to overburden the weak brethren in the Orient with an undertaking that it is beyond their strength to accomplish. It requires spiritual giants and religious genius, they say, to be able to shoulder such a great task.

Their fears are by no means unfounded. They are real and true to fact and cannot be lightly put aside. Every one well acquainted with conditions of church life in China can appreciate the need of caution. It is only natural that people should want to move slowly, and move with great care, so that the Church may not suffer any undesirable results from a merely passing enthusiasm. While taking full account of these facts, it must be said that to settle down to any feeling of satisfaction with things as they are is more detrimental to the healthy development of the life of the Church. A child can only learn to walk by actually walking. A soldier can be well protected by keeping away from the battlefield, but he can never become a hero. When will the Church be ready for its task ? And how can it be made ready except by undertaking to lead a life of spiritual adventure ?

Notwithstanding all imperfections, shortcomings, lack of spiritual insight, of statesmanship, of outstanding leadership, of sufficient training, the Christian Church was never so eager and ready to undertake the work of the kingdom of God as at the present time. The Church is fully alive to the unusual opportunity that is facing her and is eager to take advantage of it. Who will dare to stand in her way and hinder her in her desire to make a real and decided advance both in thinking and effort for the future advancement of the Christian movement ?

We are glad that the Christian missionary of to-day is more tolerant in spirit and less dogmatic in his ways of teaching. He is more humble and more ready to learn as well as to teach. But this does not mean that he is less

certain of the message he has come to deliver to the Chinese people, nor less convinced of the religious reality he has experienced. To make the Church indigenous does not mean a wholesale acceptance of whatever ideas may happen to come our way with no real personal convictions regarding religious realities. To be satisfied with a half-hearted attitude when venturing on the mission field would be, to say the least, doing an injustice to one's own life as well as to the people of the non-Christian world.

What is the Goal of an Indigenous Church?

To be indigenous is not an end in itself, but is a means to an end. It is a matter of expediency and of efficiency. It is for the sake of saving a situation in which the Church in China finds itself that this idea is emphasized to-day. Moving along indigenous lines the Chinese Church will be better fitted to make its contribution in the great body of Christ which is the Holy Catholic Church, in the original and proper sense of the term. In order to become really healthy and vigorous, the Church must first of all be delivered from depending upon others for its ideas and for help and must resist the tendency to become a mere imitator of other people. As the Church in the West has made some contribution to the world, so has the Church in the East also a contribution to make. Notwithstanding weakness and infirmity, the Church on the mission field is an integral part of the Church Universal. By moving along indigenous lines it will be prepared to take a step forward toward the great goal that is now immediately in front of it, namely co-operation. We long to see the day when the Church of the East joining hands with the West will move together for the accomplishment of the task that has been entrusted to them by the Great Co-worker, even their Lord and God.

The Christian Church is one of the most effective organizations in the world whereby all that is best is collected,

preserved, correlated, unified, enriched, and made of practical use for the common good of humanity. She helps to shape the principles of government but does not become a political party. She offers advice and help to society yet is not of the world. She is one of the bodies in the world that spends herself for disinterested service of mankind. With the enriched experience to be acquired in the eastern soil, the Church of Christ in China will be the better able to become a fitting instrument, together with the Church of the West, for the transmission of truth, of light, and of ideals, and make her contribution toward the meeting of the deepest religious and spiritual needs of mankind.

We emphasize the need of an indigenous Church in China in order to save an unhealthy and undesirable situation, but the goal of the Church is not indigenous. The Church in the West has already become indigenous, so much so that she perhaps needs to be delivered from being too indigenous. Many things are embodied in the Christian Church that are hardly in keeping with the ideals of Christ. Perhaps the Church in the Occident needs to be a little more 'foreign' just as the Church in China needs to be more indigenous. It is a uniting, a working together, a mutual helping, that is needed in the world to-day. As far as China is concerned at the present day, she can take part in this world-wide religion of Christ by bringing forth all that is of the best within her for the enrichment of the life of mankind, and the Christian Church is ready to serve as the fitting channel.

How is an Indigenous Church to be related to the Foreign Missions?

When the infant Church saw the light for the first time in China, she found herself well wrapped up in the protecting arms of the big, capable and kind nurse that we call foreign missions. For feeding, caring, leading and instructing, this dutiful nurse proved to be a faithful one. Little by little

the child grew, began to think for herself and to attend to her own affairs. The nurse is proud of the result of her years of tender care and loving devotion. But at the same time she must also recognize that her own position is becoming less and less prominent. It is hard, but it must be so. The law-maker is now under the government of the law of his own making. So the foreign mission has to come under the Church of its founding.

Eventually there will be no foreign missions in China except those of the Chinese Church. Foreign missions organized as they are at the present time should not be expected to continue for ever unless they greatly change their functions and methods of conducting work. The sending and supporting of missionaries from the West can hardly be expected to continue as a permanent method. As far as we can see, the position of the foreign missionary in China, perhaps in many other mission fields as well, is becoming more and more of a temporary, secondary and advisory nature.

In the nature of the case, and by force of circumstances, the mission is still overshadowing the Church, but by rights it is the Church, and not the mission, that is the more permanent organization. To-day the mission holds the reins of the work and controls the policy, but eventually the mission must step back and be contented with a secondary place. While the Church is still in its infancy, the mission, to repeat our illustration, is directing, often dictating and dominating, as to how things should be done; soon it will have to realize the fact that its help can be best appreciated when given in an advisory capacity.

This, as far as we know, represents the best thought not only of the native leaders in China to-day but of the best missionaries as well. Lest we lead people to think that the services of the missionaries are no longer needed, let us make it clear that the opposite is the truth. They are more needed to-day than ever before. We welcome men and women who come to China with the definite

understanding in mind that they come to help rather than to dominate, to learn as well as to teach, to be friends rather than to be leaders, to be sympathetic and not dogmatic. Such yoke-fellows, and many of them, are more needed in China to-day than ever before. On behalf of the Chinese Church, we appeal to such men and women to 'come over and help us.'

How is an Indigenous Church to be related to the Churches in other Lands?

Upon the high mountains of Kuling, classically known as Lushan, where many European and American missionaries spend their summer vacations and where many religious meetings and conferences are held, there is in the Chinese section of the place a little telegraph office. It is a one man affair. The office space is very small and the equipment by no means elaborate. The man in charge of the place serves as telegraph operator, clerk, servant, and in many other capacities. But it is from this uninviting and insignificant place that people send out their messages to the world and in this place they receive messages from every part of the country.

This little telegraph office reminds us of the Christian Church in China. Small, weak, untrained and insignificant as it is, it nevertheless keeps in touch with all the Churches in the world and is a part of a great whole. It is with the Church Universal, not with the foreign mission, that it finds its co-equal with which it has to deal in the days to come.

In the first place, therefore, the Chinese Church is directly related to the entire body of Christ in the world, with which it stands on an equal footing. There is a vast difference between these Churches in the East and those in the West in their historical background, their religious experience, their understanding of truth, their leadership, equipment, material grandeur and external greatness. But in reality they are one and the same.

In the second place, the Church in the West is not complete without that of the East. They have a common task before them for which they must join hands and work together in order to fulfil the functions for which they exist. By their co-operative effort, joint experience and mutual helpfulness, they become the fitting instruments to perfect the civilizations of both the East and the West, they gain added strength to meet the foes of righteousness and truth, and to effect more speedily the accomplishment of the world-plan of God. Each is incomplete without the other.

No doubt this will be the ultimate relationship of the Church in China with the Churches in other lands. But the time is not yet. It is therefore the duty of all within the Church Universal to render such helpful services to one another as they may be able along lines of co-operative activity, by such means as the exchange of thought and ideas through literature; the interchange of teachers and preachers and so on. It is just possible that as matters develop in the mission field, the existing missionary organizations may find it advisable to reorganize their work and to revise their functions and policies in order to render more effective service to this end. Perhaps it is yet too early to enter into this line of thought. Suffice it to say that the relationship of the Chinese Church to the Church Catholic is that of equality and co-operation.

How is an Indigenous Church to be related to Historical Christianity?

Here we are touching a point of vital importance and significance, one upon which the thought of many devoted minds is centred. We have voiced our disapproval of the attitude adopted by many men in the Christian Church in China who absolutely ignore the teachings of the sages of the East, the civilization of one-fourth of the entire human race and the culture of oriental peoples. We have boldly

asserted that Christianity is friendly to all that is good, beautiful and true, no matter where such is found. We have expressed our belief that Christianity is enriched rather than otherwise by coming into contact with other civilizations and cultures. We have also, on the other hand, given voice to the general feeling in the mission field of China that freedom of thought and religious toleration must be the guiding principle in the work of Christianizing China. Credal and dogmatic statements accepted in the West can serve the people in the East as sources of information in regard to the past history of Christianity and as suggestions, but they are not to be enforced for subscription and acceptance unless they are found to meet a response in the religious experience of the people of China. This is not, let it be clearly understood, casting any doubt upon such great and historical declarations of the Christian Church in the West, the value and importance of which cannot be for a single moment denied. When these statements were formulated they were a matter of life-and-death importance to the people of the time. They were the honest and definite views of the religion which they embraced and they have served great purposes. But each age has its own requirements and one people is not altogether the same as another. Credal statements arise out of direct religious convictions and experiences. No doubt in time the Chinese Christian will also have his voice heard throughout Christendom, but until that time comes it is inadvisable to force him to accept things that are not his own and in which he is little interested.

Christianity is life rather than doctrine. There is surely something wrong when we think more of the latter and less of the former. Correct definitions regarding Christian doctrines are beautiful, but life is necessary. 'I came that they may have life, and may have it abundantly,' is Christianity in a nutshell. So it is life rather than doctrine, purpose rather than theology, to which our attention will first and mainly turn.

But does all this mean that the Chinese Church is to be isolated and disconnected from historical Christianity? Does it mean that we have a new Christ to adore and a strange Gospel to preach? Not at all. The Church in China is out-and-out Christian and as such she will remain. We have certainly not outgrown the lofty thought of the Fatherhood of God, nor have we exhausted the source of blessing in faith in our Lord Jesus Christ. We wish to make the whole world know that we have blended our lives with that of Jesus and have burned the bridge behind us to follow Him even unto life's end.

We have briefly touched upon some of the problems connected with the development of an indigenous Church in China, in the hope of stimulating further study on this timely and vital question and calling out more intelligent prayer for the work on the mission field of China. May heavenly wisdom be our sure guide as we approach this and many other matters of great importance in the mission field to-day, so that whatever solution we are able to work out may be fully in keeping with the more speedy coming of the kingdom of God here on earth.

C. Y. Cheng

MISSIONS AND THE PRESS

A STUDY IN EDUCATIONAL PRACTICE

By BASIL MATHEWS

I

'For words after all,' meditated Flavian in Walter Pater's *Marius the Epicurean*,[1] 'words manipulated with all his delicate force, were to be the apparatus of a war.'

The process of that war was for Flavian strangely simple yet powerful in all that it involved. It was—the story goes on—for himself 'to be forcibly impressed in the first place; and in the next, to find the means of making visible to others that which was vividly apparent, delightful, of lively interest to himself, to the exclusion of all that was but middling, lame, or only half-true even to him.'

To-day words are—for the majority of those who read *The International Review of Missions*, and for some of us with quite peculiar urgency—'the apparatus of a war.'

In an altogether unparalleled way the post-war world presents to us in particular not merely an available opportunity but challenge of unprecedented range and strength for a war whose main munition must be the irresistible, the revolutionary, the transforming power of words—words mobilized with skill and moved with precision and power to their designed objective.

To those who to this emphasis on words may object that what we really need is deeds not words, the reply is instant that words are at once the expression and the creative cause of deeds. 'Ideas,' as Lord Acton said, 'are the cause and not the result of public events,' and words are the

[1] Chapter VI. Euphuism.

medium through which ideas are expressed and realized in action. Through words our Lord conveyed to us the Sermon on the Mount; by words St Paul carried the flame of the Evangel across the Roman Empire; by words Wesley changed the history of England and Wilberforce freed the slaves. Words are the main munition of that process by which hearts are changed and the world's life is ultimately shaped—education in ideals.

Applying this to the special and practical need of the world to-day, it is true to say that the only force that can destroy the menace of world war and lay secure foundations of enduring world peace is the education of men in Christian brotherhood.

Lord Robert Cecil on his return from America this summer has said, 'Peace is by far the greatest interest of the nations and peace depends on a fresh attitude of mind in the organized public opinion of the world.' That result can never be achieved by any sporadic secular emotion for world peace. No temporary war weariness can erect a fabric strong enough to withstand the gusts of popular passion, and the machinations of militaristic diplomacies. The present turmoil and chaos in the world, its jangled discords and confused antagonisms, are ultimately the expression of the mental and spiritual state of the peoples. They are the resultant of an educational process through which their minds have been saturated with narrow nationalisms and separatist ambitions.

Any attempt to create an association of peoples for world peace, or to organize humanity on any co-operative terms, is tragically hopeless apart from the educational preparation of the mind and spirit of humanity. In a word, the building of a permanent harmonious and progressive world order on the basis of international and inter-racial comity depends absolutely upon a persistent and world-wide process of education.

This same vital and fundamental fact in the world situation was put from another angle by Viscount Bryce

in the last lectures that he gave—lectures spoken in America and published posthumously. The following words are among the final prophetic thoughts given to us by one of the finest spirits and the most sagacious and powerful intellects of our time:[1]

> If the sentiment of a common humanity which moves your hearts when you hear of sufferings in other countries . . . coupled with the sense that all nations are the children of one Father in Heaven, were to lay hold of the peoples of the world and make them regard the peoples of other countries as fellow-citizens in the commonwealth of mankind, would not the attitude of states toward one another be changed, and changed fundamentally for the better? Would not the sense of co-operation temper the eagerness of competition, and reinforce the belief that more will be gained for each and all by peace than has been gained or ever will be gained by war?
>
> You may say, What can private citizens do? . . . Each of us is only a drop, but together we make up the volume of public opinion which determines the character and action of a state. What all the nations now need is a public opinion which shall in every nation give more constant thought and keener attention to international policy, and lift it to a higher place. The people can do this in every country if the best citizens give the lead.

If that is true, it defines sharply the challenging and central work to which the finger of God to-day points the Christian forces of the world. If the will of God is for world peace and the bringing of men everywhere into His holy kingdom, the work of the Church is to turn the soul of man to that obedience. The very universality of Christ is a supreme emblem of the Church's immediate and urgent obligation not only to bring men of all races into His fellowship, but—as a step in that very process—to teach all Christian men the greatness and the splendour of that world enterprise and how central it is both to the heart of God and the life-blood of man's future.

More concretely, and stated in terms of our educational task, this means that the central objective of Christian effort in this generation must be to develop in all lands Christian personalities whose outlook on other races and whose thought about their own people is wholeheartedly

[1] Viscount Bryce, *International Relations*, 1922.

and with full-blooded strength international. The only way to eradicate the very roots of war is to educate a race of men of invincible goodwill.

II

When we come to analyse the channels of such a work, we discover—in spite of its complexity and its enormous range—an astonishing and almost staggering simplicity. The actual processes through which education is being carried on have to-day broad elemental features which have never previously existed in the history of man.

The education of the human race, if we look both at the actual existing facts and the swiftly developing tendencies, is carried on broadly by two main sets of apparatus—the school and the press. The young up to adolescence and even beyond receive in schools and colleges an impress at the hand of trained teachers which determines the attitude of their lives. The factors which control the training of those teachers broadly determine the mind of the next generation. For post-adolescent life everywhere in literate countries, 95 per cent of education comes through the eye; first through the press and also through the cinema.

The old elements of adult education through the ear not only persist but are now reinforced by the development of wireless broadcasting. *It is, however, broadly true to say that by far the greatest force in the world in determining the attitude of men and women to its current events and shaping their outlook upon other peoples, is the press.*

If that is so, and if our earlier contention that the education of the world in international ideals is essentially the work of the Christian Church, not only have Christians individually a definite responsibility in relation to the press, but the Christian Churches and organized movements in their corporate capacity must think of and plan for the education of humanity through the press.

It may be argued, however, that we have no mission of

education concerning missions except to men and women already explicitly Christian and corporately members of the Church. Yet, on the other hand, experience has shown repeatedly and with fine and convincing reality that the very presentation of what the Gospel has done in missions has converted men to the Faith itself. Or it may be pleaded that we ought to confine our publicity to the normal religious channels whether in the press or the pulpit. But is that really the Christian method ? Is it religiously right or psychologically sound ?

It is in no strained or unreal sense that we interpret the Parable of the Sower as advocating a process of education by an almost indiscriminate gesture of giving. It recognizes —as we must from the outset—that some of the seed—those germinal ideas which are the matter of our broadcasting—will fall on stony ground or, springing up in shallow minds, will swiftly wither. It is content if here and there the seed roots and fruits in the minority of receptive and profound souls. The Parable of the Wedding Feast again is a lesson in specialized propaganda rejected obtusely by the preoccupation of the elect from whom the hospitable Master of the Feast turns away and broadcasts his invitation into ' the highways and hedges.' This rejection of the truth by those from whom acceptance would be expected and its acceptance by the common people, is at once an illustration and a plea for the widespread publication of truths and the incidents of our world story of racial reconciliation and individual redemption.

We do not, of course, by this advocacy of the use of the press, mean any trivial or surreptitious process by which here and there the press should be (to use its own slang but expressive word) ' doped ' with camouflaged Christian teaching. The opportunity can only be confronted with something of its own spaciousness. It means that the whole great world of affairs—the sweeping tidal movements of racial life, the sharp and arresting adventures of personalities, the multi-coloured moving panorama of human life in all

lands—should be presented, not in the sharp, unlovely and artificial blacks and whites of nationalistic limelight but under the natural and warm glow of God's universal sunlight.

Here, however, we are at once confronted with a really baffling obstacle. We discover that in point of fact the press is actually (though on the whole not deliberately) organized not only on national but on party lines. In practically all countries the overwhelming majority of periodicals, daily, weekly, monthly and quarterly, definitely set themselves not only in their editorial columns but in their selection and presentation of news, to educate for a nationalistic patriotism, and even on narrower lines still, for a party group attachment more constricted even than that of a nation.

The fact is that we find ourselves confronted by a vicious circle of automatic influence—the most difficult thing in the world to oppose and to conquer. It works in the following way.

A periodical can only persist if it pays. It can only pay if it secures a circulation wide enough in range among people of sufficient purchasing capacity to attract advertisers. To create that circulation it must give readers what they expect and desire to find. So far the majority of individual men and women in the literate countries desire—perhaps instinctively—to share a mass nationalistic feeling. This attitude of mind has itself in turn been largely fed and intensified by an educational system which (in schools and colleges) has taught the children history and even geography, not only with a strong emphasis on the centrality of their own nation but with a continuous emphasis on the wars of that nation with the other peoples, and on their triumphs and defeats. We are not here criticizing nationalism in itself any more than we would criticize domesticity; it is nationalism conceived as a patriotism that prospers by the downfall or the degradation of other nations that is the evil root of war.

This vicious educational circle by which the day school creates the narrowly nationalistic reader and the press in turn creates the nationalistic teacher and scholar, has to be broken.

Into the educational processes of school and university we cannot here enter. All that can be done on that issue is to point to the practically world-wide contest being waged to-day, in the councils of the nations and in the government education offices, between the nationalistic spirit and the inter-nationalistic conception of education. As to which side of that fight Christians individually and the Churches corporately ought to throw themselves into there can be no kind of doubt.

On the side of the press, however, the situation which in its broad aspects looks intensely difficult, the obstacles which appear impenetrable, are, though difficult, not insuperable.

Mr Norman Angell in his book on *The Press and the Organization of Society*, arrives at a position in which, for practical purposes, any attempt at international expression through the press would seem to be doomed to futility until society itself has been re-shaped. That this is not true can, I believe, not only be philosophically reasoned but by practical experiment actually demonstrated. In any case to wait for this process is to delay the cure until the patient is dead.

The press may be nationalistic, but for us to be international is not—as has here been said—to be anti-national. Nationalism is an attitude of mind in which we can combine with a passionate affection for and devotion to our own country a belief in mankind as a team in which each nation and race has its place—a team in which it is the part of each not to trip the other up but to pass to him the ball.

The governing consideration which must control an unsubsidized press is—as we have seen—that it must attract readers in adequate numbers to secure a substantial return both from subscriptions and from advertisers. This attraction of readers, however, carries us a stage further back

to the psychology of interest. If it can be demonstrated, not only in theory but in practice, that the life of other nations has in it adequate material of absolutely first-class interest to the ordinary reader of the ordinary popular daily paper, the situation is transformed. For then international news becomes material that an alert editor of a prosperous and influential paper will welcome. This means that the greatest educational apparatus in the world—the press—lies open to us for the greatest educational project in the world—the penetration and saturation of the world's mind with the ideal and the facts of Christian international co-operation. And in that case it becomes an outstanding and clamant duty upon us in the Christian Church to mobilize that international material for that educational use in the press of the world. For us whose special concern is the missionary element in that material the need and the opportunity are still more sharply focused. We need to carry out that education of our forces in order to secure their support for enlarging the scope of our own redemptive work.

For the purposes of international Christian and especially missionary education we, of course, necessarily will use only material in the life of other nations which represents them at once truly and sympathetically. This does not at all mean that only the pleasant and desirable elements in the life of other nations are to be used. Far from it. The elements in their and in our own life that are degraded and even detestable are necessary elements in the presentation of such a world outlook—what is essential is that the truth should be presented in an entirely sympathetic atmosphere.

When we ask ourselves whether in actual fact the life of other races is a matter of real interest to the readers of daily papers and other secular periodicals, we are at once met by the fact that the attitude of the public mind to the life of other nations has been profoundly changed for the greater part of the reading world by the war, and by the post-war chaos and unrest.

The first element in its transformation is of infinite

value to us. It is that the whole horizon of the 'man in the street' has been indefinitely expanded. In fact for the large majority of readers the geographical horizon of interest is now for the first time—to use President Wilson's word—'ultimate.' A comparison of the items of news in the pages of an American or European or British daily paper to-day with one of 1913 will at once establish this point of the widening of the range of interest.

Secondly, the development throughout the world of racial ambitions thrown up by the explosive power of the idea of self-determination has made the race problem a household subject of discussion. Personalities like that of Gandhi have become the visible symbols of movements which have immediate popular topical interest to the reader of the daily paper.

To meet this situation a further factor, in some ways the most vital of all, is needed. Such an organization should have at its directing centre a man or woman—or men and women—with a natural genius for relating the available material at the moment of topical interest and interpreting it to the world. It may indeed be truly said that all sound and effective education through the press is achieved by a continuous process of creative interpretation, and that interpretation can only be carried through when minds are available capable of grasping simultaneously the dominant factors in the process.

The factors in the situation which awaits us can for simplification be represented as the three points of a triangle:

(A) the subject-matter—in our case the world of affairs and particularly of inter-racial relations and of the missionary enterprise;

(B) constituencies of human beings to whom that subject-matter is to be interpreted;

(C) the medium through which the interpretation is to take place—in this case paragraphs or articles in, for the most part, the secular periodical press of the world.

In the centre of the triangle stands (D) the interpretative editorial mind.

The objective of (D) is to create intelligent belief in and practical advocacy and support of the missionary enterprise in (B) by presenting (A) through (C). Therefore (D) must both intuitively and by training understand and have living vibrating contacts with (A), (B) and (C). The task is as exacting as it is thrilling.

Another area of extension has been given to this interest by the sheer achievements of technical scientific inventions in the realm of aeroplane flights, wireless contacts, and cinema pictures. These mechanical miracles have given man a new sense of 'interdependence absolute.'

Constant day-to-day experiment on these lines in first-hand contact with the greatest single nerve centre of newspaper activity in the world—Fleet Street, London [1]—has demonstrated to the writer beyond all power of disproof that, given an adequate organization with a swift mobilization of knowledge, there is to-day both in the general international life of the world and in particular in its missionary content, sufficient material for presenting steadily through the ordinary public press a continuous and effective stream of real knowledge of the international life of man and the redemptive process of missions.

To make that knowledge acceptable to the ordinary editor, whose mind is rightly concentrated solely and wholly on the psychology of his readers, at least three things are essential. First, the matter presented must be topical. It is amazing and thrilling to anyone who has for any period of time made an experiment to discover how irresistible the 'live' editor finds material if it just has this quality of topicality. But to be 'a day behind the fair' is to be nowhere. Speed is of the essence of the game. And speed means the resources that can at emergency command men and cables.

[1] The American press is of course in total vastly greater than the British; but it is decentralized through the various states, in many ways to its great advantage.

The second essential is, especially for articles presenting material in the larger aspects, that brilliant writers of first-class ability and of widely known personality should be at the service of such an organization. In this connexion has come the most enlivening and cheering of all our experience. It is that the greater the man the more immediate and wholehearted is his response to the call for help.

No man or woman is ever likely to be discovered adequate to the possibilities of such a situation. There is no greater calling in the world to-day than this of creative interpretation of the processes of God's will in a day of unparalleled upheaval and change through the greatest channel of ideas that the world has ever seen (the modern press) to the vastest range of human souls that have ever come within the range of such an educational influence. Never before has it been possible for a single message—like that, for instance, of President Harding—to be broadcast by wireless and communicated by stentorphone simultaneously throughout his own vast country and the next morning read verbatim in Shanghai and Sydney, Winnipeg and Westminster, Calcutta and Moscow, Berlin and Bagdad. Just as the Roman road and the Roman pax made the path for the Gospel in the first century, so to-day do wireless and the cable, the liner and the transcontinental air service open for us a new and glorious pathway to the ends of the earth. We need the Pauline audacity and genius: if the way is there the Holy Spirit will choose His Barnabas and Paul.

The first thought that will occur to any practical mind concentrated on this interpretative problem and looking for practical results will be that the subject-matter is so vast and various, is spread over so many continents, hidden away in so many letters and reports, separated, say, from New York or London by so many leagues of ocean and often by vast areas of savage country, that it would be almost impossible to mobilize the material. That objection would be true if we set our minds from the very outset on building a comprehensive universal scheme at once. It only, however,

increases the practicality of the scheme if our primary objective is experimental work to the limit of our existing capacity, with a view to continuous expansion. For it simply means that our resources of material are illimitable.

The second objection is similar to it, but from the other end; viz., that the periodical press is so bewildering in the variety and multiplicity of its organs, each of which is so preoccupied with its immediate task, that it is hopeless to attempt to grapple with the thing on a scale that will produce any appreciable result. A number of factors, however, seem to me to sweep away this difficulty.

In the first place to-day there are organizations like the Associated Press with its American range; the Press Association with its sweep of the whole British press; Reuter's with its vast continental, Asiatic, and imperial organization through which publicity can be achieved on a world scale, provided that the material given to them has in it the news value required. On this point we do not write without an experience adequate for making the statement with thorough confidence. The limitation on the educational publicity for such material is only the capacity of the miniature organization available for taking advantage of the opportunity. The press would take incalculably more than we have ever given to it, if we could present material with sufficient variety of interest.

Secondly, the mind of the news editors and others responsible for the selection and presentation of news is increasingly susceptible to both the material and the principles which we have at heart, provided that that material and those principles are interpreted to them in terms of our own day and not in a dialect which seems to them provincial in tone and obsolescent in atmosphere.

This is not the place in which to present even in outline the record of such an experiment as has been made on these lines during the past three years in the Press Bureau of the Conference of Missionary Societies in Great Britain and Ireland. A few things, however, clearly ought to be said.

The first is that within the limitations of an extraordinarily small organization experimental lines of activity have been opened up and tested, with results which have gone far beyond even the relatively ambitious hopes of those responsible for the experiment. The further we look into the columns of the daily papers in Britain, it has been established that on the one hand there is no hostility to our material, but on the contrary an increasing receptivity. In the columns of the smaller provincial press the definite presentation of the foreign record of missionaries who have returned on furlough to those localities has been received with unanimous friendliness by these local papers, and has often led to long and stimulating interviews with the missionary initiated by the provincial press itself.

The press definitely dedicated to certain specific professional and business elements in the national life—the medical and the educational weeklies, for instance (extraordinarily important groups)—have taken and prominently published material which could have been multiplied tenfold without exhausting their receptive capacity, if the productive organization had been available in an adequate degree.

The monthly and quarterly organs—the magazines of leadership—offer a field which has only been barely touched, but which is obviously exceptionally open to the more spacious presentation of international and spiritual ideas.

The principles which have governed this experiment have been, first, that it is more important to produce material of quality which will make the editor desire more than to broadcast material in quantity but of lower grade.

Secondly, it is held to be far better to develop the habit in men and women who are in journalism for handling and spreading the international missionary material available, than it is to force the presentation through the narrow channel of the missionary press bureau itself. The object of the bureau should be the widest publicity for its material, but the completest modesty about itself.

Thirdly, it is obviously vital always to present the material in terms of the journals to which the constituency to be addressed is accustomed ; language and ideas are and must be graded to the understanding of readers.

Fourthly, however, it is equally vital to expect that the public will respond readily to the higher spiritual elements when those elements are in the very warp and woof of the story we tell. That expectation is continually realized in actual experiment and it inspires increasing confidence that the world is waiting for the interpretation through the press of its higher rather than its lower self.

This carries us back to our starting-point, where Flavian's idea of his war in which words were to be his apparatus was that he himself must be ' forcibly impressed in the first place ; and in the next, find the means of making visible to others that which was vividly apparent, delightful, of lively interest to himself.' In other words sincerity and enthusiasm are, in this educational war for turning the mind of man to world peace and to the Kingdom of God, as vital as technical efficiency and a literary conscience.

If what is here outlined is indeed true we must have weighty reasons before we can consent to turn aside from the use of the press. But if we do determine that it is God's will that we should seek expression for our glorious enterprise through the one channel that reaches both the multitude and the leaders and moulds opinion everywhere, then we must confront that opportunity corporately in a spirit worthy of its greatness.

To build from small securely laid foundations of experience a simple co-ordinated structure, having its sensitive fabric ' listening in ' to the deep currents of the world's life in all continents and then in varied ways broadcasting the message of that life in the light of God's will through the press channels that lie open to-day in every land, this would surely be a pioneer service of divine education.

Basil Mathews

POLYGAMY IN WEST AFRICA

By THE BISHOP OF LAGOS

Not many subjects among missionary problems have been more debated, or have called forth more difference of opinion, than the attitude which should be taken by the Christian Church in Africa towards the custom of polygamy. Few, however, will dispute that monogamy is the ideal at which we should aim. The Bible, history and nature seem to agree that this should be so.

Holy Scripture makes it plain that monogamy was the original law of marriage before sin entered into the world. It is true that after sin had marred God's creation polygamy obtained in Old Testament times, but our Lord expressly laid it down that the slackening of the original marriage law was a concession to the hardness of men's hearts, and reiterated the law of Eden as the basis of His teaching on marriage (Mark x. 5–9). St Paul not only expressly inculcated monogamy (Eph. v. 22, 33), but any deflection from this ideal takes the whole force out of the analogy of the relation between husband and wife as illustrating the union between Christ and His Church upon which he insists.

History shows that the most progressive and civilized nations have adopted the custom of monogamy. Even the Jews, who might have been expected to continue the practice of polygamy allowed to them in their early days, have changed over and taken monogamy as their rule of life.

Nature seems to point to the same ideal. The sexes are almost equally divided in all countries the world over, and if statistics show that women slightly predominate, the excess is so small that polygamy could not be generally practised without compelling many men to lead a celibate

or sinful life. Polygamy is thus essentially selfish. Furthermore it prevents the husband from giving his whole heart to the woman of his choice, which we cannot but look upon as the natural ideal in marriage.

But granted that monogamy is the ideal, it still leaves the question open whether the Christian Church, when first planted in a new country in which polygamy has long been the custom, should at once forbid the practice to its members, or on the other hand look upon it as one of those customs which it should leave to die out gradually as Christian ideals and principles are slowly instilled into the minds of the people.

Some have instanced slavery as a parallel custom. Our Lord and His apostles did not forbid it, but on the other hand directions were given to the Churches as to how slaves should be treated and how they should behave. The golden rule of Christ to do unto others what you would they should do unto you inculcated a principle which was sufficient in itself, when it came to be widely accepted, to put an end to slavery, and the New Testament was apparently content to leave it thus.

I cannot, however, feel it would be wise to treat polygamy in this way. The New Testament teaching points, as we have seen, in the contrary direction, and if we do not follow this guidance and once give polygamy a footing in the Christian Church, there is no other definite principle in Christianity which would in itself, as it came to be understood, lead to the abandoning of polygamy, and the desires of the flesh make all the other way. Experience also, anyhow in West Africa, shows the hopelessness of depending on any such outcome.

The question is so complicated and opinions so differ that as a young missionary, coming to this country many years ago, it would have been very difficult to decide what line of action to take had I been left to my own judgment. Fortunately, belonging to the Anglican Communion, I had the advantage of being able to look for direction to the

findings of the Lambeth Conference, and thus have a course marked out which embodied the judgment of experienced leaders from all over the world, including the different parts of Africa.

Their judgment was set forth in the following Resolution passed in 1888 :

> That it is the opinion of this Conference that persons living in polygamy be not admitted to baptism, but that they be accepted as candidates, and kept under Christian instruction until such time as they shall be in a position to accept the law of Christ.

This may seem at first sight rather a harsh measure. Where the alliance was made when both parties were heathen, in accordance with their own native law and custom and in ignorance of the Christian ideal, it appears hard that on conversion they should be cut off from baptism. Yet an experience of thirty years convinces me that the Lambeth Conference was right in its decision. The Report of the Committee which dealt with this question gave the following as one reason for their finding :

> Your Committee consider it far better that baptism should be withheld from such persons while nevertheless they receive instruction in the truths of the Gospel, than that a measure should be sanctioned which would tend to lower the conception of the Christian law of marriage, and thus inflict an irreparable wound on the morality of the Christian Church in its most vital part.

I believe the Committee was right. We do not necessarily cut such persons off from the kingdom of God, but for the sake of the purity of the Church we feel it wise to deny them the outward sign of the entrance therein. If one could feel sure that a concession on this point would end there, it would be different, but experience convinces me, as the Lambeth Conference foresaw, that it would lead to a lasting laxity with regard to the purity of the Church and its conception of the marriage law.

I give one practical illustration to prove this point. I knew a missionary of long experience out here belonging to a branch of the Church which believes in the congre-

gational form of church government. He was struck with the fact that the richest and most influential of his converts were polygamists, and felt it was a great pity that they should be shut out from membership in his Church and its councils. He therefore called his congregation together; explained carefully that these men, who had entered into this state when heathen, were quite different from young men who were growing up as Christians; it would be wrong for the latter, he said, to take more wives than one, but he had decided to baptize and to give office in the Church to those who had become polygamists when in ignorance of the ideal marriage law. He emphasized again and again that this was not to be taken as a precedent by the younger converts who were growing up as Christians. Having, as he hoped, secured the situation, he took the step which he had proposed. The result was that, in spite of all his warning, a number of the young men followed the example of their elders, arguing that if the latter could be full members of the Church and hold office therein, there could be no great harm in their increasing the number of their wives. It may have been unreasonable and inconsistent on their part, but such the fact is, such was the outcome. When I came to know the missionary years after this incident, and he told me the story, he greatly regretted the step which he had taken, and added that the baneful effects were still felt in his Church, and he did not know when he would get rid of them. *Once allow polygamy a foothold in the Church, and it will tend to increase in spite of all efforts to the contrary.*

One of the most disquieting features with regard to this question, enforcing the above statement and showing how unreliable is the hope that general Christian teaching and the advent of better social conditions will lead to a gradual diminishing of the practice, is the sad fact that many of our Christian young men, brought up in our schools from infancy, lapse into polygamy. It is the richer men, who alone can afford the bride-price for more than one

woman, who act in this way, and the consequence is that too many of the men of importance, who ought to be the leaders of the Church, have to be excluded from membership and frequently throw the weight of their influence on the side of laxity in the marriage tie.

Even with our present rules we are in danger of having a Church dominated by polygamists, for the influence of such men, though excluded from direct membership in our church councils, is very powerful, and what would be the result were we less strict I fear to think.

Here I may say that it is not so difficult for a man to get rid of the entanglement of a number of wives in a country like West Africa as people in England might imagine. The wives all support themselves, and as a rule would have no difficulty in securing other husbands. The sacrifice is generally chiefly on the part of the man. He may have to lose the whole or part of the money he has paid for the woman, though as the custom is that this should be repaid by any man who subsequently marries the woman given up, as a rule he is not financially at a loss. I have known a case where a man had fifteen wives, and on his conversion parted from all except one (adequate provision being made for the others) and lived a consistent Christian life to the end of his days. It is not always easy to arrange matters so satisfactorily, especially where children are involved, and personally I would not press men in such cases to take any hasty action. It is better they should wait until, as the Lambeth Conference Resolution put it, they are in a position to accept the law of Christ.

For the genuine heathen polygamist I have the greatest sympathy when on his accepting Christian teaching he feels the embarrassment of the snare into which he has ignorantly fallen, and it is only the conviction that the future purity of the Church is imperilled by any other course that makes me feel it right to deny him the sacrament of baptism when he desires it. The case of the professing Christian who lapses into polygamy after baptism is quite

different. Strictly speaking he should not be styled a 'polygamist.' 'Polygynist' would be a truer name, for what is the nature of his union with other than his first wife? He is not a heathen, and he cannot therefore marry a second wife according to heathen law and fashion. He is not a Mohammedan, he cannot marry according to Moslem practice. He is a Christian by profession, and Christianity provides only for a life-long and exclusive marriage. Other women can in his case only be regarded, strictly speaking, as concubines.

This distinction between the polygamist and polygynist is important as we turn to consider how to deal with the wives of polygamists. The Lambeth Conference Resolution of 1888 with regard to them ran as follows:

> That the wives of polygamists may, in the opinion of this Conference, be admitted in some cases to baptism, but that it must be left to the local authorities of the Church to decide under what circumstances they may be baptized.

The reason given for this difference of treatment in the Report of the Committee was as follows:

> The wives of polygamists may, in the opinion of the Committee, be admitted, in some cases, to baptism; inasmuch as their position is materially different from that of the polygamist husband. In most countries where polygamy prevails they have no personal freedom to contract or dissolve a matrimonial alliance; and moreover they do not presumably violate the Christian precept of fidelity to one husband.

In accordance with the permission given above it has been the custom out here to baptize all wives of polygamists who showed signs of true conversion. Some of the dioceses in East Africa, however, have not taken advantage of the permission and treat the women in the same way as the men.

How easily any laxity in dealing with polygamy may degenerate into a tolerance which may do lasting injury to the Church is shown by one outcome of our practice in this respect. The Lambeth Conference of 1888 in passing their Resolution probably only had in mind the case of

the polygamist and his wives who had entered that state when both parties were in the ignorance of heathenism. Unfortunately, as has been stated already, we have now to deal with many cases of professing Christians who lapse into polygamy. These men generally take heathen women in addition to their first wife, and these, coming into contact with Christian influences, soon become candidates for baptism. Until recently these were accepted on their satisfying the usual conditions. Two serious consequences seem bound to follow if this practice is allowed. Christianity is spreading fast in the pagan areas of West Africa, and the movement is most rapid among the men. We are thus within measurable distance of the time when in the Southern Provinces of Nigeria, for example, men who have become polygamists as heathen will be few and finally cease to exist, and the difficulty of the Church from that source will come to an end. But if the heathen women of lapsed Christians are to be baptized on their acceptance of the Christian faith polygamy in the Church will be perpetuated indefinitely. Further, the peril faces us of having a Church in which the majority of the women are living in polygamy.

It may be wise to explain how what appears to be so dangerous a custom came to prevail. The Lambeth Conference did not distinguish between the heathen polygamists and Christians who lapse into that state, and so the permission for the baptism of the wives of polygamists was taken to apply to both classes. The argument used to support the practice was that the women being heathen did not know that their alliance with the man was wrong, and it was hard to shut them out from baptism, when they desired it, on account of what they had done in ignorance. Certainly it is hard, but not harder for the women than for the heathen men who in the same conditions are treated in the same way, and for the sake of the future purity of the Church it seems necessary that such women should be under the same ban.

The proposal to alter this practice led to loud protests, which again shows that, if polygamy is once allowed to root itself in the Christian Church, it will be difficult to eradicate it. In order to settle the matter, I referred the question to the last meeting of the Lambeth Conference (1920) and sat on the Committee on Missionary Problems to which it was referred. The Committee was emphatic, as also were the experts called in to advise, that such a practice should not be allowed and was not contemplated in the Resolution of 1888. It transpired in the Committee, as mentioned above, that in some African dioceses the wives of all polygamists were treated exactly as the men and advantage was not taken of the permission to baptize any such women. Nevertheless, the Committee re-affirmed the Resolution of 1888, and I have since issued the following regulation for the guidance of the clergy in my diocese :

> Persons living in polygamy cannot be admitted to baptism, but they may be accepted as candidates, and kept under Christian instruction until such time as they are in a position to accept the law of Christ. The wife of a polygamist, both parties being heathen when the marriage was contracted, may be admitted to baptism, but if a woman enters into an alliance with a baptized man which is contrary to Christian law she cannot be admitted to baptism.

As will be gathered from the whole tenor of this article I am convinced such a regulation is necessary, and that any slackening of it would be fraught with danger to the future purity of the Church.

As to constructive measures for dealing with the problem I believe the solution lies with the women rather than with the men. If the former can be brought to a right view of the marriage question the victory will be largely won, and the men will come into line. Hence the importance of not allowing the work among the women and girls in a mission to lag behind that among the men, as is so often the case. Girls' schools, women's classes and guilds and every method to get the female portion of the community to understand the Christian law of marriage and to insist on its being

followed are in a large measure the key to the overcoming of this difficult problem. One case may be quoted in illustration. In a populous district in this diocese there had been a great movement towards Christianity and a large number of converts had been baptized, but there had been hardly any Christian marriages. A girls' boarding school was started. It was not a success in some ways, owing to difficulties which I need not mention, and it had to be closed after less than a year. The few boarders who had been in the school so short a time were, however, about the only church members who took a Christian view of marriage and were determined themselves to have no other than a life-long and exclusive marriage. They brought their influence to bear on others in that direction. One such example is eloquent of the possibilities of work on right lines among the women and girls.

I have kept strictly to the subject of polygamy. There are other breaches of the Christian marriage law which are all too common, and the fact that they are not here referred to does not imply that we do not realize their seriousness, and the need there is to fight against them. The advent of the European has multiplied the danger from such sources. Increase of such sins of the flesh as adultery, easy divorce (it is now merely a matter of money payment), and other slackening of the marriage ties have resulted from the British régime, but these form another subject, and I have felt it better not to complicate the question by introducing kindred matters of this kind.

F. Melville Lagos

THE MISSIONARY TASK IN KENYA

By J. BRITTON

Kenya Colony and Protectorate is one of the three countries in the huge tract of eastern equatorial Africa administered by Great Britain, the central block of that amazing sphere of British influence which stretches from Cape to Cairo. Kenya, however, differs from the other two adjoining countries, Uganda and Tanganyika, in many particulars. The dominating chief difference is that Kenya possesses a very remarkable plateau, of the extent of which the journey across Kenya from Mombasa to Kisumu on the Victoria Nyanza gives a very fair idea. Immediately Mombasa is left the train begins to climb, up through the terrible Taru desert, up through the game country where the passengers feast their eyes upon great herds of zebra, antelopes of many varieties, ostriches and occasional groups of giraffes ; sometimes even a lion may be seen bounding away from the train. Upwards still until Nairobi is reached, some six thousand feet above sea level and three hundred miles from the coast. After Nairobi yet more climbing through Kikuyu until eight thousand feet is nearly touched ; then the first important descent begins. This descent is to the floor of the Rift Valley, itself some five thousand feet above sea level. But the greatest height is still ahead, and is not reached until Nakuru is passed and Mau Summit has been climbed where the eight thousand mark is passed. From then onwards the train descends to lake level, about three thousand five hundred feet above the sea. To the north the land rises to Mount Kenya, to the south it gradually slopes down to Tanganyika.

The climate of this plateau is entirely unlike that of any other part of Central Africa. Comparatively speaking

it is a white man's country. Settlers have been attracted to it in numbers and part of it has been reserved for European settlement. Besides the European elements Kenya is attracting large numbers of Indians. The Indians outnumber the Europeans, but the high-class Indians are outnumbered by the great proportion of clerks, artizans and bazaar traders in the native reserves. They are certainly strong enough to be reckoned with and are notoriously jealous of their rights as British colonists. The Indians are claiming the right to settle in the ' settled area.' There are also African immigrants such as Arabs, Somalis and Baganda. But these only indirectly affect the political situation as far as the native population is concerned. The Europeans and Indians are represented upon the Legislative Council. This means that all government policy is scrutinized and may be modified by their influence. For example settlers are in a position powerfully to oppose government support of mission schools. Kenya is fortunate in possessing a remarkably fine type of settler. They show a real keenness in discussing matters affecting the welfare of the Natives with missionaries. They invite missionaries to their conferences, representatives attend the Kikuyu conferences, and in various ways lines of mutual trust and co-operation are being laid.

There are four groups of Europeans: government officers, missionaries, members of commercial firms and settlers. There is a growing sense in all these groups of the necessity for developing the Natives. Missionaries cannot possibly ignore their relationship to the other groups. There must be mutual understanding. We are not shut up in water-tight compartments; the actions of each group profoundly affect the whole body for good or ill. Missionaries in Kenya therefore form one out of four groups of European influence upon the native population; their work both affects, and is affected by the actions of the other three groups. It behoves them to establish the strongest ties of Christian fellowship with all their fellow Europeans.

Turning now to the great native population itself: we notice at once tremendous difference in numbers. There are about 9000 Europeans, and 22,000 Indians, but the Natives are nearly 3,000,000 in number. It is utterly impossible not to see the significance of this. Under the influence of the four groups just mentioned the Natives are rapidly emerging from their primitive to a civilized state. They have already formed political associations and have become articulate. Wardship will develop into partnership. The policy of to-day must anticipate the policy of the future or there will inevitably be trouble. This great mass is moving and moving rapidly. It cannot be stopped; it can be directed. The missionary task is to do its share of the directing of this mighty mass movement.

For practical purposes this task must be considered as an educational problem. The evangelistic efforts of the numerous missionary societies in Kenya have had far-reaching educational effects upon the Natives. The fact that the Natives would have been profoundly changed without missionary enterprise is admitted, but it is equally true that the effect of the Gospel upon the raw heathen is so magical and profound that the missionaries are the first to stand amazed before the flood of spiritual and mental development. The great awakening is in part a wonderful triumph of the Gospel. It is stimulating all Christian bodies to renewed missionary effort. The responsibility does not lie so much in their contributory share in what is after all the inevitable result of the penetration of Africa, but in their present intimate relationship with this great native population. The missionaries live in the native reserves, they learn the vernaculars and teach great numbers of Natives to read and write, they become not only teachers but friends and advisors to chiefs and peasants alike; they are often called upon to act as their spokesmen and to approach government officials on their behalf. The Natives implicitly trust the missionaries; they are grateful for the light and instruction they bring and know that they represent

the non-commercial and non-political elements in the penetration of Africa. The result of all this is that the missionary is in a position to-day of exercising a tremendous amount of influence for good or ill upon the progress of events in Kenya. It is the realization of this truth that is bringing the various societies to Kikuyu for conference and, in the case of four large societies, into actual alliance. It is this also that is teaching missionaries the necessity for winning the confidence and support of their fellow Europeans being ready to seek points of contact and as far as possible co-operate with them.

The criticism of missions is really the counterpart of the missionaries' criticism of non-missionary elements in Africa. On the one hand you get spiritual awakening with insufficient attention to fitting the native convert to make good in his new world ; and on the other hand you have the Native detribalized and to some extent educated with insufficient attention to the development of the moral sense, or, as we would put it, given secular education without religion.

The remedy for both is for missionaries to set their educational house in order, and to co-operate with the other European groups in fitting Christian Natives for all the different branches of employment that Europeans have to offer. It is indeed along these lines that missionary education is progressing in Kenya to-day.

The government of Kenya has issued a Code which embodies to the fullest possible extent the principle of educating the Natives, apart from the Coast Arabs, through the agency of the missionary societies. They limit the recognized societies at present to those belonging to the Kikuyu Alliance and the Roman Catholics. The Board of Education of the Kikuyu Alliance has become an advisory body to the Education Department of the Government.

The Alliance has now definitely pledged itself to an Alliance College. The medical course is the first to be undertaken. The training of highest grade native teachers and instructors should soon follow.

The scheme in practice does no violence to already existing organizations within the missions. But it does demand a far higher standard and necessitates the recruiting of skilled educationalists and technical instructors by the societies coming under the scheme. But Government, once it has placed a mission upon its grant list, offers two thirds of the salaries over and above liberal grants under the heads of building, equipment, capitation and boarding.

The general scheme is based upon central vocational schools in every important area. Around these at suitable distances are to be intermediate schools and these in turn are surrounded by village or elementary schools. The central school has its normal department and so supplies the intermediate and the village schools with teachers. But the central school is also the highest grade of general education for the area, and all the pupils are trained definitely in some trade as well as given an English elementary education. It is upon the establishment of these central schools in the various districts that the missions are focusing their attention to-day. These centres of education are none the less centres of evangelization. It must be remembered that in Kenya, apart from the Coast District, there is no religious difficulty with regard to our schools. The central schools are Christian, the staff Christian and the pupils Christian. Many are baptized and confirmed during their course in a central school.

A brief description of Maseno will give some idea of how a central school works. Central schools, it must be remembered, are mission schools in a new form; therefore the first question to be asked is, How has the change affected the carrying out of the missionary's primary duty of giving definite Christian instruction to the pupils? I can answer from my Maseno experience most emphatically that not a particle of difference has been made. On the other hand we are now training a large band of far more effective teachers for our village schools which are also mission churches, and are bringing far greater numbers of intelligent

Natives into close touch with ourselves and the Christian atmosphere of the school than ever we could before. The general curriculum follows the lines of Hampton and of Tuskegee, of Booker T. Washington fame. The idea is to combine general education with technical instruction. Manual work is the order of the day. The school glories in its achievements in the field of hard work with the hands. For example a beautiful permanent record of the school's work is left in the Uganda Cathedral where twelve boys under our missionary instructor undertook most elaborate wood work—screens, reredos, communion table and rails. Last year the school won the championship in the Agricultural Show in the native exhibits (wood-work class) and also gave a demonstration in telegraphy. The school has just completed a new large workshop built of bricks and tiles made and burnt in the school. The boys are clothed in a simple uniform made by themselves under the instruction of the wife of the Normal Department Headmaster—at present Acting Principal. In addition the school looks after the whole compound and has its own plantations. We are dreaming of building a permanent school chapel in the near future. Needless to say the pupils are in great demand and are to be found scattered throughout the Colony.

Maseno now possesses its hospital with Dr Stones in charge. This is to have its medical course attached giving yet another department for vocational training.

Football is the prime favourite in the realm of sports and three grounds are required to meet the demand. The boys love drill and physical exercises and some of them make excellent sergeants. Like all Natives they take to music like ducks to water. New hymns are printed in our tiny press and sold to the boys as fast as they can be produced; they are immediately sent round the Reserve to the boys' respective villages. If boys are to become clerks they are properly taught type-writing, and practise office work in the school office. The teachers in the Normal

Department are also given some technical training and are made to keep their own compound in exemplary order, and show taste in making flower beds and paths. The general effect is to turn out the boys as disciplined Christians able to turn their hands to a job of work and to take a pride in it. Thus will they be able to fit into the new Africa of to-day.

What can be said of Maseno can also be said of the famous Church of Scotland Kikuyu Mission, and will soon be said of the new central schools of Butere, Kahuhia, Taita and Kaloleni. In due time the whole scheme with its intermediate and village schools will be in full working order. They are all there in embryo and are waiting for more funds from Government and more educationalists upon mission staffs. The working of the scheme makes a new and vital demand upon adequate inspection. I am not referring to government inspection but to missionary inspection. Of course the general staff of a society can help in this work, but it must be done. Native teachers will need a great deal of help in running their village schools. The number of inspectors required will depend upon roads and means of communication. In most areas a motor bicycle will make all the difference. Where inspection is needed a missionary without a motor bicycle cannot do half his work. The strength, health and time sacrificed on a push bicycle is absolutely tragic.

Here then is the missionary's task in Kenya. Our fathers laid the foundations. We must address ourselves to the superstructure. We know that the Natives, especially the Christians, are intensely impatient for a decisive step in the direction of western civilization; we know that their demands for education are just; but above all we know that we are the people who can give them what they want. They have accepted the Christ whom we preach and they now want to be fitted for the new area into which they have advanced. The missionary in effect says 'We have brought you thus far, and by God's help we will see

you through.' At the same time Government is being pressed by the Natives for more schools. Government turns to the missions and says 'If you will satisfy us upon the non-religious side of your curriculum we will help you with grants and leave you free to carry on your religious instruction.' They go so far as to say that they regard missions as the proper channel for native education. The Christian education of all the native tribes is the task before the missionary in Kenya. It is a challenge we cannot refuse. The Alliance of Missions has virtually accepted the challenge in faithful dependence upon God.

What then is to be done, or perhaps it is fairer to ask what are Kenya missionaries doing, now that they have so boldly accepted the challenge? The best answer is to give some account of what was done at the Kikuyu Conference in January of last year. This Conference was open, and fully attended by practically all non-Roman societies by invitation of the Alliance. A whole day was set apart for education. Papers were read and discussed and sundry resolutions were passed. The subjects dealt with were: The missionary educational policy, female education, the measurement of intelligence, Dr Arthur's educational tour of South Africa, and school methods e.g. the Montessori system and the work of Tuskegee and Hampton institutions. The Acting Director of Education was present and contributed to the discussions. A resolution was passed calling upon the societies at headquarters to recruit educationalist missionaries and missionary technical instructors. But it was obvious that we had to do a great deal of spade work with the staffs in the field, so another resolution called upon the societies to enable missionaries on furlough to attend educational courses. Personally I lay the greatest stress upon this resolution. The Board of Study for the Preparation of Missionaries[1] has organized the very thing. It is a matter of deep regret that I am shortly returning to Kenya without availing myself of the Special Educational Course

[1] Edinburgh House, 2 Eaton Gate, London, S.W.1.

directed by Mr J. H. Wimms (Educational Adviser to the Board of Study) at Goldsmiths' College, a splendidly equipped training college of the University of London. I do trust that these lectures will be absolutely crowded out by missionaries.

Fortunately there is breathing space, for the Government is too poor to want to hurry matters. Missionary societies can use this time to the best advantage by educating their constituencies up to the task and by 'nursing' the right men and women ready for the time when they can be sent out.

I will close by quoting as I did at Kikuyu the words of Matteo Palmieri, a Florentine of the Renaissance Period: 'There is no human activity nobler than that which has for its aim to secure the safety and prosperity of the community, and to unite in mutual trust all classes of its citizens.'[1] Such aims simply cannot be attained without divine means. The missionary is entrusted with the secret of power to accomplish such a task. *Hoc opus, hic labor est.* Let us address ourselves to it, and let us not falter until we see these great awakened tribes of Kenya earnestly building a superstructure upon the spiritual foundations laid by our fathers, the Chief Corner Stone being none but our Lord Jesus Christ Himself.

J. Britton

[1] Quoted in Professor Woodward's *Education during the Renaissance Period.*

FOUNDATION FACTS THE GROUND OF SELF-SUPPORT

By HARVEY REEVES CALKINS

A Fellow of Balliol jarred his countrymen recently by pointing out in public the characteristic virtue and characteristic vice of Englishmen.[1] For an American to quote his criticism would be scant courtesy were it not so evident that Mr Tawney includes his trans-Atlantic cousins in this arraignment of Anglo-Saxon mentality. He writes :

> It is a commonplace that the characteristic virtue of Englishmen is their power of sustained practical activity, and their characteristic vice a reluctance to test the quality of that activity by reference to principles. They are incurious as to theory, take fundamentals for granted, and are more interested in the state of the roads than in their place on the map. . . . The blinkers worn by Englishmen enable them to trot all the more steadily along the beaten road, without being disturbed by curiosity as to their destination.

It cannot have failed to be noted that in every missionary conference of late years the drive of the discussions has been the Church in mission lands, how to insure its self-support, self-government, self-propagation—a triad of missionary objectives somewhat overworked when one remembers that Churches are born of a creative spirit, and not assembled out of 'the weak and beggarly elements' that control the nations. There is a confession of anæmia in every mission plan for 'self-support,' as though a mother were devising how to make her baby breathe. Self-support is in the blood of every well-born Church, and will press its own way to the life-preserving air.

But Churches are builded, no less than born, and self-support lies close to the foundation. If it be true, as Mr Tawney affirms, that Englishmen 'take fundamentals for

[1] R. H. Tawney, in *The Acquisitive Society*. G. Bell & Sons Ltd., London.

granted'—and by one honoured patronymic all Anglo-Saxons may be included—then this is true without equivocation: Missionaries on the field—the majority of us—like secretaries and committees at the home base, are pressing church programmes of support, when, by every consideration of Christian ethics we should be inculcating the principles of stewardship. For church programmes of support may be no more Christian in all their spiritual content than the heaping up of coins at Brahma's Shrine of the Nail, at Bithoor. We judge a church offering to be *ipso facto* Christian, and thereby err grievously. We 'take fundamentals for granted'—until we dig down where they are, and lo! many of our church programmes of support, like most of the economic programmes of our unbrotherly social order, are found to rest on pagan, rather than Christian, interpretations of property. Self-support of the Churches is not the missionary's objective; his objective is a re-created attitude toward life and possessions. Self-support, or rather church maintenance, is a corollary of property itself, whenever property rests upon a Christian interpretation. It accrues, by virtue of that interpretation, with or without church programmes of finance—that is, it accrues wherever the Church represents and seeks to promote, however inadequately, the kingdom of God upon the earth.

Illustrations of the above considerations from experiences in China and India press into mind, so that one must pick and choose, but they are all of fundamental human facts, trite and utterly commonplace. Take this. One morning, somewhat over a year ago, I was walking through the city of Nanchang, capital of the Central China province of Kiangsi, on my way to the mission chapel. The streets were crowded with bickering, quarrelling, chatting, laughing folk, enjoying to the full their democratic liberty of speech. I turned to my friend.

'I wish I knew Mandarin,' I said. 'Is it Shantung, or the Twenty-One Demands, that everybody is talking about?'

My friend listened and smiled, and then, as we passed

group after group of eager citizens, he gave me the key-word of a dozen conversations, vital, every one of them, with human interest.

'One hundred and twenty cash——'

'Seven pigs——'

'Six thousand dollars——'

'Fifty acres——'

'Two dollars and a half——'

'Twenty-three dollars——'

'Seventy taels——'

I was to speak that day of 'A Man and His Money,' and the morning's walk had pointed me to a text. There is no least reason to make mention of it now—excepting this: That the commanding human interest in China and India and among the nations is not love, not politics, not learning in any of its phases, but Money. And this: That Christianity does not diminish a man's interest in material things, and ought not. The question presses—Has the Church any right to set forth her claims for material support until she has taught clearly the Christian significance of property and the spiritual content of ownership? For consider: Conversion is a change of motive and spirit, but the mind continues to travel in its old accustomed grooves.

Does anyone suppose that a company of Confucianists turned Christian, or a group of Hindus who have accepted Christ, will suddenly forget social and economic habits ingrained for centuries? Does not the wise missionary desire that Christian converts in the East shall remain eastern? Then shall he not remember that 'the horse-leech hath two daughters, crying, Give, give,' that every non-Christian religion has ordained them priestesses, that religious mendicancy is exalted as a confession of holiness, and religious giving as an act of merit? The question presses insistently: What is there in the passing of the Christian's offertory bag that distinguishes it from the passing of the Buddhist's begging bowl? The Christian convert is conscious of a change in the motive and spirit of giving, but the

economic ground of his non-Christian forbears remains unchanged in his thinking—and unchanged it will remain until a new foundation is builded of living stones. Nor will such foundation arrive out of the atmosphere, it must be laid with plumb and level. Self-support in the mission fields of Asia, measured by any *per capita* test, fails to rise above its faint and meagre beginnings. This is not a daring statement; it is the humiliating testimony of the published reports. Evidently, the foundations of self-support are not yet laid; or rather, Mr Tawney's censure deserves consideration by missionaries of every name: *We have taken fundamentals for granted.*

A glance at two Churches of the New Testament will make clear what I am seeking to say: the Church at Jerusalem and the Church at Corinth. Both of them were privileged to know apostolic leadership, both of them exalted Jesus Christ as Lord and Saviour, both of them were recipients of the gifts of the Spirit—although, the record would suggest, the believers at Corinth coveted and received 'spiritual gifts' with greater eagerness, if that were possible, than those of the Mother Church itself. What were the economic facts in these two Churches?

At Jerusalem not one of the believers said 'that aught of the things which he possessed was his own.' Here was a stewardship—not a communism—of possessions, evident from the fact that, whether an estate were held in titular possession or were converted into money, it still continued 'in thine own power,' as the Apostle Peter took fitting occasion to remind the traitorous Ananias. Here was the first mass movement of the Christian Church, and here the first Christian converts were eager to meet the economic obligations which it involved.

Move forward less than thirty years. The Mother Church was in dire want, and the rich Church across the Ægean had every reason to minister to her in her hour of need—not to mention her obligation to provide for her peerless first pastor. And did the spiritually gifted Cor-

inthians rise to their opportunity ? One of the tragedies in the life of the Apostle Paul is his self-confessed humiliation, when, by exhortation, by cajolery, by rebuke, by raillery, he sought to screw a little silver out of the Corinthian Church.

Were the Corinthian Christians of meaner mould than their Jerusalem brethren ? The record will not warrant the assumption. If there were divisions at Corinth, 'there arose a murmuring' also at Jerusalem ; if the Corinthian Church was plagued by an incestuous alliance, the Jerusalem Church was stained by a lie against the Holy Spirit ; in fine, Christians of any century who compare themselves among themselves are not wise. Nor is there any need of comparison, so far as such comparison relates to spirit and motive. The difference between these two Churches was a difference of economic foundation ; it was this that caused a divergence in economic attitude.

What was that difference ?

The believers at Jerusalem were Jews. They acknowledged One God, and worshipped only Him. The land was His, and all the fruitage of it was under His dominion. The Lord God of their fathers was a living Person—not a shadow among the terebinths, to be avoided—not a speculation of the mystics, to be dreamed—and, above all, not a creation of the philosophers, to provide an intelligible theory for the universe. He was the Father of their spirits, the God of all the earth. Even in the days of Israel's earlier development, when Jahweh was no more, perhaps, than a tribal deity, yet was He the Living One, for ever near, and not for a moment to be confused with, nor compared to, the gods of the nations, who might be gone on a journey, or peradventure slept and must be awakened. The personality of Jehovah, and His dominion over the nation's economic life, are the miracle of Jewish history. It was this instinctive acknowledgment of Jehovah's sovereignty that lay in the background of every Jewish mind, and never more jealously cherished than in the years of national decadence. There

it lay, waiting to be projected into a social demonstration whenever mental attitude should be lifted into spiritual adventure. 'Jesus and the Resurrection' was the lifting of Judaism into Christianity. The believing Jews at Jerusalem, 'devout men from every nation under heaven,' recognized their stewardship of possessions as a Christian inheritance foreshadowed to them by Moses and all the prophets. The plan of property distribution adopted by the Jersualem Church was the economic outworking of a spiritual illumination. And it was logical: 'The earth is the Lord's'—therefore the followers of the Lord's Christ must be supplied, out of the Lord's property in possession of the Lord's saints, 'according as every one hath need.' Stewardship grew in a congenial soil. Yet it was not the fruitage of exalted goodness, it was the product of inbred theism.

What of the Church at Corinth? They were Greeks. It was at Corinth that Paul rebuked the blaspheming Jews with these words of heavy import, 'I go to the Gentiles.' And to the Gentiles he went. With the exception of Crispus and his house, there is no hint that the Corinthian Jews repented of their hardness of heart; the Church of the Peloponnesus was made up of Christian believers whose mental outlook and economic conceptions were rooted in the philosophy of the Greek and Roman world. It is the Corinthian Church, of all New Testament Churches, that most needs patient teaching concerning the unclean customs of pagan society, concerning shameful litigations, concerning marriage with unbelievers, concerning things sacrificed to idols. True, they were Christ's, yet were they babes in Christ, needing to be fed with milk, not with meat. But more than all else it is the economic aloofness of the Corinthian Christians that is significant. They have no least sense of responsibility to provide for Paul's material needs, and Greatheart will not suffer himself to be chargeable against them. They are so straitened in their own affections that Paul's righteous request that they bear their share in the

special contribution of the Churches must be diluted with compliment and even flattery. To them must Paul publish the financial accountability of those appointed to receive the offering—as though Paul recognized the lack of faith that still characterized their dealings with each other. And why? The reason for it cries out of *the Stoic law of property*, buttressed by imperial enactments and inbred in every Greek and Roman mind. A single quotation from the later Justinian Code will mark the Stoic comprehension of property, inherited by the Corinthian Christians from the generations that had gone before: 'Precious stones, gems, and other things, found upon the seashore, become immediately, by the law of nature, the property of the finder.' With this characteristic uplift of pagan lawlessness, compare the absolute dominion of Jehovah God: 'The silver is Mine, and the gold is Mine, saith the Lord of hosts.'

In other words: The economic ground at Jerusalem was the ownership of God, acknowledged and reverenced in Jewish law and expressed in the formula—Property a divine institution. The economic ground at Corinth was the law of nature, devoid of personality, and compelling this fundamental thesis—Property a human institution.

The believers at Jerusalem administered the substance that had been committed to them, but with instinctive knowledge that all their rights ran back to God; they were administering for Him. For a thousand years their forefathers had expressed ownership in terms of religion, and the habit, even when it connoted hypocrisy, had entered into the forms of common speech. It was even so among the Jerusalem Christians. To administer their possessions for the Owner, and in His Name, required no mental adjustment in the realm of economic fact, but only a willing heart. Ananias was destroyed for lying, not for withholding, for even his craven spirit recognized the divine ownership.

The believers at Corinth, on the other hand, could not grasp the idea of ownership other than their own. Divine ownership, and stewardship its spiritual corollary, are not

natural human conceptions. The law of nature was not moral; it would not suggest, but rather repel, the conception of divine personality, without which divine ownership is an impossible postulate and stewardship an illogical appeal. A study of spiritual gifts in the Corinthian Church gives clear indication that these approached more nearly the quality of the Delphic mysteries than the personal and intelligent endowings of the personal Spirit. It was difficult, even after conversion, for Stoic-bred Greeks to apprehend the world ground as personal. To administer one's possessions for Another was an economic absurdity; one would give or withhold what was 'his own.' Conversion had changed both motive and spirit but not the grey matter of his brain. Whether by revelation or by the slower process of education he must be transformed by the renewing of his mind.

We are ready for three statements. They are indicated, though hardly demonstrated, by the brief presentation already made. The proof of them, at least the line along which the demonstration would proceed, will suggest itself to anyone who has considered even casually the economic basis of society.

I. The Stoic or Roman conception of property has disastrously influenced Christian ethics throughout western civilization. The Church at Corinth, not the Church at Jerusalem, has provided the economic prototype for church finance. If church budgets can be raised, and mission boards provided with their askings, church treasurers are not expected to go back of the returns. A sordid industrialism and an unjust concentration of wealth—both of them the product of feudal ancestry, as feudalism itself was the product of a pagan interpretation of sovereignty—are to be regretted, but are not to be antagonized to the jeopardy of church support. Mission boards not only would be imperilled, they would be considered culpable, if they became active participants in the fight for economic justice. There are notable and glorious exceptions, but, for the most part, the Churches

of Europe and America remain caught in a Stoic interpretation of ownership, woven into western civilization by the enduring quality of Roman law. And—here's the rub!—missionaries from the West reach out to the peoples of Asia with the unquestioning assurance that western programmes of church support are builded upon Christian foundations. In truth, the majority of us 'take fundamentals for granted,' to the confusion of essential Christianity.

II. Throughout the non-Christian civilizations, where we missionaries are at work, the economic foundation of ancient Stoicism is accepted without question—that is, impersonality as the ultimate ground of things and human ownership as the necessary and self-evident base of the social order. However else they may differ among themselves, the ethnic faiths have this one base in common. To question it would never enter the thought of Hindu, Parsi, Buddhist, Taoist, or Confucianist. The Mohammedan might question it, except that a debased theism has forgotten how to think. Certainly no one but the pundits talk of these abstractions, yet no less certainly these are the concepts that control both conduct and character among the people. And it is these same shadowy concepts that condition property, its ethical content in the thought of the people, its economic outworking in society, and its practical impact upon the life of the churches.

Let me illustrate what I mean. The facts are easy of demonstration in the Churches of eastern and southern Asia.

The non-Christian comes under Christian influences, comes under Christian instruction, in all sincerity accepts the Christian faith and is baptized. He passes through a profound spiritual experience and in a real sense knows the meaning of conversion. He is a Christian, as truly as the Roman centurion had faith in Christ or the Roman Cornelius knew the gift of the Holy Spirit. Thousands of such Christians of the first or second generation make up the Churches of China and India. Measured by the sincerity of their faith, and often by the sacrifice of family or social ties,

surely they are members of the Body of Christ; many of these our brethren are reverenced in the midst of us. But, measured by the line of self-support, that is by their ready acceptance of responsibility for maintaining the Church in material well-being, they are without spiritual girth. They remain babes in Christ. Even forward-looking Christian leaders—pastors, teachers and outstanding laymen—are willing that the Churches of China and India shall continue to be supported in whole or in part by gifts from abroad. Not only newly formed Churches, but Churches of thirty years' standing and more, continue to receive 'foreign money' with entire equanimity, while Asiatic pastors and evangelists will accept a crisp cheque from the mission treasurer in preference to the sweaty silver and copper gathered up from among their own people. They are often educated men, yet seem not to realize the lack of dignity which such a choice reveals, although many of them are well aware that the crisp cheque from the mission treasurer represents sweaty silver and copper gathered up, often with great difficulty, from among their brethren overseas. Even more extraordinary, in these days of intense nationalism, Asiatic Churches are keen to demand ecclesiastical self-government, and should have it, yet are strangely lacking in that wholesome pride which before demanding self-government is keen to guarantee full and efficient self-maintenance. There are splendid exceptions, but the Churches of Asia, for the most part, are like the believers at Corinth: they show themselves ready to receive 'spiritual things' (and for this we thank God, and take courage), but they are without corresponding readiness to return 'carnal things.'

And the reason—is it not found in that very comment, 'like the believers at Corinth'? The economic life of the Churches of eastern and southern Asia, though nurtured by modern missions, is rooted in the economic soil of the non-Christian philosophies. In this they differ not at all from the Churches of Europe and America—except that the

Churches of the West are more than forty generations removed from their pagan ancestry whereas the Churches of the East are less than four. The ancient religions of Asia, like Stoicism in the old Roman world, have so obscured the conception of divine personality that the vital doctrine of divine ownership, even for Christian converts, is weak and all but meaningless. And without divine ownership stewardship is but a name. Giving, throughout the non-Christian world, is subtly involved with the pagan yet persistent doctrine of acquiring merit. When the acquiring of merit is discredited by Christian teaching, as it always must be, the practice of religious giving is likely to collapse. It is a fact of common knowledge that non-Christians, driven by the whip of fear or lured by the hope of merit, give lavishly to maintain idolatrous cults (I am credibly informed that seventy-five per cent of the 'living' of the province of Fukien is economically involved in the idolatrous practices of the people), whereas—not forgetting the exceptions already suggested—Christians of the same material well-being, and of undoubted Christian character, give meagrely, if at all, for the maintenance of their Churches. Nor is this any least reflection on the sincerity of their faith; the reflection is on the teaching they have received, or, rather, have not received, from their new spiritual guides. They have cast away the economic cords of ethnic paganism but they have not yet learned the economic compulsion of Christian theism. The typical exhortation 'You should give as much for Christ as you used to give for Krishna' is a strange darkening of counsel. Giving, as an act of worship, has been thrown down from its old foundation, it must now be builded upon the new.

III. In conclusion, I approach the crux of the whole matter. It is this: *God's ownership must be acknowledged.* Property is *propria*, something related to a person or persons, something that is one's own. In a high and exalted sense, God's ownership inheres in the fact of divine personality. In the ethnic religions acknowledging God's ownership is an

impossible suggestion because divine personality itself is an impossible postulate; but in the Christian religion divine personality underlies and undergirds every relationship; therefore acknowledging God's ownership becomes the first and simplest act of Christian faith.

The acknowledging of God's ownership and the maintaining and extending of His Kingdom are not identical terms; nevertheless, the former connotes the latter and the latter, as a stewardship, assures the former. To affirm social ownership, or a Christian fellowship of possessions, gets nowhere; for whether property rests in the individual or in the community, Professor Scott Holland of Oxford wrote, 'Back to God all rights run; and this is so just because property in outward goods is but the outcome of personality, and all human personality is the issue and image of the personality of God.'[1] Moreover, no one would maintain that the Church and the Kingdom are interchangeable terms. Yet certainly the Church is appointed to bring in the Kingdom; the Church represents the Kingdom; the Church epitomizes within herself—or purposes thereto—the living forces of the Kingdom; therefore maintaining and extending the Church, with all the Church's programme of human uplift, is the outworking in material ways of acknowledging God's ownership. Or, if this be not so, then the Church has no economic standing in the Christian interpretation of property. She must stand at the crossroads and beg. And, in that case, self-support of mission Churches has no ethical foundation in teaching; it must rest upon clever devices for separating coins from the well-disposed members of the community—in which Buddhism has Christianity beaten to a frazzle!

God's ownership must be acknowledged. How? In any way that the divine Owner shall determine, for here is the substance of sovereignty. And here common human intuition must speak the final word. As men of ethical sense are

[1] Quoted from Professor Holland's essay in *Property, Its Duties and Rights*, published by the Macmillan Company, London.

accustomed to deal among themselves, so, in high reverence, such men may be expected to deal with God Himself—' the Supreme Person in a world of persons.' The universal and immemorial fact of rent is not only suggestive, it is conclusive. I do not speak of rent as a doctrine in modern economics, but of its common recognition among the common people. For all men think alike concerning it, and always have, in every land and in every age. Rent is *reddita*; it is the separated portion, set apart and ' given back ' in acknowledgment of the other person's ownership. Rent, no doubt, is a profit issuing out of property, and rightly so; but this is always a secondary consideration. Rent, fundamentally, is the safeguarding of property itself, for it is the acknowledgment of title. Even so, the separated portion set apart in acknowledgment of God's ownership will provide, and ought to provide, for the manifold work of God's Kingdom upon the earth, which, to say the least, must include the maintenance of His Church. Nevertheless, this is not the purpose of the separated portion; its purpose evermore is to reverence and acknowledge the sovereignty of the Other Person. Its place of teaching, therefore, is not among Christian advices; it must be placed among foundation doctrines.

At once, to every practical mind, the question arises—' What portion, or proportion, shall be designated ?—for the missionary must teach his people in concrete terms.' The question is an insistent one, and, if answered at all, must be answered as intelligent Christianity always answers such questions, recognizing the supremacy of the spiritual principles involved and looking for their application in the lives of men and nations. The question forms no part of the present discussion because it does not spring from the root theses which we have been considering; it emerges on a wholly different line of procedure, that of historic criticism.

HARVEY REEVES CALKINS

NOT LEADERS, BUT SAINTS AND SERVANTS

By J. C. WINSLOW

It was a romantic and compelling call, that call to leadership in the mission field which sounded out to the young student of thirty, twenty, even ten years ago. Its clarion notes thrilled and shook us; they seemed to summon us to rich and satisfying ways of self-realization. We gained a vision of how we were to make our lives tell for the advance of the Kingdom of God in our generation. We were to have our share, we believed, in the making of a new world. We pitied those of our contemporaries whose lot condemned them to sit all day on office stools. We commiserated even those who, in the more romantic professions, still stayed at home in the old world. We, for our part, were going out to shape the destinies of countries passing through mighty changes, waking from the sleep of centuries to the dawn of a new life. We were going to lead their young Christian Churches into the paths of true development and ordered growth, to stamp our influence upon them, to work out for them the lines along which their fresh and multitudinous problems must be solved. And was there no thought of sacrifice, no foretaste of the cross in our sunlit vision? Yes, indeed, and we hailed it gladly; for it was romantic suffering, springing inevitably out of hard and unremitting labours amid tropical fevers and under parching suns. The crown was twined of roses as well as thorns. The cross was circled with a halo of glory. We almost prayed with Ignatius for the palm of martyrdom.

It was an inspiring call; and the enthusiasm it stirred was in many ways a noble and generous enthusiasm. It

had in it much of the stuff of which heroes are made. But it was marred by one fatal taint. In the vision splendid we ourselves occupied the central place. True we were going out in God's service and for the advancement of His Kingdom; but it was the thought of what we would accomplish in that service, it was the prospect of our share in the progress of that Kingdom, which fired our imaginations most and kindled our most vivid enthusiasm.

> Was I not man? Could I not rise alone
> Above the shifting of the things that be,
> Rise to the crest of all the stars and see
> The ways of all the world as from a throne?
> Was I not man, with proud imperial will
> To cancel all the secrets of high heaven?
> Should not my sole unbridled purpose fill
> All hidden paths with light when once was riven
> God's veil by my indomitable will?
> So dreamt I, little man of little vision,
> Great only in unconsecrated pride.

And because of this taint of 'unconsecrated pride' our zeal and enterprise for God's Kingdom failed of the two essential conditions of success in all work for the Kingdom. It failed to make God central, and it failed to seek and value the co-operation of fellow-workers.

> So I forgot my God, and I forgot
> The holy sweet communion of men.[1]

* * * * * *

Then followed our first great disillusionment. We were sent out to some long-established mission station, and set down to learn the language under the eye of some devoted missionary who had settled years before the lines on which the work of the station should be conducted and was plodding faithfully on in the well-worn groove. After the first interest of the new sights and scenes wore off, the sunshine of our earlier vision soon faded under the chill of the bleak reality, and little romance indeed remained. Most unromantic of

[1] From 'The Fires of God,' by John Drinkwater.

all was our own position of utter ineffectiveness—unable to converse with the people and unheeded in the mission counsels. For some weeks, indeed, we bubbled over with the new ideas we had brought with us from the home lands. We were eager to propound the latest theories of mission policy. We were ready to solve in a trice the problems that had baffled our predecessors. But our enthusiasm quickly cooled as all our cherished ideas were calmly turned down, with a gesture of kindly contempt for our inexperience and an assurance that the methods we proposed had been tried before we were born and failed, or that they were utterly idealistic and unrelated to the hard facts. So we were forced to sit down in fretful futility, witnessing daily plans and policies which we were convinced were mistaken, and powerless to alter them. We could only quiet our chafing spirits with the assurance that, if we would patiently bide our time, our turn for leadership would come, and then we would fashion the new Jerusalem.

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Now comes our second great disillusionment. We have served our apprenticeship in the mission field. We are no longer young and inexperienced idealists. We have gained acquaintance at first hand with the conditions of the work, and have modified our theories to suit the facts. The older men are passing; the days are approaching in which we had supposed that we should control the mission policy. But conditions are changing, and everywhere the Church of the land is resenting its long thraldom under the rule of foreign missionaries, is declaring that its period of tutelage is already long overstepped. How long, they ask, are we to be kept in leading-strings? Listen to the sad plaint of one of the noblest of our Indian leaders. He sang—

Trampling upon self you have come to us to bring us Christ;
For us you have given life and all things, so that to our debt there is no end.
Yet will you heed one small request which I have still to proffer?
You are father and mother, we helpless infants: enough of this relationship now!

You have driven God afar by making yourselves gods: when will you cast off this sin?
You have set up for yourselves a kingdom of slaves: do not call it a kingdom of God.
We dance as puppets, whilst you hold the strings: how long shall this buffoonery endure?
How long will you keep us dead? Hath not God eyes to see?
Let us swim, let us sink or die; give us leastways the chance of swimming.
Pack up all your doctrines, and let us first find Christ.
Be not angry with me; I am but a poor messenger, who speaks what he is bidden.
Come, be to us brothers and sisters! all else we can settle then.

It is the same cry which resounds in our ears on every side—the cry for freedom of development, for removal of the foreign yoke. And we know that we must heed it—nay, that we are guilty for having let this domination last so long. But under this second blow our old idol of leadership falls at last from its pedestal and lies shattered to fragments.

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How, then, are we to act in face of this twofold disillusionment? Are we to lose all our faith in our vocation, to doubt God's leading of us, to sink to being disappointed and uninspired workers? Or, if we be still at the beginning of our active work and faced with the choice of a career, are we going to say that the life of a missionary no longer offers any scope for leadership and therefore has no attraction for us?

Surely there is a more excellent way. Can we not see how these very limitations which press on us may become the means of our salvation—seem, indeed, almost designed to redeem our first splendid vision from its taint of pride and selfishness and make it shine with an undimmed glory?

For, in the first place, the very straitness of our environment in the early days—the fact that we are hemmed in on one side by our inexperience, on another by our ignorance of the language, and on yet another by the walls of convention and long-established routine—should force our

pent-up energies, thwarted of all expansion outwards, to find an outlet upwards. The constraint laid upon our volcanic enthusiasm is such that we must either burst or soar. Is there not in this the coercion that we need, providentially supplied to us through the conditions which we thought so desperate? For if our first ideal was tainted by a pride which dethroned God and set the idol of our own greatness in His place, how could such taint be more surely purged than by the discovery of our own utter futility apart from Him—by an environment which compelled us to find the only satisfying outlet for our powers of heart and brain in Him? Thwarted of our familiar ways of self-expression and of service, we fall back upon God with tears and strong crying, with passionate entreaty and complaint, but, in time and increasingly, with a new and tranquillizing discovery of His richness, of His all-satisfying beauty, of His sufficiency in Himself to appease the hunger of our souls more perfectly than the praise of men or the plaudits of our own hearts. We begin to find that only as we turn deaf ears to these can we catch the glory of the heavenly music; we begin to ask, with Thomas à Kempis, 'Lord, how often shall I resign myself? and wherein shall I forsake myself?' and to hear His answer, 'Always, and at every hour; as well in small things as in great. I except nothing, but in all things I will thee to be found naked. Otherwise, how canst thou be Mine, and I thine, except thou be stript of all self-will both within and without? I have very often said unto thee, and now again I say the same: Give all for all; ask for nothing; require back nothing; abide purely and unhesitatingly in Me, and thou shalt possess Me; thou shalt be free in heart, and darkness shall not tread thee down. Let this be thine endeavour, this thy prayer, this thy desire: that thou mayest be stript of all selfishness, and naked follow the naked Jesus; mayest die to thyself, and live eternally to Me.'

As we try to answer that summons, we shall begin to enter into that secret of the saints, sung for us in one of

his simplest and most exquisite lyrics by Narayan Waman Tilak (or Dāsa, the Servant, as he loved to call himself), the Christian poet of Western India—

> The Lord my Father-Mother is;
> Naught can I lack if I am His.
> Then wherefore should I wealth desire,
> Or after empty pomp aspire?
> For this world's gold is all alloy,
> Its honour but an infant's toy;
> Its fame an unsubstantial trance,
> Its wisdom only ignorance.
> Then save Thyself, my God and King,
> Is nothing left for coveting.
> Do Thou this only gift impart,
> Dwell Thou for ever in my heart.
> Saith Dāsa, Thou Thyself, O Lord,
> Art Thy disciple's sole reward.

And if the limitation which comes from the straitness of our early environment may thus purge our zeal and vision of the pride which forgets God, so that second limitation, which springs from the necessity of resigning leadership to-day to the Church of the land, is surely well calculated to purge us of the pride which forgets our fellow-men. For it forces us to see—what that pride alone had blinded us all along from seeing—that our proper work is to be found, not in imposing ourselves—our doctrines, our organizations, our cherished whims and fancies—upon the Christians into whose midst we are come, but rather in approaching them as brothers and sisters; eager to share their lives in all reality of fellowship and equal service; chiefly expecting to learn from them new mysteries of the unsearchable riches of Christ, new methods of exploring those riches and imparting them to others; and then hoping also to contribute something of our own that shall be serviceable, but above all the faith that inspires, the hope that heartens, and the love that warms. We may thank God indeed if conditions to-day are such as to save us, in spite of ourselves perhaps, from the barrenness of an enterprise entered on

in the belief that we had everything to give and nothing to receive, and to recall us to our true vocation and ministry, wherein we preach, not ourselves, but Christ Jesus as Lord, and ourselves as servants for Jesus' sake.

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Enough, then, of the call to-day to young men and women to go out and be leaders in the mission field. To call for leadership tarnishes the splendour of the Lord's own invitation and opens the way to inevitable disappointment afterwards. Rather, recalling ourselves and our companions from the byways into which we have strayed, let us echo only our Master's summons to follow Him as He treads the royal highway of the Cross. For what the young Churches in eastern lands still need of us to-day is not leaders, but saints and servants. And since if we called for saints no one worth having—and certainly no saint—would answer our summons, let us rather call men to the Cross, by which they will unawares be perfected into saints and achieve their richest service. Let us be assured that, for those who answer this call, all that was of value in the earlier vision of leadership shall be retained and enriched, whilst that which tainted it shall indeed be purged out. For the completest self-realization belongs, not to those who seek it, but to those who care nothing for it. The men who will be followed as leaders are not those who dictate policies and disburse salaries but those who are seen to be men of God and whose delight is to serve. The truest and most intoxicating romance is not that in which we ourselves, however splendid or heroic, are central but that in which He whom we love absorbs and enthralls all our regard. ' He that will take that crabbit tree and will carry it cannily,' said Samuel Rutherford, ' will yet find it to be such a burden as wings are to a bird and sails to a boat.' Yes, for it is the Cross which carries us most easily up into the heaven of God's beauty and out into the ocean of His Love.

J. C. Winslow

DISCUSSIONS:

THE CHRISTIAN CHURCH AND RURAL LIFE IN CHINA

By ALBERT LUTLEY

Professor Kenyon L. Butterfield, LL.D., in this Review for April 1923 has rendered a service to the cause of Christ in China, by calling attention in a thoughtful and sympathetic article under the above title, to the fact that the population of China is predominantly rural and that an overwhelming proportion of this rural population are farmers; that the problem of the evangelization of China therefore is not so much in the large cities as in the wide country districts; 'that the village as a social unit is, for good and for ill, perhaps the predominating fact in China'; and that if the Church is to become self-supporting the farming population will have to undertake this burden.

If Professor Butterfield had been able to spend a longer time in China he would have obtained a more complete and accurate knowledge of the conditions of life in the different provinces, and have been able to avoid some misconceptions and partial statements which somewhat detract from the value of his article. For instance, when he describes the organization of the rural population into central villages, each with a number of satellite hamlets, and says that 'these villages with their surrounding hamlets are essentially social units, true local communities,' he has apparently fallen into the common mistake of many other visitors to China, who finding that a certain custom prevails in one district at once jump to the conclusion that this is uniform throughout the whole of that vast land. In many parts of Szechuan, as well as some other provinces, the farmers do not live together in villages but have their homesteads scattered all over the countryside, built on their own bit of land. In the provinces of Chihli, Shansi, Shensi and Kansuh the people, on the contrary, congregate for mutual protection into villages, many of which have high walls and gates. In the province of Shansi each of these villages forms a social, religious and governmental unit, electing its own elders and educational committee, appointing its own public servants, and levy-

ing local taxes for religious and social purposes. In this province the individual village is the unit, not the group. Conditions however vary in every province, and are seldom uniform throughout the same province.

The general thought underlying Professor Butterfield's article appears to be contained in the statement that ' it is all but hopeless for the Chinese village people to support a village Church on the present small margin of surplus,' and ' that it is quite idle to suppose that a strong Christian Church can flourish in rural China except on the basis of an increasingly profitable agriculture.' It should be borne in mind, however, that in spite of their apparent poverty according to western standards, and the low economic conditions under which the majority of them live—due partly, no doubt, to the dense population the land has to support—the rural population of China has, for thousands of years, supported an expensive worship in connexion with their three main religious systems and innumerable secret sects ; and that in some provinces sufficient temples have been built to accommodate the whole rural population several times over. There is therefore no reason to suppose that, when the number of Christian converts increases, they will be unable to support their own places of worship and maintain an efficient Christian ministry. Of course if expensive foreign church buildings and a highly educated ministry are regarded as essential to Christian worship, it will probably be many years before the Chinese Christian farmers will afford these luxuries for which they at present realize no need.

In the province of Shansi a very large majority of the country churches connected with the China Inland Mission are already self-supporting, the places of worship and all running expenses being provided by the local believers. The services in these churches are largely conducted by voluntary local preachers, who are usually themselves farmers and who in many cases are virtually pastors of the church in their own districts. These churches also support their own local evangelistic societies. A few years ago they also combined together to establish their own provincial missionary society and assumed responsibility for the evangelization of a distant part of the province which has been set apart as their missionary field. At present only a small minority of the converts are giving anything like a tenth of their income, and there is no doubt but that they could do much more than they are now doing towards the support of their own ministry and the spread of the Gospel throughout the district.

What is true of the China Inland Mission in Shansi and other parts of China is probably also true of other missions. But though the situation is not so hopeless as Professor Butterfield was led to believe, the economic conditions under which the majority of the people live are undoubtedly very low and the struggle for existence is very keen; everything therefore that will improve the conditions of life among the rural population is to be welcomed and encouraged.

The problem, however, that faces the agricultural missionary in China is a different one from that which would meet him in backward countries like many parts of Africa. The Chinese have been cultivating their land for millenniums and have accumulated a vast store of practical knowledge regarding the productive power of the different soils, the influence of special climatic conditions, and the effect of different fertilizers. Eight or ten different fertilizers are in constant use in central Shansi, each having its own market value and being used on different land or for different crops. Professor Butterfield's proposal, therefore, that all missionaries intending to go to China, ' as part of their regular preparation, should have some work in agriculture, gaining at least a broad view of the main considerations underlying the problem of better farming, better farm business, and better farm life,' and that ' town and city bred candidates secure at least a summer course in an agricultural institution of first class,' appears to a layman like myself scarcely adapted to meet the need of a highly developed farming community like China. We only need to think of the reception the advice of such men would receive from the hard-headed farmers of the Middle West, and the vivid spicy language in which the well-meaning efforts of such amateurs would be retailed to delighted companions, the next time a few of the farmers met together, to realize that such training as that proposed would be largely a waste of time for those going to a land like China.

A few agricultural experts, who have made a special study of the climate, soils, possible local fertilizers, insect pests and other conditions prevailing in different parts of China, could no doubt render valuable help to the Christian farmers and the people generally by the dissemination of reliable information, and by training a number of Chinese Christians in scientific methods of agriculture, who would be able and willing to pass on their knowledge to others, and could demonstrate to the farmers of their district the practical superiority and benefits of the methods they taught. A certain proportion of these men might eventually become farmer-pastors, such as Professor

Butterfield suggests; such a position, however, would necessarily depend more on their spiritual attainments and ability to minister to others than on their knowledge of agriculture.

In the province of Shansi, experimental farms have been established in many of the counties, under the direction of men who have been appointed for the purpose by the provincial government. In these farms various new cereals are being tested. Cotton seeds—introduced from America and other countries—are being tried to ascertain the grades most suitable to the soil and climate. Nurseries of mulberry trees are being cultivated, and young trees are distributed free or sold at a nominal price to the villagers in order to encourage the rearing of the silkworm and the development of the silk industry, which is quite new to the district. The Governor has also imported flocks of sheep from abroad, to improve the wool and thus increase the value of this export. Horses and herds of cattle have also been introduced to improve the stock. It will thus be seen that the Chinese Government and people, in some districts at least, are fairly alive to the situation, and are making practical efforts to meet the need.

It should also be remembered that even at the present time a larger number of persons are supported on the land per hundred acres in China than perhaps in any other agricultural nation; and that the large variety of fruits, vegetables and cereals grown in Shansi and some of the other provinces, cannot probably be excelled in any other country. The diligence and skill of the Chinese farmer and market gardener, and the high grade of the produce of his labour in spite of the primitive nature of many of his instruments are the admiration of all who have sympathetically watched him at his work.

As a result of many years' observation of farming conditions in North China, I am inclined to think that the lines of help that promise the best and fullest returns lie in two directions. (1) The widespread dissemination of information regarding the selection of seeds and the destruction of their most common foes in the way of insect pests. (In the tracts dealing with seed-selection it would be well if clear diagrams and simple instruction could be given regarding the providing of sieves or cheap machinery for sifting out the grains unsuitable for seed purposes.) (2) The introduction of cheap light foreign ploughs that would enable the farmers to plough their land deeper, and a satisfactory cotton combing or carding machine and a

cotton spinning machine that can be worked by hand, foot, or horse-power in the homes of the people. Cotton is widely grown over central and north China, but on account of the people having no profitable method of combing and spinning their cotton, much of it is exported to the coast, and cotton yarn from Japan or India has to be imported for weaving the native cloth into the very districts where cotton is grown. In nearly all districts where cotton is grown the women and girls are able to spin and weave, but as they are only able to spin one thread at a time the process is too slow to be profitable, and the yarn therefore has to be imported. If a suitable spinning machine could be introduced that would enable the farmers to spin their own thread, it would at once double the value of their crop, provide profitable employment during the slack winter months, and materially improve their economic position. The introduction of cheap foreign oil presses would also be of real value to the farmers in some districts, where large quantities of vegetable oil are grown.

In closing I would call attention to Professor Butterfield's statement that 'the major number of Protestant churches, with a total membership of 400,000, will be found in the cities large and small, whereas the major number of the Roman Catholic churches, having nearly four times as many communicants, are largely in the villages.' This statement, which is, I think, due to a misunderstanding, is likely to convey a false impression. It is no doubt true that a majority of the larger mission buildings are situated in the cities. This is due to the fact that the cities are usually the most convenient centres from which to work the surrounding country. In the statistics of the different missionary societies the number of converts in a given district are also often given under the name of the governing city; but this by no means implies that even a majority of the converts reside in that city. In the province of Shansi, considerably less than one-tenth of the church membership is to be found in the cities, and there are at least five places of worship in the towns and villages for every one in a city. The same would also, I believe, be true of other provinces. Even in districts where there are no country churches, it will still, I think, be true in very many cases that a large proportion of the membership come from country districts. It is certainly true of Shansi that the Gospel is making far more progress in the country than in the cities.

ALBERT LUTLEY

NOTES ON CONTRIBUTORS

The Rev. Garfield H. Williams, M.B., B.S., formerly an educational missionary in North India, is now Education Secretary of the Church Missionary Society. He was a member of the Society's Delegation to India in 1921–22.

The Rev. W. J. McKee, of the Board of Foreign Missions of the Presbyterian Church in the U.S.A., went to India in 1912. He is one of the newly appointed secretaries of the National Christian Council of India, Burma and Ceylon.

The Rt. Rev. Vedanayakam Samuel Azariah was consecrated Bishop of Dornakal in 1912. He was one of the founders of the Indian Missionary Society of Tinnevelly and is the first Indian member of the Episcopate.

The Rev. C. Y. Cheng, D.D., was Chairman of the National Christian Conference held in Shanghai in May 1922. He was a member of the World Missionary Conference at Edinburgh in 1910, and is also a member of the International Missionary Council which meets in Oxford in July 1923. He has been taking a year's theological study in America.

Mr Basil Mathews, a well-known writer and journalist, is editor of *Outward Bound* and Director of the Missionary Press Bureau of the Conference of Missionary Societies in Great Britain and Ireland.

The Rt. Rev. F. Melville Jones, D.D., formerly Principal of the Training College at Oyo and C.M.S. Secretary for work in the Yoruba Country, was consecrated Bishop of Lagos in 1919.

The Rev. J. Britton went to East Africa under the Church Missionary Society in 1907. He is stationed at Maseno in Kenya Colony and is taking a leading part in the educational development of the country.

The Rev. Harvey Reeves Calkins of the Methodist Episcopal Church in the U.S.A. went to India in 1900. He is now Superintendent of the work of the mission in Lucknow District.

The Rev. J. C. Winslow has recently resigned his office as an S.P.G. missionary in the Diocese of Bombay, in order to become a member of the Christ-Seva-Sangh Ashram, a self-supporting brotherhood at Junnar, Western India.

The Rev. Albert Lutley went to China in 1893 as a member of the China Inland Mission. He is Superintendent of the work of that Mission in Shansi Province.

The writers of book reviews are: D. Julius Richter, Professor of Missions in Berlin University; the Rev. R. F. McNeile, formerly a missionary in Egypt and now a housemaster at Uppingham; the Rev. Alfred E. Garvie, D.D., Principal of New College, Hampstead; the Rev. W. Sutton Page, B.D., Lecturer at the School of Oriental Studies, London, and formerly of the Baptist Mission in Calcutta; the Rev. J. C. Robbins, D.D., one of the Secretaries of the American Baptist Foreign Mission Society; the Rev. Joseph C. Mantripp of Chelmsford; the Rev. Edward Shillito, Literary Superintendent of the London Missionary Society; the Rev. J. C. Winslow, who also contributes an article to this number; and Dr Eugene Stock, formerly Editorial Secretary of the Church Missionary Society.

REVIEWS OF BOOKS

THE RELIGIONS OF FARTHER ASIA

Das Licht des Ostens: Die Weltanschauungen des mittleren und fernen Asiens (Indien-China-Japan) und ihr Einfluss auf das religiöse und sittliche Leben, auf Kunst und Wissenschaft dieser Länder. Von Maximilian Kern. Stuttgart: Union Deutsche Verlagsgesellschaft. 1922.

Christentum und Buddhismus im Ringen um Fernasien. Von Joh. B. Aufhauser. Bonn: Kurt Schroeder. 1922.

Die ostasiatischen Kulturreligionen. Von J. Witte. Wissenschaft und Bildung Band 178. Leipzig: Quelle und Meyer. M. 42. 1922.

The contents of Kern's book are summed up fairly comprehensively in the sub-title—The Outlook on Life of the Peoples of Middle and Farther Asia (India, China and Japan) as influencing Religious and Social Life, Art and Science. In order to present to educated readers in an inclusive but easily understood form the strange and yet extraordinarily attractive civilizations of southern and eastern Asia, Kern has collaborated with a number of scholars, most of them young men, such as Professors Gundert, Dr Olpp, Dr W. Hauer and Dr W. Oehler. The authors carefully refrain from undue exaltation of the glories of past centuries, yet they do not through lack of knowledge depreciate them. Each essay forms a short monograph in itself—the Vedic religion, Brahmanism, Hinduism, the period of the Upanishads, Buddhism, the religion of the Jains, etc. The subjects are treated with expert knowledge, yet unwieldy scientific technicalities are omitted. Each department of Asiatic thought is thus brought into review, also art, medicine, natural science and astronomy. Literature, including poetry, is alone omitted, probably in order not to swell the volume to undue dimensions.

The essays by the various authors are naturally not all on the same level; in some one would wish for a more detailed exposition, in others a less exhaustive one would seem sufficient. But on the whole the object has been successfully attained and a brilliant survey is given of Indian, Chinese and Japanese civilization by means, as it were, of a symphony of different themes and composers.

The good style in which the book is produced, and the well-selected, well-produced illustrations contribute largely to the life and colour of the work. It is a book from which every reader will gain.

In *Christentum und Buddhismus im Ringen um Fernasien*, Aufhauser takes us into the same regions of southern and eastern Asia and seeks to present the history of Christian missions in somewhat wider perspective. Two introductory chapters on Christianity and its mission to the world, and on Buddhism and its far-flung propaganda, form the framework for the whole. Two appendices, on 'Buddhism in Europe' (pp. 337 ff.) and 'The Alleged Parallels in the Life of Buddha and Jesus,' are valuable additions. But the third chapter (pp. 78–312) is the kernel of the whole book. It sets forth in seven sections the history of Christian missions from the days of the Apostle Thomas up to the present day in the countries of southern and eastern Asia, including the missions of the Nestorian, Protestant and Greek Orthodox Churches, as well as of the Roman Catholic Church. The immense quantity of matter is ably handled, but while Kern in his book gives the impression that his contributors are dealing with knowledge gained at first-hand, and are living in the conditions described, Aufhauser only gives us what has already been written by others, though it is cleverly collated. And, strange to say, the great problems of the differences between Buddhism and Christianity, which would seem to form the basis of his theme, are hardly touched on by him.

In Dr Witte's monograph, *Die ostasiatischen Kulturreligionen*, the chief concern of the writer has been to take into consideration only what is of primary importance in the religious life of the Far East. By this means he has sought to bring into the foreground the ideas which lie at the root of the religions of Japan and China, to describe the relation of these religions to the social life of the people with which they are closely bound up, and to describe the life which still pulsates in them to-day and which is in conflict with new foreign creeds. The author has, on the whole, succeeded well in carrying through this large programme. Dr Witte, through wide contacts extending over many years, thoroughly conversant with facts regarding the peoples and culture of the Far East, and brought into close personal association with local conditions by means of a tour carried out under auspices most favourable for study, can speak as an authority on the religions of the Far East. The greater part of the small volume is taken up by the religions of China. Here

perhaps one does not altogether agree with the arrangement of the material. Looking comprehensively upon the whole structure of Chinese religion, which is more important—the popular religions with their rank undergrowth of superstition and magic or the 'universismus,' as Professor de Groot called it; the Weltanshauung lying at the base of all thinking in the Far East or the great religious leaders?

The presentation of the subject is easy and attractive, and the broad issues are never lost sight of in dealing with the details.

D. Julius Richter
J. W.

Berlin

THE BOOK OF AN ARAB LEGALIST

Le Livre de l'Impot Foncier (Kitab El-Kharâdj). By Abou Yousof Ya'koub. Traduit et annoté par E. Fagnan. Paris: Librairie Orientaliste, Paul Geuthner. F. 40. 1921.

This volume appears to be the first of what promises to be a most valuable collection. The increasingly close connexion into which France has been brought with Syria in recent years has made her scholars realize the need of a 'collection of monographs dealing with the institutions, religions and arts of the different races that have followed one another in Syria, from the earliest days to modern times.' They have set to work accordingly without delay to create a 'Bibliothèque archéologique et historique du Service des Antiquités de Syrie.' The first-fruits are found in this admirable translation of the work of the famous Qadi Abu Yusuf, consulting lawyer to that Harun-al-Rashid who is known, by name at any rate, to every reader of the *Arabian Nights* as the greatest Khalifa of the early centuries of Islam.

Abu Yusuf, says Dr Macdonald, 'proved himself as complaisant of conscience as a court casuist need be,' and casuistry was no unimportant element in those days when behest and whim alike of the monarch had to be supported by the authority of the Prophet. His lasting claim to fame, however, rests on his popularizing and perpetuating the system of the great legalist Abu Hanifa, who does not appear himself to have worked out his own code to completion or to have left any body of writings, but nevertheless stands out as

the founder of the first and greatest of the four Moslem schools of jurisprudence.

As M. Fagnan says in his Introduction, this book is imperfectly described by the title given to it. It is in point of fact the answer given by the Qadi to a series of questions represented as put to him by the Khalifa on various points, and so forms a kind of memorandum on subjects of a political-administrative nature. This is preceded or rather introduced by a fine sermon on the responsibility of high office, which certainly put the highest ideals of piety and justice before the Khalifa. It is tempting to quote, but it is difficult to select one passage above another.

Apart from this, the chief interest in the book to the average reader centres round the discussion up and down the chapters on the treatment of conquered peoples by the early heroes of Islam. Precedents are quoted and given as the example that should still be followed, and we need not doubt that in the main outline the accounts given are genuinely historical. What light is thrown on the belief still so popular among us that the war-cry was always 'Islam or the Sword'? The facts are not far to seek. Once the Arab hordes had swarmed beyond their own confines, there was but little real proselytizing zeal as we understand it. They went out conquering and to conquer, but leaving their foes at first in possession of their land, on condition of the payment of stipulated taxes. Omar distinctly refused to allot land in Irak and Syria to his warriors, on the ground that the possibility of advance was limited, and the only way to support armies for the defence of frontiers was to leave the original inhabitants and their descendants in possession, and tax them. The case of Arabs, however, was different. The pagans of Arabia were to be fought with the direct object of their conversion; there can be no compromise with them, because the Prophet arose among them, and they rejected him. But even Arabs who are 'people of the Book,' i.e. Jews or Christians, were to be treated like non-Arabs, and allowed to pay the poll-tax.

A vexed question was the right of Jews and Christians to build new synagogues and churches, or to retain those which had been previously built. On this also Abu Yusuf speaks quite definitely. In many cases the people were able to produce documents proving that peace was concluded between them and Abu Bekr, Omar, or whoever it was, on conditions which accepted their right to retain

the sacred buildings, though not to erect new ones. Such treaties are binding till the Resurrection day.

One remark by the translator deserves attention in such a short notice as this. One chapter deals with the treatment of those tribes who accepted conversion ' pour conserver leurs terres et leurs biens.' A footnote says that this translation of the Arabic phrase *aslama'ala* seems to give the true meaning ; though Moslem orthodoxy is unwilling to admit that conversions ever happened for so material an object, and would explain the phrase as meaning ' while preserving.' Abu Yusuf, however, may again be trusted.

R. F. McNeile

Uppingham

A STUDENT'S PHILOSOPHY OF RELIGION

A Student's Philosophy of Religion. By William Kelly Wright, Ph.D. New York : Macmillan. $3.75. London : Hodder & Stoughton. 20s. 1922.

This is an excellent volume for the purpose for which it is offered. It has a wide scope, but the treatment is thoroughly competent. ' Religion,' writes the author, ' is the endeavour to secure the conservation of socially recognized values through specific actions that are believed to evoke some agency different from the ordinary ego of the individual, or from other merely human beings, and that imply a feeling of dependence upon this agency ' (p. 47). In the first part he deals with Religion and the Conservation of Values. Here ' the mental states and outward behaviour of individual persons, and groups of persons when they have religious experiences ' are ' observed quite untechnically.' In the second part, entitled Religion and the Self, there is offered ' a more technical explanation of such processes in the language of modern psychology.' The third part seeks a solution of the metaphysical problem, the Relation of Religion and Reality. ' The Philosophy of Religion,' says Dr Wright, ' considers the truth of religion, what is the ultimate significance of its practices and beliefs in an interpretation of the world as a whole.' The first part covers the ground of anthropology, history of religions, and the comparative study of religions, for here the author gives an account of the lowest forms of religion, discusses the main features of Brahmanism, Buddhism, the religions of Greece

and Rome, Judaism and Christianity, and compares the religions in respect of the values which they conserve. The second applies modern 'psychological conceptions' to such topics as 'the religious sentiment,' 'prayer' and 'mysticism.' In the third part the philosophy of theism is all too briefly developed. A teleological and not mechanical view of the world is preferred; the evidence for the existence of God is reviewed; the nature of God with special reference to the problem of evil is defined; and the two postulates of the practical reason, according to Kant, freedom and immortality, are vindicated.

Familiar as all this ground is to me, I have read the whole volume through with unflagging interest; for those who enter on the study for the first time it ought to be most attractive. The opinions of others are stated with appreciation and the author's own with modesty. The knowledge is adequate, and the judgment competent. The style is good, and the tone admirable. It can be heartily commended as one of the best books on the subject, and as covering more ground than most books of the kind. It is not necessary that I should discuss the points on which I find myself in disagreement with the author; but I may indicate three.

(1) I cannot accept his definition of religion, as it seems to me that religion is itself a value in man's communion with God, his highest good.

(2) While he writes from the avowedly Christian standpoint, he could, I think, without any undue partiality express his estimate of its superiority with less reserve. The personality of Jesus seems to mean less to him than it does to me. His advice to Jews to remain in their ancestral faith I could not give.

(3) My mind cannot rest in his conception of a finite God; and it is when he is dealing with theology that he seems to me not as qualified to offer a judgment as on the other questions of which he treats.

This indication of difference of opinion is not to be taken as in any way detracting from the cordial commendations which I give to this volume.

Alfred E. Garvie

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TALES OF BENGAL

TALES OF BENGAL. By SITA and SANTA CHATTERJEE. With an Introduction by E. J. THOMPSON.

SRIKANTA. By SARATCHANDRA CHATTERJI. Translated by K. C. SEN and THEODOSIA THOMPSON. With an Introduction by E. J. THOMPSON. London: Oxford University Press. Each 3s. 6d. 1922.

BENGALI literature has a history of more than seven centuries. But Bengali prose literature began with the nineteenth century, and was a result of the introduction of printing into Bengal, and the impact of western literature and thought upon the life of the country. Since the days of Rammohan Ray and Carey, the language has steadily developed its capacity as a literary medium, and at the present time Bengali has a literature far more varied and more vigorous than that of any other Indian vernacular. It is therefore not surprising that the first two volumes of the series of translations from Indian vernaculars, to which the Oxford University Press has given the title 'An Eastern Library,' should be translations from Bengali.

It is significant of modern Indian conditions that the publishers have given the first place in the series to a collection of short stories by two ladies, the daughters of Ramananda Chatterjee, the editor of *The Modern Review*, and of *Prabasi*, the leading Bengali monthly magazine. Since 1917 both these ladies have been writing serials and short stories for *Prabasi*, and Sita Devi has published in *The Modern Review* English translations of her own and her sister's Bengali stories.

The stories in this volume have been translated or adapted by the writers themselves from Bengali tales, most if not all of which have already appeared in *Prabasi*. They have inevitably lost some of their charm in translation, for neither of the sisters is as much at home in English as in Bengali; but the reader who is prepared to make due allowance for this will find the book a most valuable picture of certain phases of modern Bengali life. All the stories, with a single exception, are variations of one theme, the readjustment of the relations of the sexes which is inevitable in India under modern conditions. It is impossible for the young educated Bengali of to-day, whether man or woman, to accept without criticism all the old Bengali ideas of marriage and the customs regulating it. Exactly what modifications are desirable, and how much change is

immediately possible without undue risk to the stability of society, are questions to which this book does not attempt an answer. But the evil results, both for the individual and for the community, of many old ideas and practices are clearly and skilfully set forth. It is well that this should have been done by two Bengali ladies, who cannot be charged, as European observers have been, and that often quite justly, with racial bias or imperfect understanding. Even as it is, there may be some Hindus who will point out that these ladies, being members of the Brahmo Somaj, have not acquired their knowledge of the Hindu community from personal experience but as observers from the outside.

Whatever force there may be in this criticism (and there does not seem to be really very much), no such objection can be taken to the description of Hindu social life by Saratchandra Chatterji in his *Srikanta*, a translation of the first part of which forms the second volume in this series. Saratchandra is undoubtedly the greatest Bengali novelist since Bankim, and his books are admitted by Hindus throughout Bengal to be extremely faithful pictures of Bengali life to-day. He does not criticize ; he describes, and with a ruthless realism. His sketches of the lordly *sadhu*, the pseudo-sportsman *rajkumar*, the snake-charmer, Rajlakshmi the *Baiji*, and the dare-devil Indra, should be read by all who wish to see modern Bengali society as a Bengali sees it.

The story is in the form of an autobiography, and describes the youthful adventures of Srikanta, a wayward, impulsive lad whom none of his relatives understand. It is to be hoped that the second and third parts which continue the story of his life may also be translated in due course. The translators have done their work well on the whole, though one wishes that they had allowed themselves a little more freedom so that the result would not have been quite so obviously a translation.

Both these books deserve to be carefully studied by missionaries. It is to be feared that very few indeed among modern missionaries have either the leisure or the practical command of Bengali which would enable them to keep abreast of modern Bengali literature. This is regrettable, for it is through this literature that one may best learn to understand the mind of the people. But no missionary can say that he has not the time to read these two little English books. One may be permitted to hope that missionaries who read them will realize that they cannot afford to neglect Bengali literature,

and will set themselves, at whatever cost, to study it, as it deserves to be studied, not in translations but in the original.

W. Sutton Page

School of Oriental Studies, London

THE KAREN PEOPLE OF BURMA

The Karen People of Burma: A Study in Anthropology and Ethnology. By Harry Ignatius Marshall. Columbus: Ohio State University. Cloth, $5.60; paper, $4. 1922.

The Karen are one of the most interesting people of all the races and tribes of the Indian Empire. The story of their migrations, their traditions, their customs and their wonderful response to Christianity is of surpassing interest as related in *The Karen People of Burma* by Mr Harry I. Marshall, who has lived in their hilltop villages, knows their language and for more than twenty years as a missionary of the American Baptist Foreign Mission Society has had a most intimate acquaintance with them.

The Karen are a group of Indo-Chinese tribes living in Burma, the easternmost province of the Indian Empire, and in the adjoining country of Siam. Their traditions clearly indicate that the early home of the people was in the hills and mountains of Yunnan in south-western China. Although in the early days the Karen had no written language a large quantity of bard literature was handed down verbally from generation to generation. This literature comprises hundreds of tales, legends and mythical stories.

Three distinct religious conceptions have left their impress on the Karen. The first is the belief in an all-pervasive impersonal force defined as ' a certain more or less unknown force believed to be all about and which cannot be overcome.' The second religious conception is animistic. The effort of the Karen to keep on good terms with these evil spirits consumes a large part of their time and thought. The third conception is embodied in the Y-wa legend which tells of the placing of the first parents in the garden by Y-wa, the creator, and their being tempted to eat of the forbidden fruit by a serpent or dragon. This story closely resembles the Biblical narrative and it has exercised a strong influence upon the Karen people. While it did not supplant the ancient animism of the tribes, accompanied

as it was by the prophecy of the return of the White Brother with the Lost Sacred Book, it inspired the Karen with the hope of a better future and furnished a remarkable foundation for the reception of Christianity.

No account of the Karen people would be complete without recognizing the wonderful influence Christianity has had among them. Mr Marshall writes :

> If one were planning to start a movement to transform the life and religion of a race, one would not be expected to choose a savage bandit—a cut-throat who had taken part in the murder of at least thirty persons—to promote his enterprise. But such was the first Karen, under the providence of God, whom Dr Adoniram Judson, the founder of the American Baptist Mission, undertook to teach. Dr Judson purchased this man, Ko Tha Byu, who was about to be sold into slavery in payment for a debt, in the hope of gaining access to the Karen, of whom he had hitherto had only fleeting glimpses. Notwithstanding the fact that the bandit was then in middle life, seemed to be hopelessly stupid, and yielded at times to his diabolical temper, Dr Judson was rewarded for his months of patient effort in trying to teach this most unpromising pupil by seeing his mind begin to open. Ko Tha Byu became eager to learn and gained the ability to read the Burmese Bible. His whole life underwent a gradual transformation. When the Rev. George D. Boardman went to Tavoy for the purpose of establishing a mission station, he took Dr Judson's pupil with him, and baptized him there on May 16, 1828. In this obscure way was begun the movement that has resulted in the remarkable growth of Christianity among the Karen.

Immediately after his baptism, Ko Tha Byu visited the villages, telling the Karens that their age-old tradition had been fulfilled, which said that ' one day their long-absent White Brother would return to them from across the great waters bringing the Lost Book, which they had looked for with unabated expectation.' Delegations of Karen elders from the jungle villages returned with Ko Tha Byu to Tavoy to see the White Brother and listen to his teaching. The Christian movement among the Karen grew to such proportions that it attracted the attention of the Burmese authorities and many Karen were persecuted and imprisoned. From the day of the recovery of their Lost Book the Christian community has grown steadily until it now numbers more than two hundred thousand. These Karen Christians contribute annually for Christian purposes more than $125,000 ; they have their own home and foreign mission

societies, and are sending their own Karen missionaries to the more backward tribes in Burma and across the border in China. 'It is not often,' says Mr D. M. Smeaton, late Chief Commissioner of Burma, 'that one witnesses such a remarkable development of national character as has taken place among the Karen under the influence of Christianity and good government.' Another observer adds: 'Where only a few years ago were tribal wars, child-stealing, house-burning and savagery, now there are quiet, orderly villages, each with its preacher, teacher, chapel and school.' Mr Marshall expresses his conviction that the future of the Karen can best be served, not by their living apart and seeking special advantages but in their forgetting racial differences and throwing themselves wholeheartedly into the life of Burma, thus raising not themselves alone but their neighbours the Burmans to a higher level. In this way the Karen will find themselves, and contribute to the growth and progress of a country that is capable of untold advancement.

The University of Ohio is to be commended for adding to their contributions in History and Political Science this volume, which with its climactic story of the Gospel triumphant among the Karen people, a miracle of modern missions, will commend itself especially to those interested in anthropology, ethnology, and the broader aspects of the foreign missionary enterprise.

J. C. Robbins

New York, U.S.A.

IN COILLARD'S COUNTRY

Barotseland: Eight Years among the Barotse. By D. W. Stirke, late Native Commissioner of Northern Rhodesia. London: Bale, Sons & Danielsson. 21s. 1922.

In a brief compass this book gives an interesting picture of a tribe in Northern Rhodesia. It is one of the services which a Commissioner can do for science, to set down before it is too late his discoveries of native customs. The present book makes no pretence to be a complete treatise, such as the work on *The Ila-Speaking Peoples*, but it will be of value to students of ethnology, and it is enriched by a long chapter by Sir Harry Johnston, who describes out of his vast knowledge the character of the tribe and its dwelling-place by the Zambezi.

Perhaps the author has intentionally set bounds to himself

which he must not pass over, and therefore has not dealt with the mission which was begun by François Coillard. But to study Barotseland without any reference to the French missionaries would be like the attempt to write the story of the Samoan Islands without any reference to the London mission. Barotseland, as its present chief, Litia, has confessed, owes everything to the French mission. It may well be that the ex-Commissioner feels he must not discuss such matters. But those who have read Coillard's journals or M. Favre's *Life*, or the delightful books of Miss Mackintosh, will be conscious that they are finding the background of a story in which the leading figures are unseen. It would be possible and even easy for a reader who had only this book on the subject to think that the Christian Church had done little or nothing for these Zambezians, whereas it has given to them its best. This would not be so worthy of attention if it were not common. When a book sets out to deal with a limited phase of life among a primitive people, there is no ground for complaint if the mission is ignored; but this book, though brief, has a fairly wide range; and it would not have been necessary to 'drag in' the name of Coillard, without question one of the makers of Barotseland, as well as its greatest apostle.

Those who believe that missionaries paint the native character in too dark colours should be referred to books like this; they will find a much more realistic account of native customs here than they will in Coillard's journals; they will be able to understand in detail what Coillard meant by 'the slough.' In this way modern students of missions owe a considerable debt to scientific observers of native life.

There is a tribute paid by the author and by Sir Harry Johnston to the great chief Lewanika; all witnesses are agreed that he was in his later years a social reformer, and a very valuable aid to the administration. But it is a little curious to read that after his return to the chieftainship in the seventies, from which he had been driven for a short while, 'he showed great clemency, and pardoned most of the rebels.' Coillard tells the story of those days, and certainly gives no picture of great clemency; it is possible, however, that on his return after the first outburst of revenge, Lewanika showed more clemency than was usual; but repeatedly in those early days he confessed he was 'a man of blood.' He lived to old age, and it may be that from his memories of the past he selected the records of his merciful acts.

It only remains to say that the book gives a copiously illustrated and first-hand description of a part of Rhodesia little known to most readers, and it is planned in a discursive but interesting fashion, and written in a cheerful style.

EDWARD SHILLITO

LONDON

CHRISTIANITY IN THE NEW HEBRIDES

MIDST VOLCANIC FIRES: An Account of Missionary Tours among the Volcanic Islands of the New Hebrides. By MAURICE FRATER. London: James Clarke. 6s. 1922.

THE greater part of this book is taken up with the record of events in connexion with a tour through the islands of Epi, Paama and Ambrim, undertaken by the late Rev. J. B. Weir and the author, for the purpose of encouraging the nominal Christian communities in fighting their 'twin vices of lust and indolence.' A preliminary chapter tells most vividly the story of the volcanic eruption in 1913, during which the mission hospital on the island of Ambrim disappeared, and its site was covered by a lagoon twelve fathoms deep. Other chapters tell the story of how Paama was won for Christianity, and its subsequent history is given. The narrative is vivid. Glimpses of the people of the New Hebrides, of interest because of their connexion with the names of Williams and Paton, are given, not only in contact with the conflicting ideals of Britain and France in their treatment of native peoples, and as subjects of missionary endeavour, but in their relation to the problems of anthropology. Matters of scientific interest are not treated systematically, but materials that contribute towards such a study frequently emerge. Mr Frater, missionary of the John G. Paton Mission Fund, writes with the advantage of twenty years' residence in these islands.

An impression obtains in some quarters that the introduction of Christianity among the heathen peoples of the South Seas has resulted in moral deterioration and a tragic loss of physical vitality. There is another side of this question.

Before Christianity came, war, anarchy and bloodshed were the normal conditions. Sometimes whole villages were exterminated. Pity for unfortunate people did not exist, these were the lawful prey of the strong. Cannibalism was prevalent. No restraint of

shame put a stay to disgusting and destructive vices. This has been changed. Among those who retain the heathen practices there still lurks danger, but this is from resentment against unworthy treatment at the hands of white people. On the other hand, Christianity, which in some cases is coextensive with tribal life, has become a vital element in the life of the people. It has been found possible to retain 'the fun and movement' of native life, while 'the silent leavening of the tribal life with Christian thought and ideals' has proceeded. The policy of the missionaries in the New Hebrides has been to interfere as little as possible with native customs, unless these are radically bad. The problems they face to-day are for the most part the problems of government officials also. The dual government of Britain and France, which in the opinion of Mr Frater is a failure, adds to the difficulties. Most native Christians show a disposition to cut themselves apart from heathen customs. When a whole community embraces Christianity very often the old location is left and a new village established. The people desire to get away from the associations of witchcraft and idolatry. Still the call of the wild is a danger not remote. Superstitions linger after the ritual of these has been left. Some of the younger natives who have not known all the ugliness of heathenism desire to return to the ways of their fathers. The fact is that with the passing of the first enthusiasm of the Christian life they are faced with the knowledge that the upward climb to moral and spiritual power is difficult. The native allurements to laziness and vice have to be fought. 'The Christian life, they find, is not one of ease but of conflict.'

It would be a joy, did space permit, to make extracts concerning those who have willingly given their life for the good of these people, and natives whose career places them on the calendar of the saints. The future of the Christianity of the New Hebrides is with the native leaders, and this book is an inspiration for those who have faith that what has been well begun will continue, until the consummation of a native autonomous Church is reached.

There should be a great demand for this stimulating record of missionary adventure.

J. C. Mantripp

Chelmsford

RELIGIOUS EDUCATION IN A MISSION COLLEGE

RELIGION IN ITS PURITY AND ITS POWER. By T. W. GARDNER. Madras and London: Christian Literature Society for India. 14 as. 1s. 4d. 1922.

FIFTEEN ADDRESSES TO STUDENTS. By J. S. HOYLAND. Printed for private circulation. Copies obtainable from J. Taylor, 96 Beadon Street, Calcutta. 8 as. 1923.

THESE two small volumes issue from the Hislop College in Nagpur, and are addressed to Indian students. Mr Gardner's book consists of a series of ten studies, in which an attempt is made to show what light the teaching and example of Jesus Christ throw upon certain present-day problems such as the place of authority and tradition in religion, the relation between religion and politics, the value of nationalism, the treatment of the outcaste. Two points of view emerge from these studies. The first is that religion as exemplified in the life and teaching of Jesus was pure—from traditionalism, from legalism, from exclusiveness, from nationalism, from politics. The second point of view is that religion as seen in Jesus is an endowment of personal power. 'In His case it raised character to a pitch of unexampled vigour and influence. In the strength of it He overcame all the deadening things in life—disease, spiritual inertia, sin, death.' Mr Gardner's exegesis of particular passages is occasionally open to criticism, and he sometimes bases his deductions upon too slender a foundation of evidence; but he penetrates to the heart of Christ's teaching with an unfailing intuition and makes convincingly vivid the universality of its application.

Mr Hoyland's fifteen addresses preserve the colloquial style and the warm personal appeal of the form in which they were originally delivered. All who are themselves engaged in teaching college students in India will find them peculiarly suggestive and useful. It is never altogether easy for the educational missionary to decide what line to follow in his religious instruction to non-Christian students. Is he to proclaim boldly the whole faith that is in him, to 'declare the whole counsel of God'? Or is he to reserve this rather for Christians, and in the case of non-Christians to confine his teaching mainly to such ethical and theistic principles as will win general acceptance from his hearers? In any teaching he gives about Christ, shall he restrict himself to the picture of the Master in the synoptic gospels, or shall he lead his pupils on to the Christology of St Paul and St John? Again, how far is he to endeavour to over-

turn the religious preconceptions of those whom he addresses, either by a direct attack upon them, or, indirectly, by showing their relation to the Christian teaching which he is giving? Such questions have been always with us, but they gain a new urgency from the demand for a conscience clause in schools.

There is no doubt about the answer which Mr Hoyland would have us give to such questions. It is evident from these addresses that he at least believes unfalteringly that we should be false to our trust and unfair to those whom we instruct unless we endeavoured to share with them the best and richest things of our own Christian experience. Starting from the conception of incarnation, as one which appeals more readily to a Hindu than to a western mind, he urges his hearers to see in Jesus Christ 'the unique and ultimate incarnation of God,' and goes on in subsequent addresses to press home this basal theme through the exposition of such topics as 'The Ideal of God,' 'The Ideal of Manhood in Jesus Christ,' 'The Living Christ,' 'The Death of Christ,' 'Release and Salvation.' Yet this outspokenness, we believe, would arouse no irritation in his hearers' minds but would rather be welcomed by them, and that for two reasons.

In the first place, Mr Hoyland's teaching is always constructive, always positive. He never attacks Hindu beliefs, though occasionally stating that he dissents from them. His addresses are simply a constructive presentation of Christianity at its best—and what is Christianity at its best but Christ? 'All I want to do is to help you to fall in love with the most lovable and lovely personality in history'—that is the one theme. Jesus Christ, once truly seen, is irresistible—that is the conviction which inspires all these addresses. In the second place, this positive teaching proceeds from a mind and heart brimming over with love for the students and inspired by a very real and practical sympathy with their outlook and ideals. It is because Mr Hoyland has so largely identified himself in daily life with the students he addresses that he can be sure of a sympathetic hearing when he urges them to be 'Christ-lovers, Christ-worshippers, Christ's own men.'

J. C. Winslow

Christ-Seva-Sangh Ashram,
Junnar

MISSIONS THEN AND NOW

THE APOSTOLIC AGE. By WM. BANCROFT HILL, D.D. New York: Revell. $2. 1922.

THIS volume by the Professor of Biblical Literature in Vassar College, who has, as he himself states, a 'somewhat intimate acquaintance with foreign missions,' is dedicated to 'the noble band of foreign missionaries in many lands to-day who reproduce the Apostolic Age.' His object is to link together the missions of that age and our own by showing their essential likeness. 'Much that to the scholar in his study seems inexplicable' is clear, he thinks, to the practical modern missionary; while the latter in his turn may find a solution to his difficulties by studying the Acts and Epistles. But his book ought to appeal to a wider circle than he seems to anticipate. It will give the ordinary reader a fresh view of the extreme interest of the New Testament writings, and should send him back to the sacred pages with quickened eagerness to read them as not merely inspired for his spiritual profit, but giving him the contemporary history of a great epoch to which the civilized world owes much that it now values most. We could imagine, not a scholar, but a person of average education, after reading some of these chapters, turning to his Bible, finding there the outline of what he has just found so interesting, and exclaiming again and again, 'Well, I never saw that before.' Not that Dr Hill indulges his imagination unduly; but he can read between the lines of the sacred narratives and see what is almost necessarily implied. He shows again and again what must almost certainly have occurred in periods which St Luke in the Acts passes over with a few words, for instance in the first ten years of St Paul's Christian career and in the three years at Ephesus, the two years at Cæsarea and the two years at Rome. The closing chapters are excellent.

Dr Hill takes, upon the whole, the conservative view of the questions of authorship, etc. The Pastoral Epistles were St Paul's, and St John wrote the Revelation, the Fourth Gospel and the three Epistles. He gives shortly the chief arguments on various sides, and then modestly avows his acceptance of the older conclusions.

EUGENE STOCK

BOURNEMOUTH

A CHAPLAIN AND HIS FRIENDS

THE SEA GYPSIES OF MALAYA. By WALTER GRAINGE WHITE. With a Foreword by R. R. MARETT, D.Sc., F.R.A.I. Illus. and Map. London: Seeley, Service. 21s. 1922.

THIS is a book of much interest and some significance. It introduces us to the Mawken, the little-known nomadic sea-gypsies who inhabit the Mergui Archipelago which lies along the south-eastern coast of Burma where it merges into Malaya. These people have the delightful similarities and unexpectednesses which always reveal themselves to the sympathetic observer of simple uncivilized folk. One alternately envies the author as a privileged investigator, and congratulates oneself on sharing his experiences only from a reviewer's chair.

The real significance of the book is not to be found, however, in its curious and intimate description of Mawken life, nor in the wealth of amateur but conscientious anthropological research which has won an appreciative and notable Foreword from Professor Marett. It lies rather in the light which is thrown on the missionary opportunities of a man who was not a 'professional' missionary, but a chaplain who had no concern with the Mawken, no assigned duty regarding them save what was common to all Christian men.

It is a fine story of genuine human sympathy—the root, as Professor Marett tells us, of true anthropological work. We read how the first Mawken were seen and followed to their island haunts; how repeated attempts to make friends with them succeeded through the good offices of a picturesque Chinese, U Schwe by name, who traded for pearls with the Mawken—his courteous services are acknowledged in a prefatory note; how knowledge of the largely unexplored language was gained by inducing a Mawken man, called Nbai, to come and actually live with the chaplain at Maulmein; how the government census was taken in a sketchy but highly picturesque fashion, by virtue of the chaplain's knowledge of the ways of the shy and fugitive sea-gypsies—all these things hold our interest until the author, his term of service being over, is abruptly transferred to a chaplaincy in British Guiana, and the Mawken are left watching vainly for his return. The book gives, in short, a charming picture of the contact of a civilized man with uncivilized folk and of the mutual advantages which such contact ensures. Professor Marett wonders which of the two learned the most. The

worth-whileness of getting to know all about everyone you meet is proved. A deeper note even than this is not lacking in the story of Nbai. Through living with the chaplain at Maulmein the sea-gypsy learned to exercise self-discipline and proved how effectually he had found his manhood by breaking the opium habit which had bound him. When by moral force he overawed the magician whose rites had power to frighten Mawken men and women to death he did it, so the chaplain avers with 'honest conviction,' 'not in his own unaided strength.'

The book is so simple as to be almost artless here and there. Yet perhaps enough has been written to justify the opinion that readers will find 'much interest and some significance' in Mr White's record of his sea-gypsy friends.

G. A. Gollock

Wimbledon

SHORTER NOTICES

Directory of Christian Missions in India, Burma and Ceylon (1922). Compiled by Jas. Inglis and A. McLeish. (Ajmer: Scottish Mission Industries Co. London: L.M.S. 3s. 6d.) This Directory, which under another title has been a valued ally for some twenty years, has suddenly risen into a new region of service. It has become, through the ready co-operation of every one of the 163 missionary societies now at work in India, and the broad outlook, skilful adaptation and unsparing industry of its editors, a highly valuable handbook to India as a mission field. It shows the extent to which areas are occupied; the distribution of workers not merely under missions but in census divisions and districts; it gives a tabular statement of all institutions undertaking economic, educational, evangelistic, medical and philanthropic work; and offers, of course, a complete index to the names and addresses of workers. An hour spent on actual use of the book shows the ease with which its resources become available. Attention should be directed not to the detailed information, which is already in part out of date, but to the permanent principles of missionary survey which it illustrates. We cordially endorse the view expressed by Mr McLeish when, as convener of the Committee of Survey and Occupation, in presenting the volume to the National Christian Council of India he urged that there is an immediate need for the adoption by the home boards of

uniform statistical forms, which shall become the basis of annual returns not only for each society but for all purposes of intermission and international survey work.

Education for Christian Service. By Members of the Faculty of the Divinity School of Yale University. (New Haven: Yale University Press. $3. 1922.) This fine centennial volume reproduces well the spirit and method of a divinity school in which 3618 men have studied in a hundred years and from which 250 have gone to the foreign field as missionaries. The chapters deal with ministerial training, the study of the Bible (4), theology and science, training in worship, the bearing of æsthetic consciousness on religious education, church history and progress, the theological seminary and foreign missions, the educational service of the Christian Churches in the twentieth century and the study of Christian evangelism. The book is a worthy record of the high ideals of a great university.

Between the Lines in Asia Minor. By Mary Caroline Holmes. (New York: Revell. $1.50. 1923.) On the conclusion of the Armistice in 1918, Miss Holmes went from New York to Urfa in Asia Minor as a leading worker in Near East Relief. There, in the midst of the turmoil of changing governments and through the sixty-three days' siege of the French by the Turkish Nationalists, she cared for a great family of 1200 orphans until in 1921 she was able to convoy them safely into Syria. This keen and courageous woman, with penetrating insight and a delightful glint of humour, made a home centre for British, American and French officers in turn, and fearlessly faced the Turkish authorities, gaining her point again and again. The brisk directness with which the record of events is written does not hide the womanly tenderness which made service in the midst of suffering and homeless refugees a tremendous cost. Miss Holmes has given us one of the best chapters in the history of the heroism of American women in the Near East.

Daughters from Afar. By Rose White. (London: Partridge. 2s. 6d. 1923.) *Up Against Odds.* By C. I. Davidson. (London: C.E.Z.M.S. 2s. 1923.) These two volumes, the former centring round a Wesleyan women's home for those rescued from lives of peril, the latter based on the work of Church of England zenana missionaries, open the way into the secret places of Indian homes. Full of the drama of real life, shot through with love and sensitive

sympathy, both books gain in effectiveness from the absence of direct appeal. The Indian girls and women, infinite in variety of character and circumstance, speak for themselves. But all unconsciously on the writers' part, the figures of the women missionaries in the background are scarcely less attractive, with their self-effacing service and exhaustless love. Miss White's stories for the most part have happy endings; Miss Davidson's tell in the main of defeat as life after life passes out into the dark. But the books are equally sources of inspiration and of hope, even if it be hope deferred. These volumes, and many others like them, are needed for the missionary education of the home Church. G. A. G.

G. A. Selwyn, D.D., Bishop of New Zealand and Lichfield. By Louise Creighton. (London: Longmans, Green. 5s. 1923.) This small book of Mrs Creighton's is based chiefly on the large *Memoir* of Bishop Selwyn, published in 1879. Such a book is welcome at all times and to everyone as a record of exceptional missionary enterprise. But this has a special additional value for the Anglican Communion because of the success attained in founding the Colonial Church of New Zealand. Consecrated bishop in the year 1841 at the early age of thirty-two, Bishop Selwyn was entrusted with the difficult task of framing a constitution for a Church into which the earlier missionaries had gathered many converts, and at a time when settlers were wrestling with the Maoris for the ownership of land. His task included the re-adjustment of relations between the colonial Churches and the British Government, and called for a man of spirit and of large dimension who would proceed on sound and fearless lines. Mrs Creighton tells lucidly how he accomplished his work aided by other men like to himself in spirit and self-sacrifice, notably John Patteson, the gifted Bishop of Melanesia who was murdered in 1871. Bishop Selwyn's itinerations in New Zealand and his long voyages in the little sailing vessel, which he navigated himself, to islands previously unvisited or to those made dangerous by the malpractices of traders, might be taken to imply that he was a man who knew no fear. But he was naturally nervous. It was the higher quality of moral courage which enabled him to face undauntedly the dangers of cannibal islands, the clash of Maori battlefields, materialism in settlers, vested interests and abuses in the Church's life—in fact any situation in which he could be the champion of what was right and true.

Persian Sketches. By the Right Rev. J. H. Linton, D.D., Bishop in Persia. With a foreword by Brigadier-General Sir Percy Sykes, K.C.I.E., etc. (London: C.M.S. 2s. 6d. 1923.) Bishop Linton produces his vivid sketches from two portfolios: the first supplies those lighter and more adventurous scenes in Persian life which are associated with travel; the second, scenes of the interior life such as can be drawn only by one who knows the people and their ways. The book has a substantial as well as a picturesque value, and unlike many books of its class it can be turned to for purposes of reference. It bears the stamp of accurate observation and generous appreciation. Bishop Linton's attitude to Persia is endorsed by Sir Percy Sykes who has spent a generation in the land. Touching on the progressive movements now visible, Bishop Linton says that Persia is pinning her faith for the future to the schools and makes this a plea that the Christian Church should strengthen its educational work. The sketch on social conditions gives brief, incisive facts concerning the prevalence of venereal disease, tuberculosis and opium smoking, and also about industrial conditions with special reference to the labour of little children. With skilful touch Bishop Linton outlines the faith of a Persian and shows the sincerity needed in the attitude of the Christian towards it.

African Idylls: Portraits and Impressions of Life on a Central African Mission Station. By Donald Fraser, D.D. (London: Seeley, Service. 6s. 1923.) To secure the full picture-value of each of the sketches in this volume it should, as was originally the case, be set in the frame-work of some newspaper or magazine where to his utter refreshment the reader would come upon it and suddenly find himself—in Africa. No skill less than that of Dr Donald Fraser could so well interpret the whole African scene, its animals and vegetation, its colour and its climate, its humour and its tragedy, its fellowship and fears. The volume, like others which Dr Fraser has given us, has a message which runs far across the border of missionary circles. M. C. G.

INTERNATIONAL MISSIONARY BIBLIOGRAPHY

In the preparation of the bibliography the Editors have the advantage of the co-operation of M. le Pasteur Allégret (Paris), Professor Harlan P. Beach, D.D. (Yale), Mr Marshall Broomhall (London), Rev. W. A. Crabtree (London), J. N. Farquhar, D.Litt. (Calcutta), Professor Arthur Jeffery, Ph.D. (American University, Cairo), Professor H. M. van Nes, D.D. (Leiden), Rev. Frank Rawlinson, D.D. (Shanghai), Professor Kenneth Saunders (Berkeley, Cal.), Rev. Fr. Schepelern (Denmark), Missionsinspektor Dr M. Schlunk (Hamburg), Eugene Stock, D.C.L. (London), Missionsdirektor M. Tarkkanen (Helsingsfors), Rev. S. H. Wainright, D.D. (Tokyo), Rev. Martin Westling (Stockholm), Canon A. Lukyn Williams, D.D. (Cambridge).

While the bibliography is concerned primarily with missionary literature, published matter on other subjects closely related to the progress of Christianity is included when it is of exceptional value.

Entries of magazine articles are distinguished by †.

Abbreviations of magazine titles are explained on p. 480.

Annotations in the bibliography do not preclude a subsequent review.

MAIN HEADINGS OF THE BIBLIOGRAPHY

I. History
II. Missionary Biography
III. The Home Base
IV. The Mission Fields
V. Works of Reference
VI. Theory and Principles of Missions
VII. The Training and Qualifications of Missionaries
VIII. Missionary Methods
IX. The Church in the Mission Field
X. Comity, Co-operation and Unity
XI. Christianity and the Non-Christian Religions
XII. Social and Political Relations of Missions
XIII. Hortatory and Practical
XIV. New Missionary Magazines
XV. Missionary Education Publications

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Sketch of missionary experience in Halmahera.

TAGEBUCHBLÄTTER AUS BORNEO. Rosa Kühnle Degeler. 100 S. Stuttgart: E.M.V. 1923. *365.*
Feine Einführung in die neu begonnene Arbeit der Baseler Mission in Borneo.

See also *461* (Medical); *479* (Religion); *504* (Religious Rite); *518* (Malay Press).

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CHAITANYA AND HIS AGE. Ramtanu Lahiri Fellowship Lectures for the years 1919 and 1921. Rai Bahadur Dinesh Chandra Sen. xxviii+425 pp. Calcutta: University Press. 1923. *366.*

THE COMMENTARY OF FATHER MONSERRATE, S.J., ON HIS JOURNEY TO THE COURT OF AKBAR. Translated from the Latin by J. S. Hoyland, Hislop College, Nagpur, and annotated by S. N. Banerjee, Patiala. lxviii+322 pp. Calcutta and London: Oxford University Press. R. 6.8. 9s. 1922. *367.*
This document, now for the first time translated into English, throws a good deal of light on the Emperor Akbar and his time.

YOUNG INDIA, 1919–1922. With a brief Sketch of the Non-Co-operation Movement by Babu Rajendra Prasad. Mahatma Gandhi. Appendix. lxiv+1199 pp. Madras: Ganesan. R. 4. 1922. *368.*

LINGUISTIC SURVEY OF INDIA. Sir George Abraham Grierson, K.C.I.E. Vol. XI. Gipsy Languages. viii+213 pp. Calcutta: Government Printing. 9s. 9d. 1923. *369.*

THE COINS OF INDIA. C. J. Brown. The Heritage of India Series. Plates. 120 pp. Calcutta: Association Press. R. 1.8. London: Oxford University Press. 2s. 6d. 1922. *370.*

LANDS OF THE THUNDERBOLT, SIKKIM, CHUMBI AND BHUTAN. Earl of Ronaldshay. xvii+267 pp. London: Constable. 16s. 1923. *371.*

THE SIKHS OF THE PUNJAB. R. E. Parry. Bibliography. 128 pp. London: Dranes. 5s. 1923. *372.*

THE WEALTH AND WELFARE OF THE PUNJAB: Being some Studies in Punjab Rural Economics. H. Calvert, B.Sc. 224 pp. Lahore: Civil & Military Gazette Press. R. 6.10. 1922. *373.*

†AGRICULTURAL EDUCATION IN INDIA. W. Burns. HF, 1923 (Apr.), 129–38. *374.*

†LES MOPLAHS DU SUD DE L'INDE. L. Bouval. *Revue du Monde Musulman*, 1921 (Oct.), 65–92. *375.*

†RELIGIÖSE GRENZVERSCHIEBUNGEN IN BRITISCH INDIEN. Julius Richter. AMZ, 1923 (Apr.), 105–13. *376.*

†THE SOUTH-INDIAN SYRIAN CHRISTIANS: A Glance at their History, Characteristics and Potentialities. W. S. Hunt. CMR, 1923 (Mar.), 22–8. *377.*

†THE MISSIONARY SIGNIFICANCE OF THE LAST TEN YEARS. VII. IN INDIA. Garfield H. Williams. IRM, 1923 (July), 321–44. *378.*

†THE NATIONAL MISSIONARY COUNCIL. The Resolution of the National Christian Council. HF, 1923 (Mar.), 85–9; 115–8. *379.*
See also *Young Men of India*, 1923 (Mar.), 119–23, and EW, 1923 (Apr.), 147–54.

†CONFERENCE OF INDIAN CHRISTIANS AT RANCHI, JANUARY 3–8, 1923. B. A. Nag. HF, 1923 (Mar.), 89–95. *380.*

ØSTERLANDS MISSIONEN. Historisk skildret. Förste Del. Missionens Grundläggelse. 256 pp. Köbenhavn: Lohse. Kr. 3. 1923. *381.*

FOLLOWING THE PIONEERS. Joseph C. Robbins, D.D. 162 pp. Philadelphia: Judson Press. $1.50. 1922. *382.*
A story of American Baptist mission work, told by the Foreign Secretary of the Baptist Society after a visit to India and Burma.

UP AGAINST ODDS. C. I. Davidson. 140 pp. London: C.E.Z.M.S. 2s. 1923. *383.*
See review, p. 467.

†DIE ENTWICKLUNG DER INDISCHEN MISSION ASSAM. C. Becker. ZM, 1923 (Feb.), 27–36. *384.*

†A BRIEF HISTORY OF THE YOUNG MEN'S CHRISTIAN ASSOCIATIONS IN INDIA, BURMA AND CEYLON. E. C. Worman. *Young Men of India*, 1922 (Oct.), 552–66; (Nov.), 610–21; (Dec.), 653–70; 1923 (Jan.), 13–25. *385.*

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See review, p. 466.

See also *320* (History); *323, 326* (Biography); *452* (Evangelistic); *455–8* (Education); *462* (Literature); *466–73* (India); *482–90, 507* (Religion); *522* (Sadhu Sundar Singh).

Mohammedan Lands and Work among Moslems

A SHORT HISTORY OF THE NEAR EAST. William Stearns Davis, Ph.D. 408 pp. New York: Macmillan. $3. 1922. *389.*
This book covers a sweep of 16 centuries, from the founding of Constantinople to the present day. It is a creditable and useful history in 3 parts: Christian Constantinople, Early Islam and the Khalifate, and the Turkish period. The concluding pages are scarcely history in the true sense, but they offer a just appraisal of leading events in recent years.

THE NEAR EAST. A Discussion Course for Students. Map. 24 pp. New York: Student Volunteer Movement. 15 cents a copy. 1923. *390.*

LE BOLCHÉVISME ET L'ISLAM. J. Castagné. Tome I. Les Organisations soviétiques en Russie. 254 pp. Tome II. Hors de Russie. xvii+254 pp. Paris: Leroux. Chaque vol. F. 15. 1922. *391.*
Reprinted from *Revue du Monde Musulman*, 1922 (Oct.–Dec.).

LE NOUVEAU MONDE DE L'ISLAM. L. Stoddard. Traduit de l'anglais, par A. Doysié. 320 pp. Paris: Geuthner. F. 10. 1922. *392.*
The original work was reviewed in IRM, 1922 (Jan.), p. 132.

CONSTANTINOPLE TO-DAY. The Pathfinder Survey. A Study of Oriental Life under the Direction of Clarence R. Johnson.

Illus. Maps. 418 pp. New York: Macmillan. $5. 1922. *393.*
A survey of moral and social conditions, undertaken by eight American organizations—missionary, relief and commercial—with a view to furthering the work of reconstruction after the war.

BETWEEN THE LINES IN ASIA MINOR. Mary Caroline Holmes. Illus. 224 pp. New York: Revell. $1.50. 1923. *394.*
See review, p. 467.

†LES KURDES ET LE CHRISTIANISME. B. Nikitine. *Revue de l'Histoire des Religions,* 1922 (Mai-Juin), 147–57. *395.*
Persistance de quelques petites communautés chrétiennes dans le Kurdistan central.

†LA VIE DOMESTIQUE KURDE. B. Nikitine. *Revue d'Ethnographie et des Traditions populaires,* 1922 (No. 4), 334–45. *396.*

†RENSEIGNEMENTS HISTORIQUES SUR LES KORZAKS. R. Majerezati. *Revue du Monde Musulman,* 1921 (Juin), 54–220. *397.*

FROM BERLIN TO BAGDAD. J. A. Zahm, Ph.D. 528 pp. New York: Appleton. $5. 1922. *398.*
Well — even vividly — written. A compendium of information as to the geography, economics, history and politics of the well-beaten route over which the author journeyed. Present-day affairs occupy a minor place. Special interest is shown in Roman Catholic missions and frequent apology offered for them.

L'ARABIE ET LE PROBLÈME ARABE. Louis Massignon. 23 pp. Paris: Giard. F. 2.50. 1922. *399.*

LES BÉDOUINS DE LA MOUVANCE DE DAMAS. Raynaud et Martinet. Cartes. Schémas et Croquis. vii+100 pp. Beyrouth: Imp. du Bur. topographique de l'A.F.L. 1922. *400.*

See also *375* (Moplahs); *453* (Egypt); *487, 491–506* (Religion).

Africa

General

See *475* (Religion).

North Africa

(*from Morocco to Somaliland*)

ARAB MEDICINE AND SURGERY: A Study of the Healing Art in Algeria. M. W. Hilton-Simpson. 96 pp. London: Oxford University Press. 10s. 6d. 1922. *401.*

†A FRENCH HERMIT OF THE SAHARA. J. C. Du Buisson. *Church Quarterly Review,* 1923 (Apr.), 132–46. *402.*

See also *453* (Evangelistic).

West Africa

(*from the Sengal to the Cunene, including the West and Central Sudan*)

†POLYGAMY IN WEST AFRICA. Bishop of Lagos. IRM, 1923 (July), 403–11. *403.*

†POLYGAMY: A Problem in Nigeria. E. T. Pakenham. CMR, 1923 (Mar.), 15–21. *404.*

LE TOGO. 104 pp. Paris: Agence économique de l'Afrique occidentale française. 1922. *405.*
Courte étude géographique et historique.

†CROYANCES ET SUPERSTITIONS DANS LE BAS-DAHOMEY. Solichon. *Bulletin du Comité des Etudes hist. et scient. de l'A.O.F.,* 1922 (Oct.–Déc.). 667–77. *406.*

ROCK-BREAKERS: Kingdom Building in Kongo Land. P. H. J. Lerrigo. Illus. Map. 200 pp. Philadelphia: Judson Press. $1.25. 1923. *407.*
A valuable study based on personal investigation. Contains facts of great significance.

†NOTES SUR LA TRIBU DES BOMITABA (Moyen Congo). E. Darré. *Revue d'Ethnographie et des Traditions populaires,* 1922 (No. 4), 304–26. *408.*
Etude des coutumes et des croyances religieuses d'une tribu localisée entre l'Oubangui et la Sanga.

VINGT-CINQ ANS DE MISSION AU CONGO. Histoire de la Mission des Falls fondée et dirigée par les prêtres du sacré-cœur de Jésus. R. P. V. Jeanroy. Illus. 208 pp. Bruxelles: Action catholique. F. 5. Paris: Giraudon. F. 6. 1923. *409.*

†WENN WIR WIEDER KOMMEN. F. Monninger. EMM, 1923 (Apr.), 89–91. *410.*

A YELLOW NAPOLEON: A Romance of West Africa. Arthur E. Southon. 277 pp. London: Hodder & Stoughton. 7s. 6d. 1923. *411.*
A novel dealing with the intrigues of a half-caste in West Africa. The local colour is good and the missionary element effective.

See also *438* (French Mission); *460* (Medical); *477–8* (Religion); *502–3* (Islam).

East and Central Africa

(*from the Zambezi to the Juba rivers*)

THE BAKITARA OR BANYORO: the First Part of the Report of the Mackie Ethnological Expedition to Central Africa. John Roscoe. Illus. Map. 386 pp. London: Cambridge University Press. 25s. 1923. *412.*
A review is in preparation.

†UGANDA AND SOME OF ITS PROBLEMS. John Roscoe. *Journal of the African Society,* 1923 (Jan.), 96–108; (Apr.), 218–25. *413.*

THE LANGO: A Nilotic Tribe of Uganda. J. H. Driberg. Foreword by Sir Robert Coryndon. Illus. Map. 468 pp. London: Fisher Unwin. 63s. 1923. *414.*

A comprehensive volume full of useful information about a little-known people. The first six chapters deal with Ethnology under History; Environment; Physical Characteristics; Mode of Life; Social Organization; Magic and Religion.

†SOME NATIVE PROBLEMS IN EASTERN AFRICA. C. W. Hobley. *Journal of the African Society*, 1923 (Apr.), 189–202, 240–7. *415.*

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†THE KENYA CONTROVERSY. Michael Prothero. *Contemporary Review*, 1923 (Feb.), 198–204. *416.*

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THE LURE OF THE LEOPARD SKIN. A Story of the African Wilds. Josephine Hope Westervelt. Illus. 240 pp. New York: Revell. $1.75. 1921. *418.*

This story of a Rhodes scholar who went to Kenya to shoot leopards, is set in African environment and has genuine missionary atmosphere.

South Africa

(*south of the Cunene and Zambezi rivers*)

LA JETEUSE DE SORTS. Drame de la Vie des Indigènes Sud-Africains. Henri A. Junod. 28 pp. Lausanne: La Mission Romande. F. 1. 1923. *419.*

UUSI AJANJAKSO AMBOLÄHETYSTYÖSSÄ. Antti. Perheentupa. 47 pp. Helsinki: Suomen Lähetysseura. F.m. 3. 1923. *420.*

See also *322* (Biography); *438* (French Mission).

Madagascar

GÉOGRAPHIE DE MADAGASCAR. A. Dandouau. 248 pp. Paris: Larose. F. 25. 1922. *421.*

CONTES POPULAIRES DES SAKALAVES ET DES TSIMIHETY. A. Dandouau. 393 pp. Alger: Carbonel. 1922. *422.*

†MAYOTTE ET DÉPENDANCES: Documentation sociale et religieuse, coutumes, etc. . . . M. Poirier. *Bulletin économique de Madagascar*, 1921 (No. 3), 233–47; 1922 (No. 1), 141–47. Tananarive: Imprimerie Officielle. 1922. *423.*

†MONOGRAPHIE DE NOSSI-BÉ. J. Noulens. *Bulletin économique de Madagascar*, 1921 (No. 3), 67–96, Histoire-Géographie, Colonisation; 1922 (No. 1), 37–51: Ethnographie-Coutumes. Tananarive: Imprimerie Officielle. 1921–1922. *424.*

See also *327* (Biography).

America and the West Indies

AMERICAN INDIAN LIFE BY SEVERAL OF ITS STUDENTS. Elsie Clews Parsons. Illus. 419 pp. New York: Huebsch. Inc. $10. 1922. *425.*

This *de luxe* volume, containing twenty-seven tales told by Indians of various parts of the United States and of Mexico, opens a fascinating window into the Indian mind.

HISTORY OF LATIN AMERICAN NATIONS. William Spence Robertson. Maps. xxiii+617 pp. New York: Appleton. $4. 1922. *426.*

Adapted to use as a text-book for college and university students; clear, authoritative and well documented.

SOUTH AMERICA TO-DAY. Social and Religious Movements as observed on a Trip to the Southern Continent in 1921. Samuel Guy Inman. 116 pp. New York: Committee on Co-operation in Latin America, 25 Madison Avenue. 50 cents. 1922. *427.*

The writer is Executive Secretary of the Committee on Co-operation in Latin America, and was formerly a missionary in Mexico. The book is interesting and full of missionary strategy.

SOUTH AMERICA FROM A SURGEON'S POINT OF VIEW. Franklin H. Martin, C.M.G., F.A.C.S. Illus. xix+325 pp. New York: Revell. $3. 1922. *428.*

By the Director-General of the American College of Surgeons. Of value to prospective medical missionaries.

BRAZILIAN LITERATURE. Isaac Goldberg, Ph.D. xiv+303 pp. New York: Knopf. $3. 1922. *429.*

The first part contains an outline history of Brazilian literature; in the second part representative personalities are treated.

CRUSADING IN THE WEST INDIES. W. F. Jordan. Illus. 202 pp. New York: Revell. $1.75. 1922. *430.*

The record of twelve years' wandering among the West Indies in the interests of the American Bible Society. Cuba and Haiti claim the most attention.

See also *324*, *329* (Biography); *480* (Religion).

Australasia and Oceania

PATROLLING IN PAPUA. W. H. Humphries. With an Introduction by J. H. P. Murray, Lieutenant-Governor of Papua. 287 pp. London: Fisher Unwin. 21s. 1923. *431.*

†VON DER DEUTSCHEN MISSIONSARBEIT IM EHEMALIGEN DEUTSCHEN KAISER WILHELMSLAND. J. Richter. EM, 1923 (Jan.), 10–5. *432.*

†DAS WERDEN EINER CHRISTLICHEN WELT IN NEUGUINEA. K. Steck. EMM, 1923 (Feb.), 35–40; (März), 56–64. *433.*

WON BY BLOOD. A. K. Langridge. Illus. 128 pp. London: Clarke. 3s. 6d. 1923. *434.*
The great story of Erromanga in the New Hebrides, well retold by the author of the life of *John Paton.*

†LES LANGUES POLYNÉSIENNES EN MÉLANÉSIE. S. H. Ray. *Bulletin de la Société des Etudes océaniennes,* 1922 (Sept.), 60–8. *435.*

See also *330* (Biography); *438* (French Mission).

The Jews

THE JEWS IN EGYPT AND IN PALESTINE UNDER THE FATIMID CALIPHS, A CONTRIBUTION TO THEIR POLITICAL AND COMMUNAL HISTORY, BASED CHIEFLY ON GENIZAH MATERIAL HITHERTO UNPUBLISHED. Jacob Mann, D.Litt. Vol. II. 430 pp. London: Oxford University Press. 21s. 1922. *436.*

ÖNSKEN JERUSALEM FRID. Aina Lagus. 12 pp. Helsingfors: Finska Missionssällskapet. F.m. 1. 1923. *437.*

General

UN SIÈCLE EN AFRIQUE ET EN OCÉANIE. 1822–1922. Revue de nos Champs de Mission en Afrique et en Océanie. 182 pp. Paris: Société des Missions Evangéliques. F. 7.50. 1923. *438.*
Histoire populaire de l'activité des missionnaires de Paris au Lessouto, au Zambèze, au Sénégal, au Gabon, au Cameroun, à Tahiti, et en Nouvelle-Calédonie.

OSTASIEN JAHRBUCH. Jahresbericht des Allgemeinen Evangelisch Protestantischen Missionsvereins. Im Auftrage des Zentralvorstandes herausgegeben von D. Witte. 128 S. Berlin: Allg. Ev. P. M. V. 1923. *439.*

†UIT DE ZENDINGSWERELD. H. M. van Nes. *Nieuwe Theologische Studiën,* 1923 (VI², ³), 67–74. *440.*

†OVERZICHT VAN HET ZENDINGSWERK IN OOST- EN WEST-INDIË. Joh. Rauws. MZW, 1923 (LXVII¹), 31–56. *441.*

HISTORY OF THE FAR EAST. Hutton Webster. Illus. Maps. ix+173 pp. Boston: Heath. $1.40. 1923. *442.*
An elementary and much-condensed textbook for high schools and colleges, covering India, China, Japan and Oceania. It emphasizes recent history but also pays attention to earlier history and civilization. Fairly accurate.

See also *466a* (Self-support); *474, 476* (Religion); *510* (World Religions and Christianity).

V. Works of Reference

DIE KATHOLISCHEN MISSIONSVEREINE. Bernard Arens. 363 S. Freiburg: Herder. M. 440. 1922. *443.*
Wertvolles Nachschlagewerk.

VI. Theory and Principles of Missions

†HOLLÄNDISCHE MISSIONSWISSENSCHAFT. Gottfried Simon. AMZ, 1923 (Feb.), 46–55. *444.*

VII. The Training and Qualifications of Missionaries

†NOT LEADERS, BUT SAINTS AND SERVANTS. J. C. Winslow. IRM, 1923 (July), 434–40. *445.*

L'INSTITUTRICE MISSIONNAIRE. Jean Bianquis. 8 pp. Tirage à part du *Journal des Missions évangéliques.* Paris: Société des Missions Evangéliques. 1921. *446.*

†HOW TO FIND AND TRAIN THE FOREIGN MESSENGER. H. Conrad Ostrom. JE, 1922 (Oct.), 290–8. *447.*

†BEZWAREN VAN HET MISSIONARISLEVEN. H. Geurtjens. *Onze Missiën in Oost- en West-Indië,* 1923 (VI²), 118–32. *448.*

†MISSION UND SPRACHSTUDIUM. Diedrich Westermann. EMM, 1923 (März), 78–9. *449.*

COURS DE LINGUISTIQUE GÉNÉRALE. Ferdinand de Saussure. 2me édit. 336 pp. Paris: Payot. F. 12. 1923. *450.*

See also *350* (Chinese).

VIII. Missionary Methods

Evangelistic

†THE CONDITION AND NEED OF THE UNTOUCHED IN THE CITY. Alice Finlay. HOW TO TAKE THE MESSAGE TO THE UNREACHED IN THE CITY. Wm. H. Erskine. JE, 1922 (Oct.), 275–90. *451.*

†THE PREACHING OF THE CROSS: A District Missionary's Experiment. W. E. Tomlinson. EW, 1923 (Apr.), 169–80. *452.*

†EVANGELIZATION IN EGYPT TO-DAY. R. S. McClenahan. *Biblical Review,* 1923 (Apr.), 246–65. *453.*

EVANKELIUMIN ESTEITÄ PAKANAKANSOJEN SEASSA. A. J. Pietilä. 44 pp. Helsinki: Suomen Lähetysseura. F.m. 4. 1923. *454.*

See also *383* (Indian Women); *457–8* (Indian Schools).

Christian Education

Japan

See *342* (Creative Forces).

China

See *354* (Dr Monroe's Report); *355* (School Hygiene).

India

EPORT OF A CONFERENCE HELD AT MOGA, PANJAB, ON RURAL EDUCATION IN INDIA. December 5th–11th, 1922. 20 pp. Calcutta: Office of the National Christian Council, 5 Russell Street. 1923. *455.*
See also HF, 1923 (Apr.), 144–8.

RURAL EDUCATION IN INDIA: An Account of the Community Middle School at Moga. W. J. McKee. IRM, 1923 (July), 345–59. *456.*

IFTEEN ADDRESSES TO STUDENTS. J. S. Hoyland. 60 pp. Printed for private circulation. Copies obtainable from J. Taylor, 96 Beadon Street, Calcutta. 8 as. 1923. *457.*
See review, p. 462.

ELIGION IN ITS PURITY AND ITS POWER. T. W. Gardner. 191 pp. Madras and London: Christian Literature Society. 14 as. 1s. 4d. 1922. *458.*
See review, p. 462.

ee also *323* (Biography).

Africa

ee *417* (Kenya); *446* (Women Teachers).

Medical Missions

DDRESSES AND PAPERS: Dedication Ceremonies and Medical Conference: Peking Union Medical College, September 15–22, 1921. Illus. 416 pp. Concord: Rumford Press. *459.*

This handsome volume, issued by the China Medical Board, is a fitting souvenir of the dedication of the College.

LARNIOMET SÄN LÅÅKÅRINÅ. Albert Schweitzer. Translated into Finnish by Armas Holmio. Porvoo: Werner Söderström O.Y. F.m. 25. 1922. *460.*

HOE IN DE OORLOGSJAREN TE BATAVIA HET EERSTE INDISCHE KATHOLIEKE ZIEKENHUIS TOT STAND KWAM. Ir. E. A. van Arcken. *Onze Missiën in Oost- en West-Indië*, 1923 (VI²), 99–116. *461.*

Christian Literature and Translational Work

SOME THOUGHTS ON CHRISTIAN VERNACULAR LITERATURE. J. N. Farquhar, D.Litt. 19 pp. Calcutta: Association Press. 2 as. 1923. *462.*

X. The Church in the Mission Field

THE DEVELOPMENT OF AN INDIGENOUS CHURCH IN CHINA. C. Y. Cheng. IRM, 1923 (July), 368–88. *463.*

THE CHRISTIAN CHURCH AND RURAL LIFE IN CHINA. Albert Lutley. IRM, 1923 (July), 441–5. *464.*

†WHAT CAN WE LEARN FROM THE CHINESE CHURCH? E. Stanley Jones. HF, 1923 (Apr.), 138–43. *465.*
By an Indian missionary who has recently visited China.

†TOWARDS AN INDIAN INTERPRETATION OF CHRISTIANITY: The New Attitude of the Missionary. By an Educational Missionary. HF, 1923 (Mar.), 96–102; (Apr.), 149–50. *466.*

†FOUNDATION FACTS THE GROUND OF SELF-SUPPORT. Harvey Reeves Calkins. IRM, 1923 (July), 421–33. *466a.*

†THE PROBLEM OF SELF-SUPPORT IN THE MISSION FIELD. J. C. Winslow. EW, 1923 (Apr.), 113–9. *467.*

†DEVOLUTION TO THE INDIAN CHURCH. R. MacOmish. EW, 1923 (Apr.), 120–31. *468.*

†JESUS AND THE CHURCH IN THE NEW INDIA. Basil Mathews. *Congregational Quarterly*, 1923 (Apr.), 162–72. *469.*

†THE TRAINING OF THE VILLAGE WORKER IN INDIA. Bishop of Dornakal. IRM, 1923 (July), 360–7. *470.*

SADHU SUNDAR SINGH. B. H. Streeter and A. J. Appasamy. Translated into Finnish by Aune Krohn. 244 pp. Porvoo: Werner Söderström O.Y. F.m. 30. 1923. *471.*

SADHU SUNDAR SINGH. K. A. Paasio. 91 pp. Helsinki: Suomen Lähetysseura. F.m. 8. 1923. *472.*

SADHU SUNDAR SINGH. Max Schaerer. Translated into Finnish by A. Skutnabb. 104 pp. Helsinki: Kirjavälitys. F.m. 7. 1923. *473.*

See also *342–4* (Japan); *377* (Syrian Christians); *378* (Indian Survey); *379–80* (Indian Conferences); *403–4* (Polygamy); *407* (Church in Congo); *432–4* (Oceania); *445* (Missionary Attitude); *514* (Contacts with Non-Christian Cultures).

X. Comity, Co-operation and Unity

See *332* (Missionary Propaganda); *379–80* (Indian Conferences); *407* (Congo Conference).

XI. Christianity and the Non-Christian Religions

Religions of Primitive Peoples

EARLY CIVILIZATION. An Introduction to Anthropology. Alexander A. Goldenweiser. Bibliography. xiv+428 pp. London: Harrap. 15s. 1923. *474.*

THE RELIGION OF THE PRIMITIVES. Alexander Le Roy. Translated by Newton Thompson. x+334 pp. New York: Macmillan. $2.50. 1922. *475.*

Where this is an objective study, the materials are valuable, having been gathered at first-hand, mostly among the Bantus. If the special pleading on behalf of Romanism is ignored, the book is one that will be welcome to the student of primitive religion. It is a translation from the French.

A LA RECHERCHE DE L'ORIGINE DES RELIGIONS. A. Le Roy. 24 pp. Paris: Beauchesne. 75 cents. 1922. *476.*

†L'ANIMISME NÈGRE ET SA RÉSISTANCE À L'ISLAMISATION EN AFRIQUE OCCIDENTALE. M. Delafosse. *Revue du Monde Musulman*, 1922 (Mars), 121–63. *477.*

†DIE GOTTESVORSTELLUNG BEI DEN BANTU IN ZENTRAL UND SÜDAFRIKA. Carl Meinhof. AMZ, 1923 (März), 65–73; (Apr.), 97–105. *478.*

†HET KOPPENSNELLEN IN ZUID NIEUW-GUINEA. P. Vertenten. *Bijdragen tot de Taal-Land-en Volkenkunde van Nederlandsch-Indië*, 1923 (LXXIX[1], [2]), 45–72. *479.*

ANTHROPOLOGICAL PAPERS OF THE AMERICAN MUSEUM OF NATURAL HISTORY. Vol. XXV. Part II. The Religion of the Crow Indians. Robert H. Lowie. Illus. 134 pp. New York: American Museum of Natural History. $1.25. 1922. *480.*

A scientifically presented record by a competent anthropologist.

See also *361–2* (Siam and Malaya); *406* (Dahomey); *407–8* (Congo); *412–4* (Central Africa); *419* (South Africa); *423* (Madagascar); *431* (Papua); *500* (Totemism and Islam).

Religions of Japan and Korea

†OMOTOKYO, DIE NEUESTE RELIGION JAPANS. Emil Schiller. ZMR, 1923 (Apr.), 97–116; (Mai), 129–42. *481.*

See also *342–3* (Creative Forces); *451* (Evangelistic).

Religions of India

SRĪMAD DEVĪ BHĀGAVATAM. English translation by Swami Vijñānānanda. Part II. 448 pp. Allahabad: Pānini Office. R. 9. 1922. *482.*

BRAHMA VAIVĀRTA PURĀNAI IN ENGLISH. Translation by Rajendra Nath Sen. Part IV. 335 pp. Allahabad: Pānini Office. R. 7. 1922. *483.*

This completes the Purāna.

HINDU ETHICS: A Historical and Critical Essay. John McKenzie. Religious Quest of India Series. xii+267 pp. London: Oxford University Press. 10s. 6d. 1923. *484.*

A review is in preparation.

DER HINDUISMUS, RELIGION UND GESELLSCHAFT IM HEUTIGEN INDIEN. Helmuth von Glasenapp. Plates. xvi+505 S. Berlin and München: Kurt Wolff. *485.*

A careful account of the essentials of Hinduism, with its social forms, its ancient sects and its modern organizations.

DIE ANTHROPOSOPHIE STEINERS UND INDIEN. H. W. Schomerus. 67 S. Leipzig. 1922. *486.*

Der im indische Denken wohlbewanderte Verfasser zeigt, in wie hohem Masse Steiners Lehre eine Indisierung des deutschen Geisteslebens und darüm eine gefahr bedeutet.

THE GLEAM. Sir Francis Younghusband, K.C.S.I., K.C.I.E. xviii+298 pp. London: Murray. 12s. 1923. *487.*

A review is in preparation.

†INDIAN THOUGHT AND CHRISTIAN TEACHING. W. S. Urquhart. *Contemporary Review*, 1923 (Feb.), 218–28. *488.*

†SOME FUNDAMENTALS OF CHRISTIANITY. A. G. Hogg. *Madras Christian College Magazine*, 1923 (Jan.), 15–26. *489.*

A brief attempt to compare typical Christianity with typical Hinduism.

BRĀHMA PRAYER BOOK. Hem Chandra Sarkar, Missionary, Sādhāran Brāhmo Samāj. 96 pp. Calcutta: Sādhāran Brāhmo Samāj Office. 12 as. 1923. *490.*

This little manual contains forms of service for public and family worship and for special occasions, and also readings for private devotion. The readings are nearly all taken from the Old Testament, while, in the services, about half the material is taken from Hindu sources, the bulk of the remainder from the Bible.

See also *366–7* (Ancient India); *372* (Sikhs); *383* (Women).

Islam

LA PASSION D'AL-HOSAYN IBN MANSOUR AL HALLAJ, MARTYR MYSTIQUE DE L'ISLAM, EXÉCUTÉ À BAGDAD LE 26 MARS 922; ETUDE D'HISTOIRE RELIGIEUSE. Louis Massignon. 2 vols. xxxii+942, xi+105 pp. 28 planches. Paris: Geuthner. F. 75. 1922. *491.*

ERLAUBLES UND VERBOTENES GUT. Das XIVte Buch von Al-Ghazali Hauptwerk. Übersetzt und erlautert von H. Bauer. 209 pp. Halle: Niemeyer. 1922. *492.*

†AL GHAZALI, EIN GOTTSUCHER IM ISLAM. Elisabeth Warnholtz. AMZ, 1923 (Apr.), 115–22. *493.*

ESSAI SUR LES ORIGINES DU LEXIQUE TECHNIQUE DE LA MYSTIQUE MUSULMANE. L. Massignon. 303 pp., with 104 pp. of Arabic text. Paris: Geuthner. F. 40. 1922. *494.*

THE IDEA OF PERSONALITY IN SUFISM: Three Lectures delivered in the University of London. R. A. Nicholson. 77 pp. London: Cambridge University Press. 5s. 1923. *495.*

MUHAMMAD AND CHRIST. M. Muhammad Ali. 159 pp. Lahore: Ahmadiah Anju-man-i-Ishaat-i-Islam. 3s. 1922. *496.*

†BIBLISCHE NACHWIRKUNGEN IN DER SIRA. J. Horovitz. *Der Islam,* 1922 (Juli), 184–9. *497.*

†SIN AND GRACE IN THE BIBLICAL NARRATIVES REHEARSED IN THE KORAN. J. Oscar Boyd. MW, 1923 (Apr.), 139–59. *498.*

DIE ABHÄNGIGKEIT DES QORANS VON JUDENTUM UND CHRISTENTUM. W. Rudolph. viii+92 pp. Stuttgart: Kohlhammer. 1922. *499.*

†LE RÔLE DES ÉTUDES TOTÉMIQUES EN ISLAMOLOGIE. *Revue du Monde Musulman,* 1921 (Juillet), 1–52. *500.*

†L'ISLAM ET LE PROBLÈME DES RACES. C. Snouck-Hurgronje. *Revue du Monde Musulman,* 1922 (Juin), 1–27. *501.*

†CONSIDÉRATIONS SUR L'ISLAM AFRICAIN. (Haute Côte d'Ivoire) Benquey. *Bulletin du Comité des Etudes hist. et scient. de l'A.O.F.,* 1922 (Oct.–Déc.), 678–88. *502.*

ISLAMISME CONTRE 'NATURISME' AU SOUDAN FRANÇAIS. Essai de Psychologie Politique Coloniale. J. Brévié. Préface de M. Delafosse. 320 pp. Paris: Leroux. F. 20. 1923. *503.*

†ALLERLEI OVER DE BESNIJDENIS IN DEN INDISCHEN ARCHIPEL. B. Schrieke. *Tijdschrift voor Indische Taal- Land- en Volkenkunde,* 1922 (IX), 373–578; (LXI), 1–94. *504.*

A detailed and exhaustive account of the rite of circumcision in Malaysia, where the question is unusually complicated in its bearings and is not exclusively Moslem.

L'ISLAM, SON PASSÉ, SON PRÉSENT, ET SON AVENIR. S. M. Zwemer. Traduit et adapté par Renée Warnery. Illus. Cartes. Bibliographie. 322 pp. Paris: Fédération française des Associations chrétiennes d'Etudiants. F. 8. 1922. *505.*

A translation and adaptation of Dr Zwemer's *Islam, a Challenge to Faith,* bringing that book more up to date and selecting the Bibliography for French readers.

BROTHERHOOD: Islam's and Christ's. A Study in Racial and Religious Contacts in the Near East. W. H. T. Gairdner. 24 pp. London: U.C.M.E. 3d. 1923. *506.*

The full report of a speech delivered at the Glasgow Congress of 1922.

See also *340* (German Missions); *349* (China); *378* (Indian Survey); *389* (Khalifate); *392* (Modern Islam).

Buddhism

GOTAMA BUDDHA. A Biography. (Based on the Canonical Books of the Theravadim.) Kenneth J. Saunders. Heritage of India Series. Map. 111 pp. Calcutta: Association Press. R. 1.8. London: Oxford University Press. 2s. 6d. 1922. *507.*

A review is in preparation.

†BUDDHISM IN CHINA: A Historical Sketch. Kenneth J. Saunders. *Journal of Religion,* 1923 (Mar.), 157–69; (May), 256–75. *508.*

A MANUAL OF BUDDHIST PHILOSOPHY. William Montgomery McGovern. Vol. I. Cosmology. 205 pp. London: Kegan Paul. 10s. 6d. 1923. *509.*

See also *439* (German Missions).

General

DIE WELTRELIGIONEN UND DAS CHRISTENTUM. Martin Schlunk. 213 S. Hamburg: Agentur des Rauhen Hauses. M. 3. geb. M. 4×T. 2. 1923. *510.*

A review is in preparation.

†DIE RELIGION DER ALTEN ARIER. J. Richter. EM, 1923 (März), 33–8. *511.*

DES CLANS AUX EMPIRES. L'Organisation sociale et ses développements dans l'Orient ancien. A. Moret et G. Davy. 450 pp. Paris: La Renaissance du Livre. F. 15. 1923. *512.*

See also *514* (Contact of Cultures).

XII. Social and Political Relations of Missions

THE CHRISTIAN REVOLUTION: An Essay on the Method of Social Progress. Henry T. Hodgkin. Appendices. 320 pp. Shanghai: Association Press, National Committee of the Y.M.C.A. of China. London: Swarthmore Press. 7s. 6d. New York: Doran. $2.50. 1923. *513.*

A review is in preparation.

CONTACTS WITH NON-CHRISTIAN CULTURES: A Case Book in the Christian Movement Abroad. Daniel Johnson Fleming, Ph.D. 189 pp. New York: Doran. $2. 1923. *514.*

†THE INTERNATIONAL CONTROL OF DRUGS OF ADDICTION. William J. Collins. CMR, 1923 (Mar.), 5–14. *515.*

CHRISTIANITY AND THE RACE PROBLEM. Robert E. Smith. 156 pp. New York: Revell. $1.25. 1922. *516.*

A study of the Negro Problem in America by a Southerner.

†ART. 123 R.R. NED. INDIË GEEN VERVOLGING VAN DE KATHOLIEKE KERK. M. Lindenborn. *Stemmen voor Waarheid en Vrede,* 1923 (LX²), 114–26. *517.*

†Uit de Maleisch-Javaansch-Soendaneesche Pers. MZW, 1923 (LXVII[1]), 65–76. *518.*

See also *342* (Japan); *347–8* (China); *368* (Young India); *373–4* (Indian Economics and Agriculture); *378* (Indian Survey); *386* (Ceylon Constitutional Reforms); *393* (Survey, Constantinople); *403–4* (Polygamy); *412–4* (Central Africa); *415–7* (East Africa); *427* (South America); *501* (Islam and Race); *506* (Near East).

XIII. Hortatory and Practical

The Apostolic Age. Wm. Bancroft Hill, D.D. 386 pp. New York: Revell. $2. 1922. *519.*
See review, p. 464.

The Saviour of the World: Our Approach to the Nations through the Universality of Christ and the Bible. Walter B. Sloan. 24 pp. London: Marshall. 6d. 1923. *520.*

†Darum dass seine Seele gearbeitet hat. F. Würz. EM, 1923 (Apr.), 81–2. *521.*

Par Christ et Pour Christ. Sadhou Sundar Singh. 169 pp. Lausanne: Mission Suisse aux Indes. 1923. *522.*
Addresses given in Switzerland in March 1922.

XIV. New Missionary Magazines

World Dominion: A Quarterly Review of Missionary Progress. Edited by Thomas Cochrane, C.M. First issue, January 1923. London: Livingstone Press. Single copies, 6d. Yearly subscription, 2s. 6d. *523.*

The Indian Christian Review. An illustrated monthly magazine devoted to the interests of the Indian Christian community. Published under the auspices of the Indian Christian Ministers' Union, Bombay. Edited by D. A. Yardi. First issue, January 1923. Bombay: Kunkar. Yearly subscription, India and Ceylon, R. 5; Great Britain, 8s.; U.S.A. and Canada, $5. *524.*

The Guardian. Edited by A. N. Sudarisanam and Joseph Taylor. Weekly. First issue, January 5, 1923. Calcutta: Joseph Taylor, 96 Beadon Street. Yearly subscription, India, R. 4; Great Britain, 6s. 6d.; U.S.A., $1.50. *525.*

ABBREVIATION OF MAGAZINE TITLES

AMZ	= *Allgemeine Missions-Zeitschrift*
CMR	= *Church Missionary Review*
CR	= *Chinese Recorder*
EM	= *Die evangelischen Missionen*
EMM	= *Evangelisches Missions-Magazin*
EW	= *The East and The West*
HF	= *Harvest Field*
IRM	= *International Review of Missions*
JE	= *Japan Evangelist*
JIR	= *Journal of International Relations*
MRW	= *Missionary Review of the World*
MW	= *Moslem World*
MZW	= *Mededeelingen Tijdschrift voor Zendingswetenschap*
NMT	= *Nordisk Missions-Tidsskrift*
SMT	= *Svensk Missionstidskrift*
ZM	= *Zeitschrift für Missionswissenschaft*
ZMR	= *Zeitschrift für Missionskunde und Religionswissenschaft*

When other magazines are referred to, the full title is given.

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THE
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THE AGENDA OF CO-OPERATION

A SKETCH OF THE MEETING OF THE INTERNATIONAL MISSIONARY COUNCIL (OXFORD, JULY 9–16, 1923)

By BASIL MATHEWS

As we sat down at the old oak tables in Hertford College, Oxford, for the first session of the first fully constituted meetings of the International Missionary Council, the question that naturally presented itself was 'To what causes do we owe an agenda that has drawn these extremely busy men and women across oceans and from every part of the continent to this place? Why have they left secretarial desks, professorial and editorial chairs, episcopal sees, colleges, in India, China, Japan and Africa, in Western and Northern Europe, in North and South America—these folk who have to be so parsimonious of their time in order to fulfil their tasks—to give long arduous days and nights to coping with the subjects catalogued on the agenda before us and unfolded in the bulky documents that have greeted us on our way to Oxford?' The lesson of the strenuous days that followed proved that the agenda of co-operation

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in missions to-day is not the invention of secretarial minds bent on giving committees their quota of work; it is the inescapable and challenging creation of the living Christian evangel confronting the contemporary world-situation.

In the early days of modern missions, when our Careys and Morrisons, our John Williams, Vanderkemps and Livingstones were exploratory pioneers spying out the lands, as well as in the subsequent years of penetration and occupation, few issues arose urgently demanding co-operation —although the eye looking back over the decades from the present vantage point can detect how much higher our efficiency might now be and, on the other hand, how many of our present perplexities might have been avoided by an earlier development of the practice of comity and co-operation. When, however, the modern missionary of vision in the field and the forward-looking secretary at home began to look out over the vast perspectives of their field, and to see confronting them the new and bewildering racial and cultural movements of Asia and Africa; when they started to analyse the intricate and baffling nature of these problems and to realize their own relative helplessness when in isolation, the irresistible logic of the situation drove them to begin to share counsel and pool resources. The roots of the modern co-operative movement in missions are to be found in the sheer pressure of urgent and vital problems so immediate that they will not stay for indefinite consideration and so vast as to demand massive action on a scale that can only be achieved when many stand together as one.

A long catalogue of such problems will leap to the mind of every reader who has either by experience or by inclination thought his way into the complexities of the modern missionary situation. The following are a few of them: the training and equipment of the missionary at home for his task; the educational development of leadership in the Church in the mission field; the changing sanctions of Christian education all over the world; the emergence among subject peoples of the passion for self-direction

(with its immediate and often revolutionary influence both on the relation of the missionary to the growing Asiatic, African and Island Churches and on the whole angle of approach to the non-Christian population); the need for corporate and skilled approach to governments in vital matters affecting missionary freedom; the call for the corporate and wisest use of the few highly gifted creative minds in the preparation of a common literature at home and abroad. These and a host of other concrete executive tasks that emerge are labours that no individual missionary nor any single society—no, nor any single national group of societies—can handle effectively, not to say triumphantly. If we are to grapple with these great issues successfully for the full benefit on the one hand of the individual mission and on the other hand of the world-Christian enterprise, we must inevitably handle them not only interdenominationally but internationally; and—especially in this post-war world—not only internationally among western peoples, but inter-racially between North and South and East and West.

These problems, then, are the agenda of co-operation in foreign missions on an international scale. They are the *raison d'être* of—the creative cause for—the International Missionary Council. And this world-context of missionary tasks is the appropriate and indeed the necessary setting in which we can best arrive at a critical appraisal of the contribution which that International Missionary Council is making (and may in the future increasingly make) to the advancement of the work of Christian missions. The meetings at Oxford constitute the first full opportunity for a swift survey on the one hand of the task, and, on the other, of the processes by which the Council and its officers are addressing themselves to its accomplishment.

In order to gain a just perspective it may be well, even for those to whom the details are not unfamiliar, to stand back for a moment and take a swift historical survey of fifteen momentous years. It was in Oxford in 1908 that the ground-plan of the 1910 World Missionary Conference at

Edinburgh was outlined by a small group of leaders from America, Europe and Britain, including Dr Barton, Dr Richter, Dr Arthur Brown, Dr Wardlaw Thompson, Dr Eugene Stock, Dr Robson, W. H. Findlay and others. In that group we discover the practice of international co-operation in embryo. The age of the great pioneer explorations of the mission fields of the world was ended and the idea of planning a world-strategy and sharing a world-fellowship in a common conquest was dawning on the horizon. That revolutionary change—for such it is—took place within the scope of a single lifetime. We may visualize it from the British end, for instance, in two personalities: Dr Wardlaw Thompson, who took a leading part in the Edinburgh Conference, was invited as a boy by David Livingstone to share in the explorer's first journey up toward the Kalahari desert; and Dr Eugene Stock—upon whose wise counsel we are all so happy to be able still to call—was a secretary at the C.M.S. when Mackay answered Stanley's challenge to carry Christ to Uganda. If their lives have seen so vast a movement what may not ours witness in an era of far swifter and more widespread change?

'Edinburgh 1910' began the fuller realization of that international fellowship. It created the Continuation Committee to begin to make permanent and to expand the range of common counsel and united action for a world-task. Foundations were laid in conferences of the Continuation Committee on both sides of the Atlantic; in the massive groundwork achieved by Dr John R. Mott in his pregnant journeys through Asia in 1912–13 when the movements toward the Indian, Chinese and Japanese National Christian Councils were initiated; in the opening up of survey work and in the provision of an intellectual and spiritual medium in the *International Review of Missions*.

Suddenly the war in 1914 opened a chasm in the fellowship. During the years of turmoil both of the war and of the unpeaceful peace, however, the National Missionary Councils of the East as of the West grew in strength under

the stress of the times. Meanwhile a sectional Emergency Committee created in the war-time acted as *locum tenens* to undertake such international functions as were called for and were possible. With the Armistice came the task of rebuilding; and the men and organizations, although confronted by baffling obstacles, found themselves toughened in fibre under the drastic discipline. In 1920 at Crans, on Lake Geneva, the outline of a new plan was shaped; and in 1921 at Lake Mohonk, New York, the International Missionary Council at last became a living reality. In place of the old Continuation Committee elected by a world-conference, representatives from fourteen national interdenominational missionary organizations now created a continuous body responsible through themselves to the boards of the missionary societies, drew up a constitution and elected Mr J. H. Oldham and Dr A. L. Warnshuis as secretaries, Dr Mott as chairman, and Mr James M. Speers as treasurer, Mr Oldham and Miss G. A. Gollock being editors of the *International Review of Missions* and the Council having headquarters in London at Edinburgh House. A committee was formed for interim action between meetings and for the preparation of agenda. This met last year by invitation of the Archbishop of Canterbury and Mrs Davidson at the Old Palace, Canterbury.

So we come back from Canterbury to Oxford. There the Council, dwelling within the grey quadrangle of Wadham College, meeting for counsel and for prayer in the Hall and the Chapel of Hertford College and revelling throughout in the atmosphere of an Oxford rich in the historic past but with its young life preparing to mould history and the future, held memorable sessions that will produce momentous results in the days to come.

We turn then to our agenda and to the discussions under the strong chairmanship of Dr Mott. As one listened against the dark perspective of the tragic years of the war to the roll-call of delegates with a strange exaltation of spirit, one felt intensely that here was something in the

nature of moral and spiritual miracle. For the first time the German national missionary council was directly represented in the sympathetic personalities of Dr Schlunk and Dr Würz. It was, for instance, a moving and significant thing to have a day in which the early morning intercessions in Hertford Chapel were led by M. Couve, of the Paris Evangelical Missionary Society, and those which closed the day at ten o'clock in the evening led by Missionsinspektor Würz. As Dr C. Y. Cheng rose, one saw behind him the Christian Church in China which he—with Dr Yu Yue Tsu, a young Chinese Student Christian Union Secretary and the Rev. E. C. Lobenstine—represented. So the new life and hope of India came in the persons of Professor Yohan Masih and the Rev. Thomas Sitther, with the Bishop of Bombay representing the National Christian Council of India; while Japan sent us President Chiba, Mr Soichi Saito and Dr Berry.

The men and women as they responded to their names uttered simple descriptive titles each of which stood for the strength of a national missionary council whose forces are at their work in foreign fields—the Swedish missionary council, the Norwegian Missionsraad, the Committee on Co-operation in Latin America, the Foreign Missions Conference of North America, the Danish Missionsraad, and others.

There was something profoundly impressive in the sheer range of world-contacts here represented and in both the individual quality and the collective strength of these men and women. We should look far to find any group on earth in which so many types of experience were gathered with so varied an outlook and representing so wide a range of nations and races knit into so close and thorough and practical a fellowship for so great an objective.

The whole project of Christian education which took a primary place in our agenda has—as readers of the *International Review of Missions* have recognized—entered since the war upon a new era. The altered attitude of govern-

ments toward the education of subject races and the new orientation to education in the Far East have together made it clear that, apart from co-operation for higher efficiency in rightly planned educational policy and practice, the years of effective missionary education are numbered. We have to co-operate (as the Rev. E. W. Thompson put it at Oxford) as partners in God's creative as well as redemptive work through Christian education.

The most notable new evidence of the fresh attitude of governments towards education is found in the step taken on the very eve of the International Council meetings at Oxford [1] by the British Colonial Office in appointing a new committee under the Chairmanship of the Under-Secretary of State for the Colonies to advise upon education for the African colonies administered from Britain. Mr Oldham said at Oxford that ninety per cent of the whole education of the Negro in Africa has so far been done by the missionary societies and it is through co-operation that the missionary societies working in Africa and responsible for this work have entered into such relations with the Colonial Office as foreshadow harmonious co-ordination. Dr Tsu, the Director Designate of Religious Work at the Union Medical College, Peking, strongly represented to the Council the 'almost fanatical belief in education' that marks the youth of the renaissance in China to-day. All this threw into relief the reports of the recent Educational Commissions to Africa and India, and the report on Christian Education in China (already dealt with in the Review) presented in a paper written by Dr Chamberlain and read at Oxford by Mr Fennell Turner. A further aspect of education calling for a co-operative approach is the need for a clear comprehension of the central aim for a Christian education in the light of the misgivings honestly felt in many quarters with regard to the nature and the instruments of the education now sometimes given. In these connexions a

[1] Announced on 24th July in the British House of Commons by the Under-Secretary of State for the Colonies.

weighty and carefully wrought out resolution was unanimously arrived at which is likely to have considerable influence. It runs as follows :

The International Missionary Council is convinced that whatever changes or developments may take place in the field of general education, Christian education must always remain an integral part of the Church's work.

Christian education emphasizes that full development not only of intellect but also of will and of spirit which is necessary to a complete Christian life. It aims to train the faculties to serve the community, the state and the Church through the home, industry, business or the professions. An education which is constantly striving to fulfil this Christian conception is ever needed. Not only does it help to prepare the way for conversion, but without it the fullest Christian nurture of disciples is impossible. Pupils find in the truth of Christ as presented through it, both by word and life, His call to faith and service. It is indispensable for the proper equipment of the teachers, preachers and leaders among the laity without whom the Kingdom of God cannot be established. Clearly, then, it is not to be set over against evangelism, but is to be regarded as evangelism in one of its truest manifestations. To be fully effective it should be in the hands of Christian men and women. Where education is not making all possible effort to reach this ideal, it is doubtful whether it is the business of missionary societies to help to carry it on.

The Council gratefully receives the reports of the recent Commissions to India, China and Africa. It is thankful that three reports of such high ability and Christian character are at the service of the boards, and believes that they call for the best thought of the friends of missions. In order to ensure that full advantage is taken of the counsel in these reports it feels justified in suggesting :

(*a*) That as far as possible the boards place the reports within the reach of all missionaries and of the members of their home committees concerned with the particular field.

(*b*) That the boards refer the practical proposals in the reports to the church authorities in the field affected and the mission committees there, taking also the responsibility of indicating the proposals they feel to be of greatest importance, and that where the bodies in the field have signified their support of any proposal, the boards attempt to provide, or in some way to release, the men and money required to carry it out. It is hoped that in shaping their replies to the boards the committees mentioned will take full advantage of the advice of interdenominational committees co-ordinating educational experience and policy within their special field.

(*c*) That arrangements be made for conferences of representatives of boards concerned with work in the same area so as to concert plans for united action wherever desirable.

(*d*) That the Council desires that its officers should render all the assist-

ance within their power in promoting the international study of the problems raised by these reports with a view to mutual assistance and common action by the boards in the application to Christian education abroad of the conclusions of the Educational Commissions and of other proposals suggested by the best experience available.

A window was then opened through which a glimpse could be caught of the range and complexity of the problem of missionary freedom in the post-war world and of relations with governments through the presentation of two comprehensive documents of high value. Mr Oldham presented a draft collection of treaties, acts and regulations relating to missionary freedom which for the first time assembles these vital data in an accurate form; while Dr Warnshuis presented a comprehensive detailed statement on a critical and urgent issue, viz. the position of missions in French, Belgian and Portuguese Colonies.[1]

The greatest of all the problems now confronting the Christian forces abroad challenged the Council in the discussion on the changes in the mission field in their bearing on the policy of mission boards. The world-wide movement for national racial self-direction presents to the Christian organizations among the peoples a fundamental and widespread issue. The relation of the western missionary and his board to the Asiatic or African or Island Christian and his Church was discussed in the Council at once in its bearing upon organization and general policy, the qualification and training of new missionaries, and the attitude of Christianity to nationalism. The discussion was initiated by the Rev. Frank Lenwood, whose paper is published in this number, and carried on by Mr Lobenstine, Dr Berry, Mr Sitther of India, Dr Cheng of China, Dr Schlunk and Dr Würz of Germany, the Bishop of Uganda, Mr Kenneth Maclennan, M. Allégret of France, and Dr Mott.

Sentences that we recall may give a slight flavour of the discussion as a whole. Mr Lenwood, for instance, said: 'We must submit to the consequences of our own victory.

[1] To be published shortly.

The young and vigorous national Churches were not made for the mission boards, but the mission boards for the Churches. The native Church of a great people must be a sovereign Church'; or Mr Lobenstine: 'China will no more accept a partitioning of her Church among western denominations than a partition of her territory among western nations'; or Mr Sitther: 'We must transfer authority to the Church even though the majority of Indian Christians should vote against it; for it is the evil of the existing system that it has developed dependence without a sense of responsibility'; or Dr Mott: 'Edinburgh was the last conference of the "sending" countries. We are now an inter-racial co-operative movement.'

It was then recalled that Dr Mott's journeys in which the movement for the construction of National Christian Councils in India, China and Japan was initiated, was broken into by the war before it had been rounded off by conferences in the Near East and North Africa. The International Missionary Council Meeting at Lake Mohonk had envisaged afresh a project for such conferences, and at Oxford it was resolved that they should be held under Dr Mott's chairmanship in some six or seven centres early in 1924. The Report on Christian Literature for the Moslem world,[1] which was also presented, became specially pertinent in the light of this proposal. The discussion, in which Miss Padwick, who had so large a part in writing the report, shared, revealed at once the extraordinary growth of the desire for literature in Moslem lands and the lamentable poverty both of the present supply and in the provision for the future. It is hoped and believed that this report, alongside the conferences to be held, will bring about a new orientation of Western Christendom in particular to the Near East and North Africa.

Another forward-looking subject of a very different character was that on the place of women in the Churches and missions in the mission field, for which papers prepared

[1] Reviewed on pp. 611–3.

by American and British groups had paved the way. The thinking thus initiated is to be carried forward continuously between now and the next session of the Council.

The relation of German missions to the world missionary problem was, as readers will already have realized, carried a dramatic stage further by the presence for the first time since the war of two accredited representatives of the German Missionsausschuss, Dr Schlunk and Dr Würz. The continuous work which has been carried through by the officers of the Council with a view to opening the mission fields once more to German workers was approved by the Council, whose members and officers have from the days of the earliest post-war development at Crans always had the restoration of German missionaries to the fields of German labour as one of the strongest of their desires.

The whole problem of the practicability of missionary co-operation in the face of doctrinal differences, which has been pressing in the last few years, was opened by the reading of two papers, one by Dr R. E. Speer and the other by the Bishop of Bombay, both of which appear in this number of the Review. They opened up the whole issue in a penetrating and suggestive way. The discussion which followed was worthy of the papers themselves, and the resolution which after many long hours of thought was produced by the Business Committee was accepted by the Council by a standing vote. Though long, we give it in full, because of the vital moment of the issues that it deals with.

The International Missionary Council orders the papers of Dr Robert E. Speer and the Bishop of Bombay, which were read before it, to be printed. While the authors alone are responsible for the views expressed in those papers, the Council believes that a study of the papers will throw light on the questions about the possibility of missionary co-operation which are raised by doctrinal differences.

The International Council has never sought nor is it its function to work out a body of doctrinal opinions of its own. The only doctrinal opinions in the Council are those which the various members bring with them into it from the Churches and missionary boards to which they belong. It is no

part of the duty of the Council to discuss the merits of those opinions, still less to determine doctrinal questions.

But it has never been found in practice that in consequence of this the Council is left with nothing but an uncertain mass of conflicting opinions. The Council is conscious of a great measure of agreement which centres in a common obligation and a common loyalty. We are conscious of a common obligation to proclaim the Gospel of Christ in all the world, and this sense of obligation is made rich and deep because of our sense of the havoc wrought by sin, and of the efficacy of the salvation offered by Christ. We are bound together further by a common loyalty to Jesus Himself, and this loyalty is deep and fruitful because we rejoice to share the confessions of St Peter, 'Thou art the Christ, the Son of the living God,' and of St Thomas, 'My Lord and my God.' The secret of our co-operation is the presence with us of Jesus Christ, Human Friend and Divine Helper. From this common obligation and this common loyalty flow many other points of agreement, and our differences in doctrine, great though in some instances they are, have not hindered us from profitable co-operation in counsel.

When we have been gathered together, we have experienced a growing unity among ourselves, in which we recognize the influence of the Holy Spirit. At these meetings we have come to a common mind on many matters, and have been able to frame recommendations and statements. These have never had the character of command or direction, and it has always rested with the Churches or missions to give them, if they would, authority by adopting them or carrying them into action.

Co-operation in work is more likely to be embarrassed by doctrinal differences than co-operation in counsel. Yet there is a wide range of matters such as negotiations with governments, the securing of religious liberty, the combating of the evils arising from the sale of narcotic drugs, collection and survey of facts, investigation of educational method, etc., which are not affected by doctrinal differences. A still more imposing list might be drawn up of types of work in which impediments from doctrinal differences might have been anticipated, but experience in many lands has shown that most valuable co-operation is possible between many Churches and missions. Such are the translation of the Holy Scriptures, the production and dissemination of Christian literature, the conduct of schools and colleges and medical institutions, and provision for the training of missionaries. Every piece of co-operation in work which this Council or any council connected with it encourages or guides, is confined to those Churches or missions which freely and willingly take part in it. It would be entirely out of harmony with the spirit of our movement to press for such co-operation in work as would be felt to compromise doctrinal principles or to strain consciences.

Among the solemn and practical calls to action none was more compelling than the appeal to the National Councils

all over the world to confront with vigorous action the world-wide menace of opium and coca and their dangerous derivatives. Already some vital action has been taken since Oxford in the line of this appeal and it becomes clear that a strategic hour is upon us for co-operative action (in common with other bodies) that may well be decisive in its effects.

Again in the line of proposals that look forward to on-coming problems that have to be faced together was the presentation of the memorandum on Religious Education—which is to be followed by a careful and searching inquiry after consultation with the national organizations on lines approved by them; and the statements submitted from America and Great Britain on Training Schools in the Mission Field. The latter subject is to be developed.

Many other issues of varying grades of importance, but in every case emerging from the real life of the missionary forces of the world, were confronted and dealt with decisively, as may be gauged from the pamphlet in which the Minutes have now been published.

The acts of the Council are chronicled in those Minutes. But the reality of its fellowship cannot be captured and imprisoned in any minute or indeed expressed on any printed page. One of the American delegates, Dr William E. Strong, has set down his impressions in weighty words:

> The Oxford meeting of the International Missionary Council did not happen. It required an enormous amount of preparation, as was witnessed by the number of statements and tabulations distributed during the sessions. Some of these papers, such as the collation of Treaties, Acts and Regulations relating to Missionary Freedom, the digest on Missions in Belgian, French and Portuguese Colonies, and the notes on Relation of Churches and Missions in various countries, will be invaluable for reference in mission board rooms in every sending country.
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> It was not a simple matter either to secure the attendance of over eighty men and women from every continent of the world who foregathered for these eight days at Oxford. The cost in time and effort as well as in money was large. And the undertaking of our British hosts in caring for the comfort of their guests and for the smooth operation of the Council's machinery, was no light burden.

Yet all felt that this outlay was fully justified by the result. The American party certainly faces its 3000 miles of homeward voyage with the conviction that every mile of journey is abundantly repaid. The information gained from the discussions; the larger vision got from taking the different points of view; the thrill of certain great moments of the sessions, as when the Council's utterance on Christian Education in the Mission Field, and, yet more notably, its deliverance on Missionary Co-operation in the presence of Doctrinal Differences, lifted us above the level of conference or debate into unexpected and epochal declarations of a common mind and a united purpose touching vital matters of missionary endeavour; the drawing near to God in frequent devotional periods in the quiet of Hertford Chapel: the exalting of Christ's revelation of God in Principal Selbie's timely sermon; the daily fellowship of men and women, unlike in race and tongue and traditions of thought and habit, but conscious of a real unity through their discipleship to Jesus Christ and devotion to His service; a fellowship which was enjoyed not only in the conference room, but also in the dining hall, the dormitories and the common rooms and in the recreations and excursions of the time; these are only some of the outstanding values of the conference just closed which make all hearts glow with rejoicing and praise.

Oxford furnished a rare setting for the Council; its memories stirred Christian faith as the portraits of heroes and martyrs looked down upon us from college walls. Humbly and reverently do we hope that another milestone of progress for the Kingdom of God has been set up at Oxford in 1923.

The things that we can say about the rich full growth of fellowship, which began in Lambeth Chapel when the Archbishop of Canterbury met the newly assembled delegates and commended them and the approaching meeting of the Council to God, and continued unabated in such an environment as that at Oxford, are totally inadequate to convey the meaning of the fellowship that we not only experienced then but are, though geographically sundered, still sharing. How can one communicate the joy of those common meals in the ancient hall at Wadham, with the portraits of its solemn founders and of the missionary bishops who once fed there as undergraduates—solemn in their official portraits though no doubt cheerful enough in their real selves—looking down on our laughter and free interchange of tale and thought and aspiration? How convey the richness of talks in the

late hours of the hot night lying on the grass in the men's quadrangle talking with one of our Japanese missionary statesmen luxuriating in a kimono, or with a South Indian who was more than satisfied with the tropical climate with which we greeted him? And still more elusive, yet profoundly and enduringly real, was the wonderful gift of God's Presence in those times when we came straight from the 'mental sweat' of the Council into the spiritual fellowship we shared in Hertford College Chapel. There was in those periods of devotion something of the sudden, cooling, bracing joy of a

> Plunge in the pool's living water.

Has Hertford—or for that matter any other College Chapel in any ancient university—heard day by day free extempore prayer from the lips of men of every continent, or had its intercessions led in an international sequence that girdled the world—in the morning by a Frenchman, in the evening by a German, and as day followed day, by a Chinese Student Movement secretary, a Japanese layman, an English bishop from India, an American principal from Cairo and a Danish count? And the wonder of those devotions lay not at all in the strangeness of their national contrasts but in the perfection of their unbroken unity. It is only as one looks back upon it that the full-orbed miracle of the spiritual unity of that fellowship grows upon the imagination: at the time it was so complete and we were so much within it that it came as a matter of course. Whatever else may be questioned about the council meetings at Oxford it stands beyond challenge that the fellowship was no sudden and emotional evanescent mushroom growth, but a 'tree planted of the Lord'—a thing rooted in the thought and prayer of personality and fruiting in real life and action. Nor do we feel any sense of the mitigation of the fellowship or the lessening of the vital importance of the Council's work as we see it in the spacious context of the world's international life. On the contrary, the longer we

ponder the inner meaning of the International Missionary Council and the nature of the bonds that unite it and of the hopes and ambitions that it shares, the more certain does it appear that the Council holds the secret that the world needs to heal its wounds. For, as Sir Arthur Hirtzel said so wisely and well at the luncheon when the Missionary Council of the National Assembly of the Church of England welcomed the Council :

> There is nothing the world needs more at the present moment than unity, and it is because unity is precisely that for which the International Missionary Council stands that it has such strong claims on our sympathy—unity among the Churches and unity among the nations. Ecclesiastical reunion is very much talked about to-day, and I believe that it is very much thought about too, which is not by any means the same thing. But if we are ever to attain it we must be sure to approach it in the right way. There is a wrong kind of unity as well as a right kind, and the wrong kind is that which is based on theoretical formulae which conceal differences without reconciling them. We have seen to our cost in the last few years how dangerous are agreements so arrived at in international politics. Let us beware of them equally in ecclesiastical matters.
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> Let us remember always that, historically, Christianity was a life before it became a creed. It is in the sphere of practice and not in the sphere of theory that we shall make real progress towards the only real unity that is worth having. All to be doing one and the same thing, for one and the same reason, with one and the same purpose—that is the living unity of an organism and not the mechanical unity of organization. One command has been laid upon us all, 'Go ye into all the world and preach the Gospel to every creature'; for one reason, because 'the love of Christ constraineth us'; with one purpose, that the Name of God may be hallowed, that His Kingdom may come and that His will may be done. And when we have done that all together long enough, the formulae will come of themselves; we shall find that they were implicit in our common action. That is the principle for which the International Missionary Council stands.

BASIL MATHEWS

IS IDENTITY OF DOCTRINAL OPINION NECESSARY TO CONTINUED MISSIONARY CO-OPERATION?[1]

By ROBERT E. SPEER

The problem proposed is real and difficult. It is real. Already in several fields organizations have been formed, such as the Bible Union in China, to unite those who believe that on doctrinal grounds they should separate themselves from others and to oppose co-operation and union except on the basis of agreement in the convictions laid down in the constitution of these organizations. And in other fields where no formal organizations have been set up the problem is none the less real as to what basis of doctrinal agreement, if any, is essential. In former days the doctrinal views of foreign missionaries were so far uniform and accordant, so it is said, that it could be assumed that common action was possible, so far as doctrinal opinion was concerned, without risk of friction or conflict. But now the rift between conservative and modernist opinion is said to be so wide and so widely prevalent on the mission field, that the question of more co-operation or of the continuance of old co-operation is an open and real issue.

The problem is also difficult. It is made difficult by our human frailties, by the confusion of prejudice with conviction, by partisan temper, by mutual misapprehensions, by careless and unguarded speech, by the inadequacy of language in the sphere of truth which is beyond language. But apart from all elements of personal difficulty the problem is perplexing as a problem of principle, or indeed

[1] A paper read before the International Missionary Council at Oxford on July 14, 1923. For Resolutions passed after discussion of this and the following paper, see pp. 491–2.

rather as a double problem of principle: How much doctrinal agreement is necessary to Christian fellowship, or what are the limits of tolerance; and how much doctrinal agreement is necessary to common organic action, or what are the limits of co-operation?

Before attempting to answer these questions, the writer of this paper ought perhaps, in order to avoid all misunderstanding, to state his own point of view. He accepts the whole of Christianity as set forth in the New Testament. He believes unqualifiedly every article of the Apostles' Creed. No language is adequate to state his conception of Christ. He believes that He is more and greater than any words can ever express, 'the Word made flesh,' God incarnate, reconciling the world to Himself, the only Saviour, our Lord and our God. He believes in the truthfulness of the record of Christ's life, including His miracles, and rejoices with great joy in the miracle of the Virgin birth and of the real resurrection of Christ and of His future, personal advent. He believes that it is God alone who through Christ saves men, not by their characters, nor by any works of righteousness which they can do, but by His own grace through the death and life of His dear Son. As to the Bible, he accepts the doctrine of the Westminster Confession and regards its authority as supreme, not in faith only but also in the practice, conduct and relations of men. I am afraid this may seem to many very antiquated and unmodern, and the writer must be prepared to accept whatever limitations of value in the modern mind such views set upon his judgment as to the doctrinal limits of tolerance and the doctrinal basis of co-operation.

One suffers from a second limitation also which conservative friends may view with disfavour, though they ought to feel kindly toward it. It is the limitation involved in an effort to see the problem in the light of our actual historic experience in the foreign missionary enterprise. The problems of tolerance and co-operation are not new. The Acts of the Apostles and the Epistles of St Paul are full of

them. They appeared on the very threshold of modern missions. Adoniram Judson withdrew from the American Board, when, on his journey to India, he was led conscientiously to adopt the immersionist views on baptism. A divergence of opinion on this one point of the meaning and form of one of the sacraments seemed to those godly men a barrier in the way of co-operation and union. A divergence of conviction as to the polity of the Church or as to the nature of the ministry and of the sacraments, one or both, has been deemed and is deemed still by others an impediment to union and to some forms of co-operation. From the beginning and to-day credal differences compel great bodies of Christians to hold aloof from co-operative commitments with those whose mode of conceiving the truth of Christianity is different, but toward whom, nevertheless, they feel the most brotherly goodwill. I may cite, for example, the thoughtful statement of the position of the United Lutheran Church of America, by Professor J. L. Neve, D.D. He is setting forth the confessional difficulties in the way of a closer relationship of the Lutheran and Reformed Churches in America :

When we speak of the 'Reformed group' of Churches in our country we have in mind, first of all, the German Reformed and the Dutch Reformed Churches in America, and then the Presbyterians and the Congregationalists on this side of the Atlantic. And in a derived sense, although subject to qualification, we count into this group also the Methodists and Baptists of many names, also the Quakers and other like Churches. These last mentioned are all in one sense or another daughters of the Reformed Church. The point on which the Swiss reformers differed fundamentally from Luther pertained to the whole conception of the means of grace—a difference which was defended on the basis of a differing conception of the person of Christ and on the ground of a special philosophy regarding the relation of the divine to the human nature in Christ, concerning the Word and the earthly and heavenly element in Baptism and in the Lord's Supper. These basic differences, again, function in such a way that wider circles of differences are drawn, which include the doctrine of predestination, the conception of the Church and the Kingdom of God, and the relation of Church and State. Practically all Churches belonging to the Federal Council reject the Lutheran conception of Baptism and the Lord's Supper and in connexion therewith what the Lutheran Church teaches regarding the mode of the Holy Spirit's work upon

the hearts of men. Some, again, have specific denominational peculiarities, the Baptists their demand of adult baptism, the Quakers their insistency upon the immediacy of grace, the Methodists their subjectivism in the emphasis upon conversion. But all these special tenets can easily be shown to represent special traits of the Reformed Church, which have been made the occasion for sectarian developments. We should fail entirely in a reliable consideration of our question, at least with regard to the chief branches of the Reformed Church group, if we should persuade ourselves to believe that there is a close relation between them and the Lutheran Church. With some of them, as for instance with the Presbyterians, there may be a certain alikeness in temper, in the appreciation of theological science, in the quiet working for spiritual results. But when all this has been said, the fact remains that the German Reformed, the Dutch Reformed, the Presbyterians and the Congregationalists belong to a camp of Protestantism which is doctrinally and practically established against the teachings and the church life of Lutheranism. Between the two sides there stands a different comprehension of the Gospel, which produces a different piety, a different church life. That their conceptions of the relation of law and Gospel, of state and Church are not the same we see in the characteristic differences between 'social service' among the Reformed Churches and the 'Inner Missions' as practised by the Lutheran Church. Even in the points of seeming agreement there is noticeable everywhere the 'other spirit' of which Luther spoke to Zwingli at Marburg and which is the natural result from a conflicting comprehension of the Gospel.

I have no desire to exaggerate. But we are discussing the question whether the Lutheran Church can step into corporate, organic union with an organization which represents the group of the Reformed Churches of American Protestantism. It is my conviction that the Lutheran Church cannot enter into a corporate relation with such an organization without denying her own genius, her own life.

I have made this long quotation to show how much more complicated and more living the whole issue is than in some of our present-day discussions we seem to realize.

If we were to attempt to deal at all adequately with the problem of this paper, a full study of the history of our missionary relationships should be undertaken to ascertain what have been in the past the principles governing our practice of tolerance and our achievements in co-operation, and wherein we had in fact discovered limitations in the one case and barriers in the other. This cannot be undertaken here. I venture simply to suggest some of the generalized conclusions to which such a study of the past might probably lead.

1. Thus far and to-day, for organic church unity a clear measure of agreement has been found necessary ; (*a*) as to fundamental doctrine and (*b*) as to church polity and organization. The nature and meaning of the sacraments might be added as a third element, but organic unity has been achieved without any statement on this third point, as in the Church of Christ in Japan and in the United Church of Southern India. In these cases, however, it was possible to take for granted a tacit agreement in this matter, which would no doubt have to be made explicit in the case of the union of Churches holding divergent views. These unions, however, like the union of Methodist Churches in Japan and of Episcopal Churches in Japan and China, are all kindred groups. The problem remains to be worked out as to what agreement in doctrine and polity is requisite to the union of bodies of different faith and order.

2. In the second place we learn from the history of missions that co-operation short of organic church unity has been found possible wherever the members involved trusted one another as fellow-Christians and possessed the agreement of view essential to the co-operative conduct of the particular work involved. Baptists, Presbyterians, Congregationalists, Methodists and Disciples have founded and maintained union hospitals, theological and agricultural schools and mission presses. Anglicans, Baptists, Lutherans, Congregational, Presbyterian, Reformed and Methodist Churches unite in college and medical education for men and women. Presbyterians, Methodists, Congregationalists and Baptists unite in a common treasurer's organization in Shanghai. Such co-operative enterprises can be cited by the score. Any institution whose work does not involve divisive doctrinal issues, it would seem, might as truly be a co-operative undertaking, provided the co-operators trust one another as fellow-Christians, as that those parties should go out to China or to India on the same steamship. People of different views co-operate in politics, or in extinguishing a fire, or in maintaining a mutual life insurance society, or in

developing a sanitarium. To the extent that the requirements of co-operation in any line of human action can be met, men can and ought to act together. All the more, let me say it again, if they trust one another as fellow-Christians.

Obviously there are two questions here. One of them belongs to this second inquiry and the third is the last of the three generalizations I am presenting. The question which belongs here is how much agreement in doctrinal belief and statement is necessary in the case of colleges or other schools, of literature societies and of co-operative committees and councils which are of necessity presenting Christian truth in institutional attitude or influence or deliverance, or in the classroom or in the printed page, or which are bound to represent in the fulfilment of their duties some view of the nature and teaching of the Christian faith.

What can any one do here but state his own conviction ? The conviction of the writer of this paper is that in our co-operative missionary undertakings and associations identity of opinion on the whole body of Christian doctrine is not requisite ; that in many matters a diversity of view which assures a fuller apprehension and presentation of the truth than any one individual or group of individuals can achieve is desirable, is indeed the very *raison d'être* both of our individualism and of our fellowships, but that one thing only is essential, and that is that we should hold a fundamentally unitary faith in and about our Lord Jesus Christ as He is set forth in the New Testament. There is room for the full freedom of the Spirit and the New Testament itself declares that ' the letter killeth,' but the picture of Christ in the New Testament is not letter but life. St Paul knew no fundamental issue but the issue of Christ. He is the one and only foundation, the sufficient and indispensable condition. ' Other foundation can no man lay than that is laid, which is Jesus Christ.' And the possession of Christian spirit is the essential and sufficient credential. ' If any man have not the spirit of Christ, he is none of His.' If we are really at one in the acceptance of this

New Testament conception and valuation of Christ, we have an adequate intellectual basis for our co-operative missionary undertakings and associations. Different forms of these undertakings, like literature societies and theological schools, will still involve special problems. Shall they present all types of Biblical criticism? Shall they describe and defend diverse theological points of view? One may hold earnestly his own convictions on these issues which exist among us, and may desire to see his convictions prevail, and yet as long as other men hold with him the New Testament view of Christ, he ought to be willing to allow, within the associations which he supports, the presentation of convictions which in all probability are as defective as his own are likely to be, in the patient hope of some larger and richer comprehension of the truth.

No doubt there are those who will demand more than this and others who would require less as the essential basis of our continued co-operative relationships. But I can find no more or no less than is suggested here to have been laid down as requisite in the New Testament nor as warranted in the teaching of the Spirit in the corporate experience of the Church.

3. There remains the third question as to the limits of tolerance. Doubtless the ability of the missionary enterprise to find a common basis of co-operation has been rendered easier, among other reasons, by the school of toleration in which foreign missionaries have been forcibly trained by the nature of their undertaking. They could find no foothold for their existence unless they were tolerated by the non-Christian religions. They could not ask for this tolerance on any grounds except those on which they were prepared to concede it. They could not ask the non-Christian religions to tolerate Christianity on the ground that they were false and it was true. This was, in some sense at least, the issue to be decided between them. They must live together in peace and friendship until by love and persuasion the followers of the non-Christian faiths could be won to the acceptance of Christ. If such tolerance was the

right principle on the part of Christianity toward the non-Christian religions, surely a spirit of love and tolerance similar in principle should prevail within the Christian fellowship among people who call themselves Christians.

Observe the question here is not a question of agencies of co-operation. We have already considered that. The present question is the question of tolerance. It cannot be denied that both St Paul (on moral grounds, Eph. v. 11 ; on grounds of belief, Rom. xvi. 17 ; on both grounds, 2 Cor. vi. 14–17 ; 2 Thess. iii. 6, 14, 15 ; 1 Tim. vi. 3–5) ; and St John (2 John 9, 10) sanctioned the principle of the withdrawal of Christian fellowship even to the extent of social separation. It is equally clear, however, that both they and St James and St Peter preached a principle of inclusion far transcending our present Christian practice (Rom. xii. 18–21 ; xiv. 10–14 ; Gal. v. 14–15 ; vi. 1–3 ; Phil. i. 14–18 ; Col. iii. 11–14 ; 2 Thess. iii. 14–15 ; 2 Tim. ii. 24, 25 ; James ii. 2–4, 8, 10–12 ; 1 Pet. iii. 8 ; v. 5 ; 1 John iii. 14 ; iv. 7, 12, 20 ; v. 2, 16 ; John iii. 5–8).

One wonders whether it would not be well for us to try to live yet more fully by these normal and regulative ideals of comprehension before we venture too far on the difficult path of judgment and excommunication where our human frailties have ever too free a play.

The end that we seek is the persuasion of all men to the truth, above all to the truth of the pre-eminence of Christ, in whom dwelleth all the fullness of the Godhead bodily. We may be sure that the path to this end is not the way of alienation and judgment and expulsion but the way of gentleness and meekness and love, of the calm and reasonable statement of the grounds on which we hold what appears to us to be the truth. In this purpose we best help others and best pass on ourselves into the fuller apprehension, by keeping wide and kind the bounds of Christian fellowship, by preserving the unity of the Spirit in the bond of peace, and by doing together as much of the service of the Kingdom of Christ as we can.

ROBERT E. SPEER

THE PRACTICABILITY OF MISSIONARY CO-OPERATION IN FACE OF DOCTRINAL DIFFERENCES

A PAPER READ BEFORE THE INTERNATIONAL MISSIONARY COUNCIL AT OXFORD ON JULY 14, 1923

By the Right Reverend E. J. PALMER, D.D., Bishop of Bombay

The word Co-operation is a word of completely indeterminate meaning by itself. This is the chief cause of the apparent difficulty of this subject. Much of the difficulty vanishes if we refuse to consider it in general, and insist on coming down to particulars. Many here may remember a passage in a famous Greek book where the nature of partnership is being discussed, and the half-comical remark that a man might be a good partner in a firm or workshop and a bad partner at a convivial party, and again, that the best of good fellows in the wine party might be a bad partner on the field of battle. In other words, it is entirely impossible to discuss partnership until you have answered the question, 'Partnership in what?'

So it is also with co-operation—which is a form of partnership. Co-operation in what? That is the question which must indicate both the line of our inquiry and the line on which it is possible to find answers.

The words 'missionary co-operation' I take to mean, not co-operation in missions, but co-operation between missionaries or mission boards.

Co-operation in What?

My first contention, then, is that we must keep asking the question, *Co-operation in what?* The justice of this

contention can be illustrated by a very hasty glance at the history of the co-operative movement in which we are all engaged. It has been successful and fruitful exactly where there have been things crying out to be done that could best be done by co-operation. It has been possible where those things did not raise questions connected with the differences in principle which separate the Churches which have co-operated in this movement.

If we look down our list of subjects on the agenda we can easily find instances. The whole subject of the relations of missions to the civil government has both these advantages : it does not raise any controversy between the missions and it is very much more easily dealt with in co-operation. Governments are extremely unwilling to take the time and trouble of correspondence with even a small number of bodies of men about the same matter, especially as it involves the risk of receiving different opinions from each. Or take again the subject of education in the mission field. There are a large number of questions relating to education in reference to which all missions have identical interests. There are very few which actually run up into the principles on which our views are divergent. We can all benefit alike by expert studies of education, by the advice of experts, and by the goodwill of governments in regard to education. Consequently this whole subject has been found to be a fruitful field of co-operation in our movement.

At this point we shall be ready to make an extremely important distinction. It is the distinction between co-operation in counsel and co-operation in work.

Co-operation in Counsel

Let us first consider co-operation in counsel. As a consequence of the Edinburgh Conference missionary councils have been inaugurated in different parts of the mission field, and also councils under different names in America and the British Isles which are formed of representatives of the home

boards and others interested in foreign missionary work. What are the limits of such co-operation in counsel, and how far are they determined by doctrinal differences? It has been an understood thing in the National Missionary Council of India that we should all recognize that we have great differences in principle. We should be perfectly prepared to hear men and women speak of those differences and of the manner in which they necessarily affect their own action. When statements are made of positions which some members of the conference cannot accept, and may even regard with pain or aversion, they are heard with patience and courtesy so long as they bear on the matter in hand, but the merits of these denominational positions are not discussed.

In this way we have been able to bring together persons of strongly divergent views, and we have attained to a great measure of unity in counsel—I think I might say, beyond all expectation. When men who all have the same loyalty to our Lord Jesus Christ sit together and discuss freely, frankly and courteously, they will find that for the practical needs of the present moment they are often given a common mind. In all assemblies of men of goodwill and common purpose the important thing is to discern the common mind as it grows; for that purpose, however, a man must come to the Council more desirous to learn than to teach, unwilling to believe that he brings with him the sole and complete solution of any problem, but convinced that what he brings will have its effect on the common mind and that the Council as a whole will be able to put together, by the help of God's Spirit, a solution which is truer and completer than that which any member could have attained outside the Council. It is also worth remarking that not infrequently the statement of two extreme views on either side has a balancing effect in bringing the common mind to an equilibrium, though the ultimate decision rejects the extravagances of both.

Now it is important to observe about co-operation in counsel, that the result is not going to be a command or an

order or even a direction or instruction. The result is going to be *a wise word.* It is going to be sent out to win its way by the wisdom and truth of its contents. We are apt to be impatient of the time which it may take in winning its way. Out of that impatience grows a desire to invest our Council with executive or administrative power. Now if that desire is indulged, immediately we have the question of authority raised, and with the question of authority goes the whole question of the organization or system of the Church. For that question we are not at the moment ready. But here this warning is necessary—bodies like our Council must beware of drifting into the position of exercising authority in the executive or administrative sense before the persons or Churches whom they represent have settled their differences on the matter of authority. No doubt the difficulty of getting things done challenges us to go further towards settling those differences, but the settlement of them will only be postponed by premature arrogation of authority by these consultative councils.

Meanwhile our co-operation is real and fruitful. There are few things greater in the world than to be able to say the wise word or the true word, and those to whom it is given to say such words may confidently take up our Lord's own favourite position, 'He that hath ears to hear, let him hear.'

Co-operation in Work

We come now to co-operation in work. Here again the determining question is, 'What is the work in which you seek to co-operate?' Doctrinal differences are no hindrance to co-operation in some sorts of work, but a very great hindrance in some other sorts of work. For instance, any of us here could co-operate with Hindus, Mahommedans, Confucians or Atheists in combating the 'dope menace.' On the other hand it is easy to give instances where the doctrinal disagreement is fatal to co-operation. Let us take, for instance, the training of ministers. If the object

proposed is to give the future ministers information about Hebrew, Greek, church history, doctrine, forms of worship, then it is possible to conceive a kind of University of Theological Study at which men of all types of Christian belief, provided they were adequate scholars, would be entitled to lecture, and students, having heard them all, would make their choice between them.

There are some who insist that all ministers should be taught a particular and sometimes a narrow view of Christianity even at the expense of proper development of religious thinking. Such a notion of preparation for the ministry is fatal to co-operation. However, this difficulty does not affect us all. I pass on to a difficulty which is felt by most of us.

We might co-operate in academic teaching of theology and the studies auxiliary to it. But, after all, we do not desire that a minister should only be in possession of information about the history of the Christian religion, the teachings of its Founder and His greater followers, the organization of the Christian Church, etc. Most of us desire that during his training the future minister should be helped to develop his own spiritual life. When we come to the question of the development of the spiritual life we find very great differences of opinion between us about the question, 'What are the main elements of the spiritual life?' Again, we most of us desire that the future minister should have instruction, and, so far as is possible, practice, in the inculcation of Christian principles of life to others. Here again we differ on the question, 'What are the most important elements in Christian life?' It is hardly necessary to remind you that some of us think that the Sacraments are not only a very important but an indispensable part in the Christian life; others think that they are, no doubt, a part of Christian life but relatively an unimportant one; others again have developed a form of Christian life without Sacraments. It is almost impossible to co-operate in a theological school which sets before itself

the object of developing in the future minister a deep spiritual life, if the co-operators are not agreed on what are the main elements in the spiritual life. Before leaving this part of the subject I may add briefly that doctrinal differences of a positive nature do not hinder co-operation so much as the determination to deny the point of view of others. For instance, two men might co-operate on the staff of a theological college, one of whom greatly emphasized the Sacraments and the other hardly spoke of them at all, so long as neither of them thought it his duty to denounce the opinions or teaching of the other. Two perfectly conscientious men might co-operate on the basis that they were convinced that the whole truth about God and man included the points of view of both of them.

Doctrinal Differences in One Church

So far co-operation in counsel and co-operation in work have been considered. A few words may be added about the ultimate form of co-operation, namely organic unity. These words are added, because, though the promotion of organic unity between the different Churches is not a direct duty of this Council, a consideration of the hoped-for visible unity of the Church throws light back upon the partial co-operations of the present day. Organic unity is not uniformity of organs. It is harmony in the functioning of different organs. The unity of the Church in the mind of God must, if we believe St Paul, be of that sort. The human body is the example best known to us of organic unity, and its excellence consists in the diversity of its organs and their correlation. From this analogy we are justified in anticipating, that the more visible unity the Church attains, the more comprehensive that unity must be. It is certainly not possible within our lifetime—it does not seem likely at any time—that all the branches of the Church should think exactly the same thing any more than that they should do the same thing.

When we begin to try to imagine what in the sphere of doctrine the lines of that comprehensiveness could be, we are met at once with the challenge, ' a thing must be either true or false.' But you and I who have thought about these matters are perfectly well aware that two apparently contradictory statements about the same thing often lead to the discovery of a truer statement than either of them, which will do justice to all that was really valuable both in the affirmation and in the negation.

In the Church of the future to which we look forward there may be persons engaged in attempting to set forth, and to persuade others to adopt, apparently contradictory views. A generation or two may pass and the whole Church may find itself believing something which neither party of disputants had actually held, but with which, if they follow from the other world the progress of their descendants in the faith, they would both be satisfied.

Now that reconciliation between opposing views will take place much more quickly and soundly, if all the time the disputants are in communion with each other, recognizing each other as members of the same body and discussing things in the spirit of fellow-members.

An illustration of such a discussion may be taken from a matter which is a burning question in some quarters at the present time, the question between the exponents of the verbal inspiration of the Holy Scriptures and the Modernists. I cannot help looking upon these two schools of thought as extremists, whose views in their present form are bound to be ultimately rejected, but nevertheless in the meanwhile they are counterweighting each other and enabling Christendom to come to a position of stable equilibrium. From the Modernists we have all learned a much truer historical appreciation of the Bible and of the progressiveness of the revelation which it records than our grandfathers and great-grandfathers held. We cannot but see, however, that much of their argument and most of their theories are dictated by an *a priori* rejection of miracle,

and if, as I think, that rejection is based on a false metaphysic, those arguments and theories are vitiated by the false assumptions which underlie them. On the other hand the study of the Bible itself shows quite clearly that those who believe in verbal inspiration are wrong in saying that all the authors were miraculously preserved from error of every kind. Again, our Lord's words themselves in Matthew v. show that the moral deliverances of different generations of lawgivers have not equal value. Yet though the theory of verbal inspiration must fall before attentive study of the Bible itself, those who hold it keep vividly before the Church the essential truth that the Bible is no common book, but records genuine revelations of God to man spread over many generations and adapted to many conditions of ignorance, and culminating in the final revelation through His Son. We may tolerate these groups of disputants as leading us by their dispute upwards to a conception of the truth about the Bible which neither has yet attained.

It may be objected that this view of the matter is easy enough for some one who himself occupies a middle position, but is impossible for one on the extreme right or the extreme left. Let us then put ourselves for a moment in the position of one of the disputing parties. How can I remain in the same Church as that other man who is apparently preaching against some of the things of which I am most strongly convinced? I can acquiesce in his being allowed so to preach if I can think, or even if I can dimly imagine, that he is serving the ends of Truth, and that later both his preaching and mine will be combined in a better and truer view.

It is extremely foreign to some natures to take up any such attitude. As it happens, the kind of man who most often goes out into the mission field is most likely to find it difficult. But if he finds this kind of tolerance for the preaching of views which are distasteful to himself is too hard for him when he approaches it from his personal point of view, he may be able to find it easier if he will take into

consideration some things which are outside himself. I have been extremely interested to see in the paper of our colleague Dr Cheng [1] that the Christians in China are demanding that there should only be one Church in that great country. In doing so they are going back to the primitive principles of the Church. The word 'Church' in the New Testament always means either all the Christians in a place or in a locality, or else Christians everywhere. In the early Church the unity of the whole Church of Christ was faithfully reflected in the several places by the unity of all the Christians in each place. Men were made to understand that loyalty to the body was a greater thing than loyalty to their own opinions. I venture to suggest that the Christian world may be witnessing a return to the instinct that the Church is essentially territorial. But besides the loyalty of Christians to the body there is another loyalty, which is both a higher aspect of that loyalty and its preservative—loyalty to Christ Himself. If that loyalty to Christ is felt intensely it makes for unity—it makes for co-operation.

Doctrines necessary to any Missionary Co-operation

Here we may take up a new aspect of our question. We may ask, Is there any doctrine so central that co-operation with those who deny it is precluded ?

I submit that any Christian missionary effort is necessarily an attempt to present Christ as the final revelation of God, because He and the Father are one. This is the central object of missionary effort, and the acceptance of this revelation alone makes possible co-operation in active missionary work. It may be that for some purposes co-operation is possible between us and those who are ever learning more and more of our Lord Jesus, ever acknowledging that He is far above them and ever unwilling to

[1] 'The Development of an Indigenous Church in China,' IRM, 1923 (July), pp. 368–88.

make any denial about Him—and this, because we all feel that our best conceptions about our Lord are unworthy of Him and will never exhaust all that there is in His nature. But the matter is far otherwise with regard to those whose teaching involves a definite denial that our Lord is God. I do not see how co-operation in propagating the belief in Jesus Christ as the determining factor in life can possibly be carried on together by persons who affirm Him to be God, and others who deny that He is God.

I do not say that this is the only doctrinal difference that matters. When once any man or body of men have come to think that our Lord is God, that belief must necessarily affect their whole conception of the Deity. As in the history of the Church, so in their personal history they will come to understand various things about God and His nature which the Church has expressed for us in the doctrine of the Holy Trinity.

All doctrinal differences create difficulties in co-operation, but I would submit that no doctrinal differences are necessary bars to co-operation in the work of the Church, except those which concern our doctrine about the nature of God. For missionary co-operation in any sphere is co-operation in bringing to men a revelation about God, and, before we can co-operate in doing that, we must agree in general what revelation of Himself God has made and we are to preach.

As I listened to the discussion the other day on the proposed World Missionary Conference, I felt that it was confused and uncertain and led nowhere. The reason, I could not help feeling, was that the next step is not with this Council. For missionary progress the most urgent thing to-day is that we should come to a real agreement about the essential doctrines which lie not only behind church unity but behind missionary co-operation. The hope for missionary progress lies now in the hope that the missions will one day be the missions of the United Church.

E. J. Bombay

THE EFFECT OF MODERN DEVELOPMENTS ON MISSION POLICY[1]

By FRANK LENWOOD

I HAVE been asked to discuss 'Changes in the Mission Field, including (*a*) the growth of indigenous Churches; (*b*) the rise of nationalism; and (*c*) the progress in co-operation as represented by the National Christian Councils in India, China and Japan; and the bearing of these changes on the policy of mission boards.' I hope to keep India especially in view; for in India my main experience has been gained.

Of these three causes necessitating reconstruction I believe that only the growth of the Church is really fundamental, and that the other two, nationalism and the development of co-operation, are subsidiary and indebted to the Church's growth for any importance they have. To take nationalism first, there are certain people who shy like restive horses at the word. It is true that at times it assumes the likeness of a dangerous and unchristian inflammation, but the nationalism with which we missionary folk have to deal to-day is not of that type. If it is inflammation at all, it is as an outward reaction against the deep-seated causes of disease. Like pain in the body it is a warning of the malady that is worse than pain. Nationalism, that is to say, is one of the best friends of the missionary, for it bids him remember and allow for the waxing power of the national Church. Let us put our thought in concrete examples. Who that knows India to-day and can compare with fifteen years ago would not choose to deal with the Christian nationalist, outspoken and independent, rather than be stifled, blanketed and paralysed by the old clinging subserviencies.

[1] A paper read before the International Missionary Council at Oxford, July, 1923.

What a joy it is to appeal to young men and women to listen to the Gospel because they love India and long for moral force to make her the great nation she ought to be!

For missionary boards the danger is probably most acute in the countries where nationalism at present does not exist. I shall try to develop this later in reference to primitive tribes. There are still left a few whose surface seems like an unruffled calm. It is precisely there that we need most watchfulness. But where nationalism stings sleep away, we are in nothing like the same danger.

The strength of nationalism, in other words, lies not in itself but in the facts to which it can point. In almost every country the Church is developing a strong and natural life of its own. It obviously knows better than foreigners the wants and temper of its people. In the beginning missionaries were justified in controlling the policy of the infant Church, but as the Church grows in importance it is plain that it must be free to govern itself. Even in regard to the activities still fairly conducted by a foreign mission we are beginning to understand that the people of the country should have much to say. As Christian leaders we ought to have been able to recognize this without being told. Where we have unrest within the Church showing itself in nationalism of an inflammatory type, it is usually due to the fact that we have needed nationalism to wake us from self-satisfaction and teach us our business. At the earliest possible point the Church of the country ought to be free to shape its own course.

We shall do well to keep in mind the distinction already used between the Church and the mission. Roughly speaking, the Church includes the minimum list of activities necessary for the existence of a Christian fellowship. The mission on the other hand covers those functions of education, preparation and healing which many native Churches are as yet unready to perform.[1] This distinction is rough and

[1] I use the word 'native' in exactly the sense in which I should use it of English people in England and with no slighting intention.

ready but it will enable us to think actually about practical problems of to-day.

I. As far as the Church is concerned, a large proportion of missions in India, probably including all the greater missions, have in the last few years given new constitutions to the Churches which they have been privileged to found. Boards at home and missionaries in the field have alike been anxious to take advantage of the development of the Church.

The general results have been even more happy than we had any right to expect. Indians have recognized the intention behind the gift. As far as it has gone, they have met trust by trust and have seen in the boards' surrender of power the sincerity of their desire to let the Indian Church be mistress in her own house. Here and there, indeed, there are evidences that some of the more conservative Indians would prefer to escape the risks and responsibilities which are bound to fall upon an autonomous Church and to go back to the securer days of mission control, when salaries were paid without the need for raising funds from reluctant church members and subordinates were kept in their proper place. But these do not represent the thought of progressive Indians. That is committed to Indianization.

The board policy in regard to all such transfers of authority to the Church should be to make sure that the transfer is genuine and is not hampered by stipulations tucked away, so to speak, in corners of the document. If Indians have any ground for the suspicion that the new constitutions are designed to look more generous than they really are, it would have been wiser never to grant them at all. This means that ultimate power to make money grants for detailed purposes in the field must lie in the Church of that field and not in the home board, or in any finance committee of missionaries acting on its behalf. Till this is conceded, the Indian Church cannot have full control, for there is hardly any operation of missions which cannot at one point or another be interpreted as involving finance and

so reserved for European decision. Any subsidies given by the home board to a Church in India should be given as to any similar Church in the West and that Church should have full authority *as a Church* to spend its resources as God guides it.

Have the subscribers then no rights? The less they talk about rights the better! But in the end every one will admit that they cannot be compelled to make sacrifices for work in which they do not believe. I suggest that these two apparently incompatible principles can be reconciled, in part at least, by a retrospective scrutiny of the last year's expenditure of the Church and representations made on the basis of that scrutiny. The mission board would have before it the balance-sheet, one of the items of which would be the subsidy from itself to the Church. If in that balance-sheet there were expenditures which would not be likely to meet with the approval of the home subscribers, it would be possible for the secretary of the board to write to India and point out that if this or that course were followed, the subsidy could not be continued. Such a remonstrance would leave the Church free to sacrifice the subsidy, if it felt the matter to be one of principle, and would be a very different thing from the irritating necessity for the sanction of a foreign body in advance. There always remains—let us be frank about it—the possibility of a deadlock. This is inevitable as long as two such bodies must work together. But if Indian church authorities are as cautious and reasonable as we of the London Missionary Society have always found them, such a method, by giving time for free and friendly correspondence, should provide against all the ordinary causes of friction.

Even retrospectively, do not let us scrutinize the budget with too minute a care. In dealing with a western Church we should allow it latitude, and while these eastern Churches have not the same experience, it is absurd to talk of giving them freedom, unless they are allowed to make mistakes. It is as true of a Church as of a man that ' he who never makes

a mistake, will never make anything.' It was also a wise remark of the present Bishop of Madras in regard to the grant of Indian control, 'Why should we insist on making all the mistakes ourselves?' It will, therefore, only be in case of grave and considered disapproval that a home board would go so far as to suggest the withdrawal of subsidies.

II. To-day, however, statesmanship is most likely to be tested in the second wide division of our activities, what we may call the work of the mission rather than of the Church. Even in this sphere there are few boards which have not already taken, or are in process of taking, some step to secure fuller Indian help. Of the importance of such a step I am profoundly convinced. Nor do I believe that any principle is likely to be violated. I should like to quote from the report of a deputation of our own board which has recently returned from India.

> There is one central principle of profound importance. Everybody agrees that the goal of our work is complete control by the Church of the country. To reach this goal, one school of missionary statesmen has always insisted that it is necessary to confine to the foreign missionaries the membership of the field committee which deals with and represents the home board. If the native of the country becomes a member of such a committee, they say, he will learn to be interested not in his own Church but in the connexion with London or New York.
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> From what we have seen in India we are doubtful of this reasoning. In the first instance we may well ask whether the remedy does not lie in gradually transforming the controlling body of foreigners upon the field into a body more and more composed of the people of the country. The Indian would think of himself as accepting membership not in a foreign committee, but in a committee largely Indian, and conducting business with London on India's behalf. As long as the authority exercised from London is constantly decreasing, we do not see why there should be any danger in relations of co-operation and mutual counsel. The day may not be so far away when, in some hour of perplexity, the home church will look to India for aid.
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> But there is a practical reason which seems to us even stronger. On the theory we have outlined, mission committees in the field ought to have none but European members. Yet for many years these committees will have great influence, and, because they have so much money at their disposal, are bound to modify profoundly the future of the Indian Christian community, and through it of the Church. Are these mission committees to be composed of none but foreigners? Until the time when the Church is to take these duties

over, are they to work without Indian help and guidance? To state the possibility seems at once to supply the answer. We cannot do without Indian help in the present settlement of the major and minor problems that arise, and, if we attempt to do without it, besides making a thousand avoidable mistakes, we shall probably find that we have evolved institutions so foreign in outlook and working that the Indian Church would not thank us for the transfer. The third argument for the board's innovation is that it allows the gradual training of a number of Indians for completer responsibility, and provides it in the very institutions of which they will be expected later to take the reins. On all these three grounds we think that the board's policy is a right one, and that, quite apart from the Indian control of the Church, there should be more or less Indian representation on any governing body responsible for institutions.

In the working out of such a principle, since the money comes from abroad and since the inspiration and guidance of the institution is frequently based upon the educational experience of the West, Indians would have no objection to admit that Europeans should probably have a majority of the governing body, or at any rate equal numbers. The possibility of enlarging Indian representation beyond the halfway point will depend very much on our power to increase the number of genuine laymen in our councils. I mean by 'genuine laymen' not mission employés who have escaped ordination, but men (and women) who are entirely independent of support from the Church or mission. I believe further that during the period while we are necessarily creating new traditions, the home board should watch the policies of the field with rather more care than in the past. To take one crucial instance, there are parts of India where education has been established by the British Government on theories so far out of date that the popular thought of education has been corrupted. Only the freshest of Indian leaders could be expected to escape from the current fallacies which they take in with their daily breath. In such a case the home board has still a great function to fulfil in urging upon its Indian authority those lessons of educational theory which the best training institutions of the West are beginning to work out. The time of transition ought not to be a long one, for these new ideas are particu-

larly fitted for application to India, but in the first instance, they will have small chance of finding an entry apart from the pressure of the home board.

On the other hand it seems essential that nothing should stand between the home board and the field committee where Indian Christians are represented. It ought not to be possible for a finance committee composed only of Europeans to smother the recommendations of a body including both races. If we follow the plan of self-governing committees for the larger institutions, and there is need for some central committee to co-ordinate their recommendations, that central committee should include a considerable Indian membership. Again, to illustrate from another polity, no theory of episcopacy should justify the choice of bishops from the West without the clearest certainty that it is a western bishop that is needed. In all these reforms (let us remember it again) sincerity is of the essence of the transfer.

III. We now come to two important conditions. The first refers to primitive tribes. So far most of the constitutional advances have taken place in the great civilizations. We should lose no time in beginning the process among the simpler peoples. Where we have come nearest to disaster, the cause has usually been that we have too long neglected to prepare for a demand which was certain to arise. The less developed peoples are accustomed to some form or degree of self-government. They have their councils of the tribe, their meetings of elders, their *panchayats*, even of the lowest sections of the Indian outcastes. If we do not apply a similar method to the Church, we are likely to stunt their powers of administration in the religious sphere. It may often be dangerous to single out an individual and give him power, especially if the singling out is done by a western body, but there is safety in numbers and almost without exception a council working upon native lines represents a rich fund of commonsense, to say nothing of local knowledge. In one island in the Pacific there was grave unrest during

the war because the natives were given no part or lot in the civil government of the community. Fortunately, two or three years earlier the missionary board had established a system of church councils, though at that point there was no expectation of any nationalist feeling. As a consequence the Church remained calm through the political storm; indeed those who criticized the tardiness of Government made contrasts in its favour.

It should again be remembered that many of these primitive peoples are essentially wealthier than the great millions of the East. They have smaller populations, wider lands, sometimes a more fertile soil and almost invariably few traditional needs. They ought, in other words, to be supporting their own Churches and even meeting all the further expenses which the board incurs on their behalf. But they will not do this unless they feel that they have a voice, however limited, in spending the money. We have an interesting example in Samoa. For many years past the Samoan churches connected with the London Missionary Society have paid their own native ministers and have paid them well, but in 1915 a deputation from the home board suggested to their Assembly that, instead of giving large but uncertain gifts to foreign missions, they should undertake to find the whole cost of the European missionary staff sent out on their behalf. They accepted the challenge and for five or six years have paid every penny of the mission expenses in Samoa, including the passages to and fro of missionaries with their salaries and allowances on furlough. This probably represents the kind of relation which will be most helpful to the primitive Churches as they come into a fuller authority. Our society has made lamentable mistakes in the past by cutting off connexion with Churches which seemed able to govern themselves. It forgot the instability of minds imperfectly educated and the constant incursion of perilous influences from the West. In future this specious show of democracy will test our statesmanship more often. As new communications draw tighter the

bonds between the nations, the primitive peoples will have greater need of western help to get them past the temptations which western contacts bring.

Further, the development of the Samoan desire for something like autonomy is also instructive. In 1915 we suggested to them that they should take part in the government of the mission. At that time they flatly refused, stating that they would wish to postpone any such change at least till the centenary of the mission about 1930, but the intervening years have produced a change of temper. Before 1930 they may be prepared to take some share in the mission committee.

Of course this will bring its dangers, but the dangers begin at the point when the Samoans pay for all the work. Yet it would plainly be impossible, or at least scarcely moral, to ask the western churches to go on subsidizing a wealthy Samoan Church and providing missionaries for it, simply in order to make sure that no risks were caused by the self-government of the Samoan people.

May I turn aside at this point to say five things shortly ?

(*a*) It is a wise policy to give voluntarily and not under compulsion, to confer freedom and not have it snatched out of your hand.

(*b*) Our experience of the new Indian constitutions in the London Missionary Society has been most encouraging. We have not followed any one system, but have allowed our five district committees to sketch out the kind of devolution they thought right after consulting the Indian leaders on the spot. I was greatly impressed last winter with the good sense, practical grip of committee business and spiritual power shown by Indian members of our committees. Even where by reason of the absence of laymen the new constitution seemed to give undue power to Indian delegates to vote on such matters as their own salaries, the risk appeared much less than might have been anticipated. We have nothing but thankfulness to God for the changes we made.

(*c*) In India and the other fields I know, there is still a filial respect for the home boards. If we do not throw away that respect by flagrant unwisdom or by presuming to ask more than we have any right to ask, it may be a real asset for our own good relations and for the native Churches themselves. It may enable us to guide them past dangers which we understand because of the painful experiences of the western Church. They have not advanced so far that they can learn nothing from us.

(*d*) In the last resort this transfer of control involves to that extent the voice of Indians in the appointment and even more in the removal of foreign missionaries.

(*e*) I have said nothing about self-support. But all these changes should be accompanied by the fullest pressure towards self-support. Three-quarters of the financial dangers will be removed, if the Church in the field has to help in some proportion to tax itself for new developments and improved conditions of pay.

IV. The last great division of my subject is changes of policy because of 'the progress in co-operation as represented by the National Christian Councils in India, China and Japan.' I said before that the real, operative cause was the growth and vitality of the national Church. This new clause is only another way of saying that the Church has grown to a certain maturity. It is the Church behind the National Christian Councils that really matters.

I was present at the Shanghai Conference in 1907, which contained no Chinese members. I can imagine that most home boards would take some notice of the resolutions of such a council, but, if they liked, they could ignore them. But to-day we deal with the Chinese Church and that the home board can only ignore at its peril. The native Church is becoming the sovereign Church.

Now some of us do not like it. Some of our boards and many of our constituents neither like nor understand it. It brings a new irritating, unwelcome change. We have been used to authority—we have said to this man 'Go,' and we like to hear our own voices saying 'Go.' 'A Board has always governed. If you take away the right to govern, will it be a Board at all?' 'If the Churches in India should unite, will the united Church regard our fads or even our customs and preferences?' We all want a truly Indian Church, if it can be postponed till the time of our successors.

This sort of temper is human enough, but it will not do. We shall probably be too weak to retain authority over the young, vigorous, national Churches; but even if we succeed, it will be at the price of suppressing their growth.

Let us beware of the rigidity of mind which cannot stop,

even when its object is attained, and cannot recognize the moment to relax the pressure. Some people start action with a certain purpose and then get so interested in the action that they forget to ask whether the purpose is accomplished. Some people start winding up their watches and wind on automatically till they break the mainspring. The Church was not made for the missionary board, the board was made for the Church. We must learn when to stop, *when to submit to the consequences of our own victory*. For there is no victory in our work to be compared to the native Church that can stand up to us and look us in the face and make terms with us as sovereign in her own house.

If the parts of that Church want to unite in a National Christian Council, we must thank God and follow their leading.

My own society has no choice. Its founders, with peculiar imagination and statesmanship, thus nobly fettered themselves as long ago as 1795:

> It is declared to be a fundamental principle of the Missionary Society that its design is not to send Presbyterianism, Independency, Episcopacy or any other form of Church order and Government (about which there may be difference of opinion among serious persons) but the glorious gospel of the blessed God, to the heathen, and that it shall be left (as it ought to be left) to the minds of the persons whom God may call from among them, to assume for themselves such form of Church Government as shall appear to them most agreeable to the word of God.

Whenever we want to retain any ecclesiastical authority for the London Missionary Society, we have our historic constitution against us. We find it a great strength to be thus removed from temptation!

If then the Church of the East decides to work through National Councils, here to amalgamate and there to ask missions to co-operate in a united plan, I believe we shall be wise to acquiesce and to thank God.

'There will be difficulties,' you say. I admit it. There will be difficulties of different national methods and ways of thought, American *versus* French, German *versus* English,

and European *versus* Asiatic. There will be difficulties of varying financial standards, e.g. of missionaries' salaries. This may be met by lending the missionary to the united Church. Indian inexperience will lead at first to some injustice (Indians have had to submit to some injustices in the past). But let us remember that under God the native Church of the greater peoples is our mistress. If we do not serve her, we foreigners have no place. In order to serve her, these disparities *must* be overcome. Therefore they *can* be overcome.

Finally do not let us make the common mistake of all religious organizations. Do not let us forget the Holy Ghost. None of our machinery—none of our safeguards are of any use without 'the Lord and Giver of Life.' Just as surely, on the other hand, if the Spirit be with us, shall we learn from our mistakes and seize the opportunities God sets before us. Like the seed that grows in secret, the Church we came to establish will draw upon the invisible supplies of grace and astonish us by its vitality and progress.

FRANK LENWOOD

FEUDALISM AND CHRISTIANITY IN JAPAN

By J. MERLE DAVIS

The Japanese people possess a rich and complex inheritance. The impress of Malay and Mongol, of Manchu and Tartar, of Confucius and Buddha, of Shinto and the Papacy have combined to create the national character and culture. Upon this composite background in the last sixty-five years have swept the myriad influences of modern life which, like light waves upon a sensitized photographic plate, have left a bewildering succession of prints. Though these modern impressions have, to a certain degree, obscured the old background, the ancient culture, like sculptured granite, breaks through the superimposed covering and dominates much of the national life.

Obviously no single interpretation of the Japanese on the basis of inherited influence can suffice. In the study of their racial characteristics the student is led to sources far separated in time and space. It is interesting to consider, however, that feudalism, one of the most recent and powerful influences upon the Japanese life and the one to which the Anglo-Saxon has the nearest counterpart in his own background, has been given by western students of Japan but scanty recognition in relation to the psychology of the Japanese, their philosophy of life and of society, and their reaction to western culture and institutions.

No interpreter of modern Japan can expect to open the door to the mind of the people without the key of feudalism. The Japanese mind, like the Japanese home, functions in a series of apartments. Opening on the street is the business entry, with offices and waiting-rooms where the ordinary business matters are transacted. Adjoining is the suite of

living rooms where the household life is carried on. Still farther in the rear and removed from the noise and publicity of the street are the reception room and apartments of honour reserved for distinguished guests and for religious and family ceremonial. Here may be seen a very few of the choicest heirlooms and art treasures, and here upon a recessed shelf are kept the votive tablets of the family ancestors. Invariably this secluded portion of the home is planned with an outlook upon one of those dainty gardens for which Japan is justly famous, a garden arranged with miniature vistas, symbolic landscapes and bits of sacerdotal craftsmanship, tiny pagodas, stone lanterns and shrine portals, a landscape and environment that breathes the very atmosphere of the vanished centuries.

The inner life of the modern Japanese resembles this home architecture. It responds with amazing versatility to the ordinary contacts with the West. Its outer chambers open hospitably to business representative, tourist, teacher or missionary. More difficult of access are the living rooms where the daily problems of life are met. Rare indeed is the foreigner who finds opening to him the apartments of honour, with their sequestered garden outlook. For here the Japanese heart, wearied with the hurly-burly of twentieth century life, retires for association with its fathers and for solace and communion with the spirit of old Japan.

It is these inmost chambers of the heart, where currents of thought and sentiment are flowing far removed from modern Japan, which endow the Japanese with a rich and varied culture but make him difficult for the Occident to understand. These spiritual and mental resources which antedate the Christian era in their origin, resources which have crystallized into social customs and institutions, are responsible also for the comparatively slow progress of the Christian Church in Japan.

The Anglo-Saxon nations are also children of a feudal parentage, but, except for traces which linger in the organization of industry, of Church and of Government, feudalism

has for seven hundred years taken its place among the obsolete institutions of the Middle Ages. The Japanese, however, be he peasant, merchant or artisan, still lives in the shadow of what was in certain respects the most highly developed feudal system of history. This system, only fifty-eight years behind him, dominates to a remarkable extent his point of view, his political concepts, his social relationships and his everyday life and habits.

Japan is paying a colossal price for her modern life. What the western nations have distributed in payments over a term of a thousand years for institutions and ideals, payments toward which each generation has given its quota of sacrifice and costly experience, the Island Empire is shouldering in one swift half-century. The nation's leaders have faced the delicate problem of the engineer who reconstructs a worn-out bridge without interfering with the traffic passing over the right of way. Foundations must be deepened, steel replace brick and timber, new tracks must be laid, larger rails substituted, and the structure made safe for heavier rolling stock and for an increased speed and volume of service. Through this complicated process of national reconstruction, the nation must function without a moment's respite, meeting the ever-increasing demands of the complex world life that it has entered.

When in 1865 the fateful decision for international intercourse was made by Japan's statesmen, it was evident that a centralization of national power was imperative. As a first step, the three hundred and forty feudal chiefs, many of them possessed of enormous power, riches and territory, went up to the capital and laid their feudal rights, titles and lands at the Emperor's feet.

By this extraordinary act of renunciation the nation was technically de-feudalized, and prince and retainer alike became private citizens living under the new civil code and owning direct allegiance to the Emperor. However, feudalism as a social and political force and as a philosophy of life persisted, carrying over into the new era and dominating

much of the life of modern Japan. The family system, that iron mentor of conduct, is a child of the feudal past. The class divisions of society, the attitude toward militarism and toward business, the suspicion that runs like a sinister thread through the fabric of Japanese character, the repression of emotion, rigid self-control, taciturnity with strangers, obedience to superiors, respect for law, loyalty to the group and to the state, even to the casting away of life, may all be traced to the same source. Feudalism is responsible for the low development of the social conscience, a certain lack in personal initiative and resourcefulness, the shrinking from the acceptance of personal responsibility, the close provincial and clan bonds, the affection between master and servant, the hero worship characterizing relationships in educational, political and professional circles, and the elaborate etiquette and courtesy of social and official life. Finally, with the Shinto system, feudalism greatly intensified the reverence and devotion of the masses toward the imperial family and especially towards the Emperor, the supreme feudal chieftain of the nation.

Space does not permit mention of the profusion of customs, ceremonies, words and phrases affecting the everyday life, the art, the drama, the literature, the sports, the dress, and the architecture which linger from the feudal period and which form the daily atmosphere of the people. In the nation's struggle for democratic idealism and institutions, with the world of liberal thought and conduct that crowds in the wake of democracy, feudalism stands as the last citadel of old Japan against the advancing tide. And feudalism is responsible for so much that is of enduring value in Japanese life that it is clear that no foreign institution or foreign doctrine can be assimilated in the national life or permanently shape it without making important adjustments to it.

The influence of feudal ideals upon the political development of new Japan was inevitable. It has undoubtedly served a useful rôle in the gradual introduction of party

politics and of individual political responsibility. The great feudal princes were given positions in the new cabinet, governorships, and diplomatic posts. In this way their experience in leadership and their high abilities could be capitalized by the Empire.

With the granting of full civil rights to the nation under the Constitution in 1889, and with the opening of the franchise to a limited number of property holders at the close of the last century, the political education of the masses began. But for nearly two decades the political parties remained weak and inarticulate. The real power was in the hands of the military and naval clans of Choshu and Satsuma, whose powerful war lords, as cabinet ministers or as Elder Statesmen, continued, much as in feudal days, to dictate the actual policies of the nation. Japan's reputation for militarism can be placed at the door of feudalism. The two-sworded retainer, standing at the head of the social scale, became the *beau idéal* of every Japanese youth and the theme of drama and song. World events since 1914 have heralded the rapid decline of the old system and the old ideals. The Japanese awoke to the startling fact that industrial and commercial power and not military prowess determine the leadership of modern nations.

With the emergence of vital social, economic and national issues, issues which have become vocal in the rising social consciousness of the masses, the political parties have immensely increased in their leadership and significance for the national life. To-day, in Japan two powerful groups are smarting under the sense of political helplessness. The disenfranchised intelligentsia are standing solidly with the labour masses in demanding manhood suffrage, and both groups are beginning to think in terms of national prestige and international relationships and desire a share in determining Japan's domestic and foreign policies.

The family system is the most complete of the social institutions which feudalism bequeathed to the Japanese. The family was the clan in miniature and the clan the enlarged

family. As the feudal chief held powers of life and death over his vassals, so the father was absolute lord of the family. Complete obedience and loyalty to the death in both groups were foundation stones of the system. The personality and interests of each member were merged and identified with the group. Individual action, conviction, ambition or decision counter to the prescribed policies of the group was treason. To the Anglo-Saxon, the family, the state or the nation is evaluated as it contributes to the development of efficient and happy individuals. Japanese philosophy reverses this formula and gives the individual significance in proportion to his contribution toward the success of the larger or smaller social unit to which he belongs.

The extraordinary loyalty of the Japanese is a direct outgrowth of this feudal relationship, and is probably his most striking moral characteristic. Though fast weakening under the pressure of an individualistic era, this splendid trait still dominates society, even to the point of violating the practical and moral sense of the Anglo-Saxon. Devotion to country, to ruler, to employer, to friend, to the defective and infirm of the family is probably found more generally and to a greater degree of self-abnegation than in any other land. Japan will be the loser when this instinctive fealty, even to the death, toward those to whom family and state demand devotion fades from the consciousness of her people.

In repression of emotion, taciturnity with strangers, and in concealment of feeling, the feudal Japanese resembled the Spartan Greek. Closely coupled with these instincts was an innate suspicion, bred by the six hundred years of espionage maintained among the feudal states. Children were taught the importance of self-control and the danger of speaking in the presence of strangers. Where a democratic society bases its intercourse upon the principle that a stranger is a friend until he proves to the contrary, the feudal schooling reversed the policy and treated a stranger as a potential enemy, placing on him the burden of the proof of friendship.

Recently at the close of an address in which the writer referred to this trait of Japanese psychology, a man in the audience came forward with the remark that he had been specially interested in one statement. 'It was where you said that the Japanese make the other man prove that he is a good fellow before they treat him as one. I've been working on that principle for thirty years. I'm a secret service agent.' Perhaps no trait has proved such a handicap to the Japanese and such a source of misunderstanding as his social conservatism and the impression frequently made upon men of other lands that he is withholding his real self.

That a Christian inheritance can in three generations wipe out certain characteristics which have developed through many centuries is indicated by the experience of a young Japanese physician who was sent by his Government to study at Johns Hopkins University in the spring of 1922. The Japanese met my family with such unfeigned friendliness and participated in the home life so naturally and with such open-hearted gaiety that we took it for granted that he had spent many years in the United States. 'No,' he said, 'I have been in your country only three weeks. But perhaps I can explain why I seem like an American. I am a Christian, brought up in a Christian home, in the Church and in the Young Men's Christian Association. Both my parents were reared as Christians. My grandfather and grandmother on my mother's side were both Christians, and my father's mother was also one of the first Christians of Gumma Prefecture, so I have a Christian background.'

The feudal state developed few social problems which the feudal lord could not meet and none for which he was not responsible. It gave small room for individual or community action in solving social questions or opportunity for the development of a social conscience among the people. Though the last decade has brought a marked change in these respects among the upper classes, one is not surprised to find a somewhat slow reaction to social responsibilities and an inertia in the face of community needs.

Another feudal inheritance for which the Japanese have been severely criticized and misunderstood is the traditional attitude toward business and trade. However, the West would do well to consider that for many centuries of Japan's history the trader held the lowest position in the social scale. Above him was the artisan, the farmer, the priest and the soldier. Just below him was the outcaste. Trade was considered a somewhat dirty occupation, necessarily crooked in its ethics, and was left to people of low estate and low morals. In addition to this handicap, the Shogun Government practically interdicted foreign trade for two hundred and sixty years and still further unfitted the nation for a commercial career. Since the beginning of the Meiji Era and the entrance of thousands of the upper classes into business, the ethics of trade has steadily improved, but Japan still suffers from the fact that her best brains and noblest characters were excluded from commerical practice through so long a period of her history.

The feudal training has had a definite bearing upon the national perception of religious truth. The Christian teaching of a God who is a Person and who bears, as Father, a definite and primary relationship to every human being is not a difficult concept to the Japanese. The monotheistic idea is also in harmony with his instincts. Both ideas accord with the feudal ideal of power vested in a supreme chief, a chief to whom the lowliest vassal was bound in obligations of loyalty and service, a chief who in turn loved his vassals, recognized their dependence upon him and found satisfaction in protecting and nourishing them. The Japanese heart is fertile soil for this primary seed of Christian truth. The missionary is not infrequently amazed at the ease with which a new convert is mastered by Christ's teaching of the Father and the natural and profound manner in which his heart responds to the Maker of Heaven and of Earth.

This was the overwhelming experience in the conversion of young Niisima, the founder of Doshisha University, an

experience that mastered him in the midst of his feudal and heathen environment and that drove him an exile from his country, under death penalty, to try to find and know this Father God. 'If God made heaven and earth,' he reasoned, 'He made me, and if He made me, He is my Father and as His son I must worship Him and obey Him and feel loyalty and love toward Him.' What sixteen-year-old Niisima experienced sixty years ago in the shadow of his daimyo's castle in central Japan is a normal Japanese heart reaction to the first of Christ's teachings.

The Master's second great commandment finds a more difficult entrance to the feudal heart. Japanese society recognized certain rigid divisions in the social scale. There were few obligations of respect toward the lower classes which the swashbuckling samurai was obliged to recognize. The peasant or artisan were cattle to the two-sworded fighting man, and could be cut down on such slight provocation as the desire to test the temper of a new blade. The inherent worth of every soul on the basis of sonship of the Father God, without reference to family or national group, is a strange concept to the feudal mind. Christ steps into the Japanese family circle as a revolutionary and breaks the most sacred and hoary traditions of society. He lays a claim to son or daughter, a claim prior to that of clan or family, which a Japanese does not easily recognize. He teaches personal accountability and responsibility for the individual life and he introduces to a closer relationship than father, mother or brother.

Quite unconsciously class divisions have persisted in the attitude of the Japanese Church to its field of work and its social responsibilities. A majority of the early converts to Protestant Christianity were from the samurai class. These men and women gave their intellectual power, their high standards of character and qualities of leadership to the Christian community. It was too much to expect that a Church built from this social stratum would easily interpret its mission in terms of the poor and outcasts

of society. Japanese Christians, like many of their western brothers, tend to form small, congenial cliques, drawn from people of similar social status and occupation. The Church has yet to interpret, in any extent, its mission to the community in terms of practical service, or to see its opportunity in the vast new industrial centres that have sprung up in all the great cities.

It has been a subject of comment that the Japanese people, capable of such efficient organization under government and military leadership, should, as Christians, function in so isolated and ineffective a way in the sphere of social, moral and religious enterprise. The long struggle of the Church for financial independence, the implied, if not actual, control of the programme of many of the Japanese Christian organizations by foreign missionary bodies, and the peculiar and colossal difficulties involved in pitting their weak resources against the compact social order from which they have so recently separated are obvious answers to this criticism. However, it cannot be denied that a most active deterrent from corporate Church action has been the slow growth of a group consciousness and group loyalty in the Japanese Church, a consciousness which has never been absent from the nation's military, educational and industrial enterprises.

The last decade has seen this power for united action within the Christian movement grow by leaps and bounds. Sustained evangelistic campaigns on a nation-wide scale, the expanding Temperance Movement, the Purity Society, the Forward Movement of the united Methodist Churches, the World's Sunday School Convention, with its subsequent extension programme carried to every corner of the empire, and the extensive army work of the Young Men's Christian Association, promoted by Japanese funds and Japanese secretaries for two years in the Siberian camps and cities, prove not only that the latent organizing capacity of the Japanese Church has begun to apply itself to large and worthy tasks, but that this new consciousness of power and mission

has stirred the imagination and called for the support of the public.

The conquests of Christ in the placing of new value upon human life are not limited to Japanese Christian circles. His gospel of a fuller life has become articulate in the struggling labour unions, the improvement of working conditions in factories, mines and slums, in better housing, shorter working hours and in a general bettering of conditions among industrial circles and the very poor. Organizations and bureaus for the betterment of social conditions have increased tenfold in as many years. A cabinet minister in reply to the question, ' How do you account for the immense increase of strikes and labour unrest since the war ? ' instead of attributing it to Bolshevism, said, ' It is Christianity working among the people : the working man is testing Christ's teaching of larger life and freedom.' It is not an accident that the pioneers in every field of social betterment have been Christian men and women, nor that the four outstanding labour leaders in Japan are Christians and that two of them are ordained ministers. A large proportion of the experts in social and economic research are Christian teachers and officials. Government bureaus, when looking for workers to staff their social experiments, acknowledge that it is among the followers of Jesus that the compelling human interest and self-sacrifice required in the successful social worker is found.

A priceless gift that Christ offers to a feudalistic society is the new evaluation and position of woman. The commodity estimate of woman is giving way before the Christian ideal of equality of place and opportunity. But the peril is great because it is a non-Christian society in which women are finding their freedom. Girls and women are pouring into commercial and government offices, they are fighting their way into the universities and they are already active in art, literature, journalism and education. In the rebound from the submission of centuries of feudal control the modern feminist has appeared in Japan, demanding the right of

suffrage, birth control, free love and other supposed prerogatives of her newly won freedom. The geisha of Japan, for many centuries the social entertainer of the nation, is slowly retreating before the real leaders of Japanese society —the wives and daughters whom Christ has discovered and set free to take an unprecedented place of influence in the home and in the customs and thought of the people.

The Christian doctrines of sin and of the atonement find dim counterparts in the orthodox code of Bushido. It is here, rather than in Buddhism or Shinto, that the Japanese finds his background of experience to connect with the new. The feudal code, however, provided for individual atonement by self-inflicted suffering, the ' Harakiri,' or disembowelment, which was considered to wipe out the score against the erring vassal, and which alone could spiritually reinstate him with his lord. It has taken considerable time for the conception of sin as something more serious than a mistake, or even disloyalty, to enter the Japanese consciousness. The helplessness of the sinner, the necessity of heart contrition and dependence upon the forgiving grace of God are new teachings. The various doctrines of the atonement are difficult and even repellent to many of the Japanese converts.

A characteristic custom in Japanese social and official circles is for the office holder or individual who errs in the conduct of responsibilities to resign or even to commit suicide. Many of these cases are extremely pathetic, but they are so numerous as hardly to call for more than passing comment. Typical cases that come to mind are the resignation of the leading hotel manager of the country at the accidental burning of his establishment, the suicide of a high school girl who fails in an examination, the self-immolation of a school principal who fails to rescue the portraits of Emperor and Empress from his burning school building, the drowning of herself and children by the mother of a child who in play accidentally fires a whole village, and the suicide of the chauffeur of the Crown Prince who was so

unfortunate as to have a tire blow out while driving his imperial master. Here is a refinement of the sense of individual responsibility for personal conduct which finds no parallel in other lands. It illustrates clearly the extraordinary feudal influence upon the moral reactions of the people.

That conduct may entail moral responsibility too serious for self-atonement, for which the soul is responsible to God alone, is a foreign idea in Japan. This accounts, in part, for the unpopularity of a Christo-centric theology. However, the Christ who leads men to God, who gives men power to live as sons of God and successfully to overcome sin is attracting the love and loyalty of increasing numbers. But the Japanese tend to interpret Jesus with more mysticism and with less dogmatism than western Christians.

More and more the Japanese are seeking in democracy and in the liberty of Christian institutions the solution of their social and moral problems. Feudalism, however, is such a complete antithesis of Christian democracy that the sudden step from one to the other is full of peril. The nation is learning that social liberty must be matched with social control, and that license without strengthening the moral forces spells individual deterioration and social chaos. The dilemma is heightened for Japan from the fact that her traditional sources of control—her moral codes and feudal relationships—have lost much of their vitality, while the nation has not yet adequately found the dynamic sources of control of the Christian interpretation of democracy. Here is the essence of Japan's moral and social problems—the danger of abandoning the old before she thoroughly grasps the new.

The picture of human history depicts a long and devious path in the progress from tribal to international ideals. In dealing with Japan, however, the Master Artist has foreshortened his canvas with amazing skill. Millions of Japanese are living who have shared in three eras of national existence —the feudal, the national and the international. Hardly had the nation unified itself and broken with the tribal

organization of society, building a powerful nationalism in institutions and idealism, than it found itself again belated and discovered that the world had whirled on to a new stage —the international. When we consider the birth pangs of western nations in their progress toward liberalism, we can but marvel at the superb poise of the Japanese and that their national picture has not been put more seriously out of focus.

To Japanese of the old school, the new idealism strikes a blow at the heart of the nation. It requires a moral and social orientation which is an antithesis of the nationalistic viewpoint. It demands the giving up of the Machiavellian type of diplomacy, the every-man-for-himself policy, and the idea of prosperity built upon the weakness of neighbours. It demands the ideal of the nations as forming a compact family, with inseparable interests; that no family member can suffer without all suffering; that sound prosperity cannot be secured at the expense of another and that the strong must share the burden of the weak.

This is the principle of brotherhood that Jesus taught. It is the same principle that Christian America and Europe are learning at such fearful cost. If it is a difficult lesson for nations with a Christian and democratic background to master, can we be surprised that internationalism is costing Japan a struggle? Trade, industry, science, art, literature and politics are all compelling the Island Empire to travel the world road. It is fortunate that along with these forces of internationalism she is accepting a new philosophy of life and a conception of God and man that makes reasonable and compelling the world spirit that is sweeping her forward. One of Japan's representatives at the Washington Conference remarked to a British representative, 'If Japan takes the civilization of the West, she must also take the Christ of the West.'

More accurate than the vision of the statesman was that of the Japanese high school boy who asked, 'Was Christ an American?' 'No.' 'Well, wasn't He an Anglo-Saxon,

or a European ?' 'No, he was an Asiatic.' 'Why, then He is our Japanese Christ too—a world Christ!' In the final analysis, it is not the Christ of America, or of England or of Germany that can save Japan from the pitfalls into which these nations have stumbled. Japan must find her own Christ, interpreted in terms of Japanese experience, if her millions are to be attracted by His beauty and power. But if this nation is to meet the demands of the world life into which it has so recently been born, it must take a farther step and at the feet of the world Christ learn to know God who is the Father of all nations and races of men.

The Christian movement in Asiatic lands faces a solemnizing responsibility. How far is it justified in furthering the disintegration of the ancient institutions of these peoples whose sources of social, moral and religious control are fading ? It is not enough that western Christians believe that Christ offers the East more than a recompense for its passing idealism. The question is rather, 'Can the East appraise the Christianity which the West presents as sufficient for its needs ?' There can be no doubt that much of the old culture and ethics have built themselves into the finest qualities of Japanese character and that they have been a stabilizing and ennobling force in the growth of the nation. Can the new Christian philosophy of life fully compensate Japan for the loss of the old ? Must she inevitably lose the old ? Can Christ find in the old national treasure-house foundation stones and timbers from which He can fashion His glorious kingdom in the Island Empire ? Can His teachings be interpreted in the light of the old culture so that neither the precious heritage of Japan's past nor the eternal verities of Christian truth will be sacrificed ? We believe that this process has been active in the Christianizing of European nations : why should we deny the validity of the same principle in God's dealing with Asia ?

The Christ of Galilee came not to destroy feudalism, with its family system, its heights of loyalty and devotion, its superb self-control, its veneration for the great and worthy

dead, and its respect for authority. He came to build upon it, to fulfil it, to interpret its vital principles in terms of God's fatherhood and man's brotherhood. In this phase of Japanese culture is found one of the great gifts of the nation to the Christian experience of history.

J. Merle Davis

JAPAN OF TO-DAY AND THE CHRISTIAN MESSAGE

By SOICHI SAITO

Pressing problems crowd upon Japan to-day as they do upon the rest of the world. The Japanese public has been kept actively employed in the discussion and interpretation of social, economic, industrial, international and spiritual questions, and while these problems naturally are looked at from the oriental standpoint, the Japanese are wide-awake to similar currents throughout the world. It is not true to say that the Japanese to-day are insular in their outlook. The trend of thought in our country is unmistakably new.

Two or three decades ago, it might have been said that we were busily occupied in introducing things occidental in a wholesale manner. Assuredly it is not so to-day. Re-valuation and re-interpretation of the traditional ideas and practices of the East and West, a new struggle for freedom, and, above all, a keen desire for a new social order and a lively aspiration towards spiritual regeneration characterize our time to an unprecedented degree.

Mindful of the profound changes which are being wrought in the thought and life of our country, we must now be thoroughly prepared to answer what should be the Christian message for the Japan of to-day. In order that we may be quite clear about our ground, let us consider the several contemporary movements which are going on in our country.

To those who take their knowledge of Japan from such writers as Lafcadio Hearn and Pierre Loti the following statement may appear to be too prosaic and too dry, but let us face the facts. First, there is a movement which is known as Bunkwa Seikatsu, or the Cultured Life Movement, which, according to one of our noted writers,

means: 'A life furnished with the best of intellectual, moral and aesthetic equipment, such as a social order marked by democracy and equality of opportunity can afford. An enlightened life, a life that brings satisfaction and contentment to human consciousness, is the pillar of cloud that has become the guide of the present younger generation. This conception brings with it a marked change of attitude towards the conventions of the past.'

This movement has been advocated by such men as Dr K. Morimoto, professor in the Hokkaido University, Dr S. Yoshino, professor of the Tokyo University, and Mr T. Arishima, a popular writer of the present day. It has been well received by young men and women. A similar movement has been started, largely among women, with the purpose of abolishing conventional and unnecessary practices and customs in daily life, and with the definite plan of bringing about a better society.

About seventeen years ago two different Japanese translations of Charles Wagner's *Simple Life* were published, one by the government Department of Education, and the other by a private citizen. To-day it is not so much a simple life as a rich, cultured life that the people in general are anxious to lead. After the world war was over, one of the catchwords for a year or so, with us as in other parts of the world, was reconstruction. Every paper, periodical, pulpit and platform echoed this word. For awhile it was quite fashionable, and the Cultured Life Movement was a product of the reconstruction movement, which still exists. It is worthy of note that the adherents of this movement have been for the most part those who discredited militarism and a narrow-minded nationalism.

A reactionary movement has also been set in motion. A recent event, which occurred in one of our most liberal universities, is an evidence of this. A group of students in one of the universities tried to inaugurate an organization for the study of military affairs. But it was met with severe opposition. On the other hand, in another university a

professor who was noted for his reactionary attitude, and has hitherto been fighting against liberal ideas with great determination, is reported to have reached an agreement with some of the socialists, almost following the steps of the Fascisti in Italy. To those who often ask whether there are any liberals in Japan these conflicting reports will give some idea of the struggles which our country has been going through.

On the other hand, this movement for cultured life has expressed itself not only in the economic improvement of daily life but in the promotion and appreciation of music and literature, the composition of a new form of poetry, the birth of a new literary style and even in a new kind of building. There has even been an exhibition of a so-called 'cultural building' which is evidence on the one hand of dissatisfaction with the present order, and on the other hand of all sorts of endeavours to improve it.

In the second place, there have been several movements connected with various social and industrial questions. Since the economic depression of 1920, the dissolution of many companies, the decrease of wages and uneasiness on account of unemployment have given rise to hot disputes between employers and employés. According to the statistics of 1921, there were 246 strikes, involving 58,225 people, and there were 650 labour disputes, which though not resulting in strikes, involved 112,664 people. Besides these disputes in factories, there were in the same year 1254 disputes of tenants against land-owners, a phenomenon which is quite new in our country.

The high cost of living has been threatening the lives of professional salaried men. Most of the big companies have had to retrench their work, consequently a great deal of unemployment has followed. Social questions are the questions of the day and among those who are interested in them are large numbers of young men and women.

Dr Yoshino, professor in the Imperial University, Tokyo, said to me some time ago, 'I know a few students

who are keenly interested in the problems of capital and labour, and they have gone to one of the working centres to live among the people there.' He went on to say, 'To-day the social movement has come to the cross-ways, one road goes to the left but the road which leads to the right must be under the guidance of competent leaders.'

There was a time when the social movement was altogether of the purely materialistic type of Karl Marx. However, a leader like Mr T. Kagawa has exercised a great deal of influence in stopping such a tendency. Though there are extremists, moderates and non-party members in these groups, the fact remains that Japan has been experiencing the world-wide upheaval in a very severe form, as was shown in the May-day demonstrations.

In the third place, several religious movements are worth studying. During the last few years the most popular books in Japan have been those treating of religion in some way or other. Novels, romances, biographies, essays and so on have had something to say about religion. Let me take one of them, which was written by Tenko Nishida, entitled *Confession, or A Record of Penitence*, which has gone through 250 editions within a few years. Tenko Nishida is neither a Buddhist nor a Christian. His teaching emphasizes the necessity of service and he himself practises it. His work may to some extent be likened to that of the mendicant friars of the Middle Ages. He and his followers go out into the town to sweep the roads, or into a house to clean the floor, and they will do anything without asking for any wage. If you give them food or money they will take it. If you do not they will not grumble. This peculiar teacher has gathered round him a large number of followers, Buddhists and Christians alike. Though the severe attacks of the newspapers on certain actions of the founder have made him less popular, there are still many who adhere to his principles.

There is another small and less influential group of people who have also been undermining the life of the intellectual classes. Their philosophy is a sort of Gnosticism

based on theosophy and they have tried to harmonize the Mahayana Buddhism, neo-idealism and Christianity, in order to establish a new system of religion. They have also exerted an influence on the economic side of life by making provision for the sale of cheap goods.

This kind of mixture is also found in the most popular drama which treats of the life of Shinran, the Founder of Shin Shu, one of the Buddhist sects. The title of the drama is *The Priest and His Disciples*. One cannot read this book without being impressed by the author's attempts to interpret Buddhist doctrines and the religious experiences of the Buddhist in Christian terminology. From beginning to end it is full of anachronisms, as far as its expressions in Christian phraseology are concerned. This strange attempt, however, has attracted the attention of a large number of Japanese men and women. It has already been translated into English and has also been performed in several theatres with considerable success. This book has gone through more than 300 impressions. In this connexion an interesting experiment which has been conducted by the Methodist College, Kansei Gakuin, at Kobe may be mentioned. That is an exchange of lectures between that college and one of the oldest sects of Japanese Buddhism at Koyasan. The result is remarkable not only for what it implies of interchange of thought and philosophy, but in the pleasant fellowship enjoyed on both sides. Keen interest is shown by both faculty and students.

All these facts may remind one of St Paul's speech at Athens, where he speaks of men ' seeking the Lord, if haply they might feel after Him and find Him.'

Fourthly, there are some among our leading educationalists who begin to realize that the character-building of our boys and girls must be based on religious education. Half a century has passed since the introduction of a modern educational system into our country. The fiftieth anniversary was celebrated last year. A system of moral education has been carefully prepared and taught in the schools in the

place of the moral principle known as Bushido in our fathers' time. It is now realized, however, that the time has come when something deeper than these moral lessons is required, but it is difficult to take definite steps in this direction, on account of the existence of several different religions in our country. In a recent speech to the local governors, the Minister of Education emphasized the great importance of uplifting the national ideal and morality.

Now let us ask ourselves whether or not our Christian forces are strong enough to cope with the present situation. I will briefly state the three chief difficulties with which we are confronted.

First, I feel I should not be true to readers of the Review or to my own conscience, if I did not mention a difficulty which perhaps may not be peculiar to Japan, but which is certainly a real one with us, and one which it is the duty of those of us who name the name of Christ to recognize fearlessly and together. I refer to the attitude of many, who, as a result of the Great War and the many failures of the Christian Church, tell us that it is of little use to preach the Gospel of Christ as ' the power of God unto salvation ' until in the lands that call themselves Christian it has proved itself to have this power in social and international relationships. Need I say that it is not as a citizen of a country which is called non-Christian that I write in any spirit of criticism of those who live in the so-called Christian lands ? It is rather as a brother writing to brothers and sisters in the common family of our Lord that I say that together we must bear this reproach.

A second difficulty—a local and most important one—is that the number of able Christian leaders is small. The number of Christians is increasing and the present social influence of Christianity is out of all proportion to its numbers ; still, when we seek to plan for any great work or look toward the releasing of influences which shall uplift our nation, we are painfully conscious of the weakness of the human forces on which we can rely. Also we feel—what

may be rather difficult for western people to understand—the lack of Christian families to exert their influence upon the character-building of boys and girls, and from which we can secure leadership.

In the third place, the Christian Churches in their attempts to meet the present situation are not strong enough to take the lead in the everyday life of the modern world. In the course of conversation, an eminent Japanese business man pointed out to me that in the early period of the Meiji era, missionaries and Christian pastors were the leaders of the new civilization. 'However,' he said, 'the time has passed when the Christians are the leaders of our people.' He is right when he mentions with appreciation the great contributions of such men as Dr Verbeck, Dr Brown, Bishop Harris and others. It is true that our Christian Church as such is no longer leading the nation to-day as much as it once did. What I am concerned about is that our Christian Churches should not be left behind when other institutions and organizations are making steady progress.

With all these difficulties and problems, we must not forget on the other side the genuine and really great work of our Christian Churches, which is a source of encouragement and gratitude.

In the first place, it is gratifying to learn that all the evangelistic and other big campaigns launched by several large denominations within the last few years, in commemoration of the inauguration of their work, have been planned and carried out by the brains and the hands of Japanese. It is very interesting to note that there has been a consensus of opinion on the part of lay and ministerial leaders that they should concentrate their effort on enlisting and training able, competent leaders in every sphere of Christian work.

Another encouraging fact which must not be overlooked is that Japanese Christians have willingly pledged themselves in a new manner in these campaigns to share the financial responsibilities for the extension of the Kingdom of God on earth. It is not simply because some of them have grown

richer, but because they have come to learn the joy and the privilege of giving.

Another cause for gratitude is this: To-day it is not uncommon to find strong Christian men and women in the government departments, universities, business firms, banks, and other important walks of life. It is not unusual to find in many places old members of the Student Christian Movement who occupy very important positions, and are exercising a great deal of Christian influence directly and indirectly.

A fourth cause for gratitude is found in the leavening influence of Christian literature. A most popular book which I have not yet mentioned, is one called *Crossing the Death Line*. It was written by a young Christian pastor who is living in one of the filthiest slums in Kobe. The book may not be a great work from the literary point of view. It is a simple autobiography of the Rev. T. Kagawa, who has been fighting a Christian fight against social evils. The book is said to have been sold first to the publisher for the honorarium of 1000 yen, but it went through no less than 300 editions within two years.

Once more, in justice to those Christian women who are awake to the situation of our country, and are striving to play their part, the vigorous movement among women must be mentioned; the Peace Movement, the Cultural Movement, the Temperance Movement, the movement among students have the co-operation of women. Indeed, in some of these movements our Christian women are taking the lead. It is our sincere hope and prayer that Christian women will realize their great responsibilities in all spheres of activity in the modern world.

Let me ask again, how should we interpret this situation, and what should be our Christian message? The Rev. M. Uemura, one of the leading pastors in Japan, put it in a vivid way, taking a passage out of the Scriptures. He said, 'Japan to-day may be likened to the situation when our Lord Jesus Christ made a tour through the towns and vil-

lages, teaching in their synagogues, preaching the Gospel of the Kingdom, and healing every disease and complaint. As he saw the crowds he was moved with pity for them; they were harassed and dejected, like sheep without a shepherd.' Pastor Uemura referred to another passage from Scripture in order to illustrate the present condition. He said, 'There are many people who are not far from the Kingdom of God, but who have not yet reached the Kingdom.' Fuel is piled up waiting to be kindled, we only need to strike a light.

In facing the tremendous opportunity which is ours, there are a few outstanding places where it may be possible for us to make a real and definite contribution.

Dr D. Ebina, President of the Doshisha University, used to say that Christianity in the early period of the Meiji era had a distinctive message. 'For instance, first we laid emphasis on the recognition of, and respect for personality without regard to profession, on respect for womanhood, and on the moral aspect of Christianity, and such topics were preached about from the pulpit, which thus met the needs of the day.' Christian mission schools made a large contribution in those days; the girls' schools first started by the missionaries must especially be mentioned with great honour in the history of education in our country. There was a period when the educational authorities seriously considered asking for one of the girls' schools started by missionaries as a school for girls of noble family. To-day, however, we need to make a distinctive contribution in some other ways. In an article on 'The Missionary's Task from the Standpoint of the Japanese Church,' Dr U. Kawaguchi gives a timely suggestion as to how Christianity may meet the present day need through its international and interracial aspect. 'This is decidedly an age of international relations,' he says, 'hence we need an international, interracial religion. Christianity has a very important task to internationalize Japan in its ideals and life.' Further Dr Ebina is quoted as follows: 'In the coming age of inter-

nationalism the leadership of Japan will inevitably be placed on the shoulders of Christians, and Christian missionaries will become honoured national teachers of Japan.' [1]

Before I left Japan I had the privilege of an interview with Prince Konoe, one of the young liberal leaders of the House of Peers, who in response to my request for some advice or some message to Japanese young men and boys, replied in his modest manner, ' I should like rather to learn from you.' He went on after a moment's pause, ' If I am asked to make a brief statement as to my hope and desire, I will venture to say that the international knowledge and spirit is what Japanese young men and boys ought to acquire more than anything else to-day.'

No religion in the world can give such a solution of the problems which face a bewildered world as can the Christian faith, when rightly interpreted and consistently followed. There is certainly in the world of to-day a new call for the Christian Church to meet this unprecedented opportunity.

It is no less important that we should offer a Christian solution to the acute inter-racial problem and the strife between classes. In the first few months of this year our vernacular papers were busily engaged in reporting trouble and prejudices concerning the Eta, a class of people who were treated as outcasts in the days gone by. The question of these outcasts seemed to have been settled long ago, yet the hatred and prejudice still exist. Recently a national union called the ' Levelling Movement ' has been organized and a most remarkable fact is that the promoters have discredited one of the Buddhist sects, to which most of them belonged, and which has hitherto been regarded as a democratic sect. Outside our own country Japan has had some bitter experiences of race prejudice. Can we Christians stand aloof and watch one of the most tragic experiences of humanity, namely, ungrounded sentimental hatred of each other ? Is it not our duty to come out boldly and say ' Yes ' or ' No ' to such a question ? Strife between nations, races and classes

[1] *Japan Evangelist*, April 1922, p. 152.

has done terrible harm to humanity, with results we have already seen. If we Christians fail to give a right solution, who knows what the end will be ?

I referred in the previous pages to some religious movements. Of course, there are some whose tendencies are quite mystical and emotional. But it cannot be denied that there are many Christians and inquirers after Christian truth who are seriously considering these problems of the new day and are eager to find an approach to the Christian interpretation of questions which are by no means easy to answer off-hand. Nevertheless, one can easily see what a stupendous work is awaiting Christians if they are to play their true part. Is it not time for us to reconsider the lesson our Lord Jesus Christ read to the Jews—'to preach the Gospel to the poor, to proclaim release to captives and recovery of sight to the blind, to free the oppressed' ?

Let me further mention three interesting groups among others engaged in the study of Scripture. One is conducted by Mr K. Uchimura. He is a Biblical teacher and writer of extraordinary power, but a pronounced independent, opposed to all religious organizations and rites. His magazine, founded a decade ago, is unique in its magnetic quality and in its circulation. Mr Uchimura's followers include farmers and students, officials and teachers. Many of them are earnest propagators of their faith. This group is growing month by month. They used to meet on Sunday afternoons so as to avoid clashing with the services in other churches. The number has so increased that it has been limited to those who are regular in their attendance and the time of meeting has been changed to Sunday morning. The group is still increasing.

Another interesting group for Bible study is conducted by Miss Moon, a lady missionary of Aoyama Gakuin, the Methodist college in Tokyo. Solely through her personal influence her Bible class now contains more than three hundred boys, including not only the students and boys of that Christian college, but the students of the Imperial

University, Tokyo, and the College of Commerce and other schools. It is not only Miss Moon's personality that has won the confidence of the boys, but there has arisen a real interest and strong aspiration among the young people to seek the truth in the Bible.

A third is a regular seminary known as Shingakusha, under the principalship of Pastor Uemura. This is a theological seminary started and run by Japanese. There we often find the graduates of universities and men and women of scholarship, who are anxious to investigate the Book of Books, in order to drink deep from the fountain-head.

All the facts just mentioned suggest what should be one of the most important of our messages for Japan to-day. A remarkable change is apparent when the conditions twenty years ago, even ten years ago, are compared with those of to-day. The time is opportune for Japanese Christians not only to satisfy their spiritual thirst at the eternal source but also to give their original research and interpretation, and, above all, their real testimony to the Scripture which has meant so much to our Japanese Churches.

In the last fifty years, which covers the history of our Christian Church, several criticisms have been directed against it. The first was that Christianity did not agree with Japanese educational principles and national morality. Later, Christianity was criticized as irreconcilable with the scientific view of life and nature from the evolutional standpoint. Besides these external criticisms there have been several controversies inside the Church itself, such as the introduction of new theology and prolonged discussion on the question of the divinity of Jesus Christ. At present, critics are anxious to hear the relation of the Christian message to present-day life. About a year ago a famous speaker from abroad dealt with the question of war from the Christian point of view. This made strong impression on the general public, but a keen young writer expressed his disappointment, saying that the speech itself was excellent but failed to present the deep spiritual side of the Christian message.

'That popular speaker,' he said, 'has not grasped our sincere desire for something much more spiritual. We are longing after something deeper and higher than his presentation of Christianity.' He certainly voices the sentiments of thinking people who are not satisfied with superficial presentation.

In the interpretation of the Bible, which is part of the presentation of Christianity, original scholarly research should be encouraged, and the Christian message should be presented in view of current social aspirations; but nothing is so important as a note of deep spirituality.

It is not in any boastful spirit that I say Japan has her distinctive vision in interpreting the word of God and in living a real Christian life, but such joyful service may be shared with the rest of the world. Bearing that in mind we may avoid some of the mistakes of the West, as for instance, denominational difficulties.

To meet the present need, several practical suggestions might be offered, such as special effort for the spread of Christian literature, including theological works and the biographies of great men, and the need of opportunities for clean recreation, including fine music. There is also much social work which should be carried out by Christians. But supreme above all of these is the need that the spirit of the living Christ shall inspire and inform our message.

In Japan this is the time of all times when we should redouble our efforts and unite our full strength in the endeavour to accomplish the great purpose of our Lord Jesus Christ. Our need is great; so also are our possibilities.

Soichi Saito

NORTH AFRICA AS A MISSION FIELD

By SAMUEL M. ZWEMER

Only fifteen miles across the narrow sea separates the Pillars of Hercules; Tangier, that great international bone of contention, lies only across the bay from Spain. Thousands of ships pass through the straits carrying the commerce of the seven seas, and yet the distance between Europe and Morocco is still measured not in miles but in terms of centuries and civilizations.

To-day one can travel in Morocco, as we did last summer, along splendid automobile roads at thirty-five miles an hour and railways are open or being constructed from north to south and from Casa Blanca to Oran. No part of the world has seen such marvellous changes in a single generation as has Morocco. In 1910 no telegraph existed, nor telephone, nor Arabic newspaper. The country was in complete isolation, with suspicion, greed, fanaticism and cruelty dominating the higher ranks of society while the population at large was living in the tribal stage of social development.

The government of Morocco at that time was described by Sir John Drummond Hay as a 'kingdom of fishes wherein the biggest one of all lives by devouring the next biggest, those in turn the smaller, and so down to the minnows feeding on inanimate larvae.' To-day the whole of northern Morocco enjoys a French protectorate. Casa Blanca has developed from a mere fishing village to a modern city. Education, freedom, and economic prosperity are everywhere in evidence, and one can say without exaggeration that Morocco to-day is no longer an African but a European country, with the same laws as in France, the same conveniences for travel, and that the most backward of all

nations has entered into the great family and polity of Europe.

It was our privilege to visit nearly all of the mission stations in North Africa from Kairwan to Casa Blanca, during the summer of 1922, for the special study of the character of Islam, and its literature, and to secure larger co-operation of the workers in this field with those in Cairo, for Moslem evangelization. Conferences were held with groups of missionaries at Tunis, Constantine, Algiers, Marrakesh and Tangier. The observations that follow are based on the discussions held at these conferences, our experiences during the four weeks of travel by rail and motor, and also on information obtained in government publications and in interviews. We give outlines and not details therefore; charcoal sketches are not to be judged as photographs or paintings.

GEOGRAPHY. Exclusive of Egypt, Tripoli and the Spanish zone of Morocco, North Africa forms a more or less complete unit under French colonial administration.

According to the most recent investigation, the area of Morocco is about 231,500 square miles. Of this Spain claims 10,000 square miles. The population of French Morocco is estimated at 5,500,000 including 75,000 Jews, and 50,000 Europeans. The total population, including the Spanish zone, may be put at 6,000,000. Until the beginning of the twentieth century, the history of Morocco could be written in a sentence, a succession of dynasties ruling according to Moslem law, and being deposed generally by assassination while the people suffered the darkness and the horrors of Islam. The capital cities of Morocco are—Fez, Tafilet, Marrakesh, Rabat. Here the Sultan still has his palaces, and at the last-named place the Governor-General, Maréchal Lyautey, has his residence.

Algeria and Tunisia have so much in common that they may be considered almost a unit. Only thirty hours from Marseilles by palatial steamers, and knit together by 5393 kilometres of railways with telegraph and finely built high-

ways everywhere, and a common relationship with France, they cause one to revise one's geography and speak of them as provinces of Southern France. Algeria actually is a part of France since 1871 when the rebellion was crushed. It is divided into departments, and sends senators and deputies to the French Parliament. It has its own budget, however, and the local prefects (governors of departments) are answerable to the Governor-General, and not directly to Paris. Tunisia and Morocco are protectorates, with their own native rulers and officials side by side with those of the protecting power. In Tunisia, under the Convention of 1881 with the then ruling Bey, which set up the protectorate, power centres in the hands of the French Resident-General, who is also Minister of Foreign Affairs, and to whose advice the Bey is forced to submit. Of the other ten ministers eight are French and two Tunisian. The provincial governors also are all French, and the native element is found in considerable numbers only in the lower ranks of officials. There is no elective assembly. A protectorate of this kind is practically indistinguishable from annexation, and the French hold of Tunisia is weaker than that over Algeria only because of the more formidable organization of native opinion which former independence makes possible.[1]

The area of Algeria is about 222,000 square miles. It has a population of 5,800,000. Tunisia has an area of 50,000 square miles and a total population of nearly 2,000,000. The total European population of all nationalities is about 800,000 for Algeria and less than 200,000 for Tunisia. The Italians are in excess of the French, and the Jews form a considerable proportion. The chief cities are: Algiers, Oran, Constantine, Tlemcen and Tunis.

The total population of the French colonies and protectorates in North Africa is nearly fourteen millions, and they belong to various races and linguistic groups.

Races. The races of Morocco, Algeria and Tunisia are, generally speaking, Arab, Berber, Negroid and French.

[1] Cf. H. E. Wortham's 'France's Problem in North Africa,' *Atlantic Monthly*, Feb. 1922.

The negro type is almost negligible for there is less negro blood even in Morocco than in Egypt. It is important to remember that in all North Africa we are dealing with races that are closely related to Europe. Their physiognomy, civilization, traditions and even superstitions all point to Southern Europe. This fact enormously emphasizes the importance of winning these virile tribes for Christ. They have in them great qualities of leadership, endurance and enterprise.

A language map of Algeria, and the same is true in a larger degree of Morocco and Tunisia, would show the Berber race as islands in the midst of pure Arab-speaking populations. In some sections one may observe the ascendancy of the Berber over Arabic, but in other sections the contrary is evident. It is important to remember this because the southern boundary of all North Africa is undetermined. For Islam, the Sahara was never a barrier, but a habitat.

Because Morocco is separated from Europe and joined to Africa, we are apt to regard its peoples also as African, or, at any rate, as Arabs from Asia. This is a mistake. Sir Harry Johnston has well described Morocco as a 'European island at the north-west of Africa.' The real African continent begins at the Atlas Mountains. North of the Atlas the population is European in its origin and physical features. A small proportion, less than five per cent, are negroes or of negro descent—slaves brought from the Western Sudan, but the rest, whether Arabs, Berbers or Jews, belong to the Caucasian branch.

Government. Vast economic changes have taken place owing to the French occupation of North Africa. It is evident on every hand that law and order, commerce and trade, education and humanization, have worked marvels in a comparatively short time throughout all of these vast areas.

The French Government in its attitude toward Islam is a paradox. Its educational policy has from the outset been

neutral, and not Islamic as in the case of the British Government in the Sudan and Egypt. Mosques have at the time of the conquest been destroyed or changed into churches. The beautiful cathedral of Algiers is an example. This bold policy has succeeded where compromise might have failed. Yet France too has done obeisance to Islam. For example, in issuing paper francs during the war a Koran text was printed on each note and did tribute to Allah's authority in preventing depreciation (*Wailun lil mutaffifin*—Woe to those who depreciate values). Secular education, however, French literature, the drama and the ubiquitous cinema have undermined old Islamic ideas.

Nationalism, as in Egypt, has taken the place of religion among the younger leaders. We met a number of these at their club in Tlemcen, and when asked to lecture on the principles of civilization we found no religious prejudice or intolerance but national pride was the more in evidence.

In Casa Blanca it was our privilege to have an interview with the Governor-General, Maréchal Lyautey, a man of commanding presence and great cordiality.

'Education,' said Maréchal Lyautey, 'is my great pre-occupation. I have founded two Moslem colleges, one at Fez and one at Rabat. In these colleges we receive picked students—the best and most capable of the educated classes. I myself choose those whom I desire to have. They receive a first-class French education, and Arabic teaching sufficient for their religion. I always choose French teachers who are believers, not atheists or free-thinkers.

'The one thing Moslems fear is that their children may become free-thinkers, atheists. They gladly accept Christian teachers if they are real believers, and I do my best to find such men, but it is not always easy. I do not want to have a generation of Moslem atheists. Therefore, I do not encourage Moslems to go to the French schools for Europeans and mix with the Europeans, for then they may lose their faith and try to become lawyers and politicians, forming a Young Moorish party like the Young Turks, the Young Egyptians, etc. Men who have lost their faith lose their respect for authority and fall a prey to Bolshevism and anarchism. I want the Moors to remain believers under the control of their own Sultan. As for popular education, my aim is to reach the masses, giving them a simple knowledge of Arabic, but especially in industrial schools, teaching them to work with their hands constructively, not with their brains and pens destructively.'

France has established her ascendancy in Morocco with a minimum of effort because of the genius for leadership in the present Governor-General. The appointment of Moorish Ministers for Finance and Justice, with French advisers, is on the model of Egypt. The prosperity under the new rule is evident everywhere. Imports in ten years have risen from 10,000,000 to 813,000,000 francs.

The educational system is being rapidly developed, and already there are fourteen Franco-Arab schools, two colleges and the beginnings of primary education in all of the larger cities. In addition to Arabic, the French are stimulating the study of Shilha, which is the colloquial of Morocco. With the exception of one or two missionaries this language has scarcely been studied by Europeans ; it bears the same relation to the Arabic in Morocco that the Berber speech does to the Arabic of Algeria.

The French Government has spent on medical work alone in sixty-eight hospitals, dispensaries and lazarettos, over £300,000 sterling, and in one year nearly 1,000,000 attendances were registered in these institutions. This constitutes an achievement difficult to grasp, both as regards the amount of suffering relieved and the immense influence it must have upon the people.

Religion. In North Africa one may read, as though from a palimpsest, the story of early Christianity in its conquest of Roman paganism, and later the conquest of the former by Islam. The Christian Churches of North Africa were not only defeated by Islam, but wiped out. There are to-day no Oriential Christians in Tripoli, Tunisia, Algeria or Morocco.

The story of the conquest of Islam is well known. The people had no Christian literature in their vernacular, not even the Bible, and so no remnant of the Church remained. Only in some customs and superstitions do we still find traces of early Christianity.

The general character of Islam in North Africa is like that of Egypt or Arabia. Saint worship is exceedingly

common. Illiteracy, although decreasing, still claims 90 per cent of the population.

Western civilization has rent Islam into old and new, and the chasm deepens daily. On the one hand, an attempt to hold fast to the old traditions; on the other, to remain nominally Moslem while really losing faith in all its essentials. The French language is winning its way, and Arabic, although artificially stimulated, no longer grips the minds of the rising generation. Throughout this whole field there is a wide-open door for the use of French to win Moslem hearts.

The social and moral conditions of Morocco are undoubtedly the direct result of the religion which has dominated for so many centuries. The virtues and defects of the Arabian faith are everywhere in evidence. No Moslem land has so much superstition, saint-worship and prejudice against all that is not Moslem as has this land. Womanhood is degraded, children are neglected, the blind and maimed beg on the streets. The city of Fez to-day is a microcosm of the Moslem world, a replica of the *Arabian Nights*, but in the twentieth century. Its schools, its prisons, its madhouse for the insane (a ghastly place), its bazaars and mosques and palaces, all tell the same story. Yet Islam, although unprogressive, has a marvellous vitality. This is most evident in the religious fraternities.

The fact that these Dervish orders cover as with a spiritual network the whole of this North African area raises the question of the relation between Moslem mysticism and the gospel message. There is no doubt that there are many points of contact which the missionary needs to study and use, with caution it is true, but also with confidence. The Moslem brotherhoods are a challenge to the Christian brotherhood and to the formation of a Christian Church, which will have all the elements of strength of Moslem mystic union without its vagaries and lawlessness.

Missions. Christian missions were late in arriving in North Africa. The pioneer work of Raymond Lull in the thirteenth century found no successor until the nineteenth

century. Scarcely a witness for Christ appeared in Morocco, Algeria or Tunisia. In 1858, Mr Furniss Ogle, a clergyman of the Church of England, settled at Oran and attempted work among the Spanish and natives. He was embarrassed by the Government and on his way back to England in 1865 suffered shipwreck and was drowned. In 1880, Mr George Pierce began investigations in Algeria which led to the formation of an independent work, the North Africa Mission. The French Churches at one time planned missions in Algeria, but were warned that religious propaganda would arouse Moslem fanaticism. The London Society for Promoting Christianity among the Jews has conducted work for two decades at Tunis and Mogador, Morocco, while the British and Foreign Bible Society had its agents in the field at a very early date. At present the following missions are working in Algeria and Tunisia : The North Africa Mission, the Algiers Mission Band, Christian Missions in Many Lands, Mission to the Spaniards in Algiers, the London Jews Society, the French Evangelistic Mission, the Methodist Episcopal Church. There are also some independent workers with no regular connexion. The following twenty-nine stations are occupied, beginning from the west: Tlemcen, Oran, Relizane, Mascara, Mostaganem, Miliana, Cherchell, Blida, Algiers, Mekla, Djema-Sahrij, Azazga, Tiziouzou, Almaten, Sidi 'Aich, El Mizan, Tabarauth, Tazmalt, Bougie, Constantine, Bone, Tebessa, Tunis, Bizerta, Tozeur, Sousse, Kairwan and Sfax.

This list of stations would indicate an occupation of the field. The fact, however, is that many of them are undermanned or the work is represented only by one or two workers who are often overworked, in some cases underpaid, and have no adequate programme or backing from a strong organization at home.

This has been the tragedy of missions in North Africa until the arrival of the Methodist Episcopal Church Mission. Under the leadership of Bishop Hartzell, the Methodist Church began an organized work at Algiers in 1908. They

plan not only the definite occupation of all Algiers and Tunisia, but also of Morocco. The workers are well selected and their organization and equipment offers great promise for the future. Already they have purchased $200,000 of real estate in various important centres. The lines of work followed are medical missions (i.e. dispensaries, not hospitals), evangelistic work in French, Kabyle and Arabic, and especially the establishment of homes for orphans and deserted children. At present they have six of these homes for boys and girls in Algeria and Tunisia, containing in all some 150 children. Many of the boys and girls have taken a bold stand for Christ and from these nurseries they expect to recruit evangelistic workers for the mission. In Algiers they have a great five-story building—a sort of community centre—with gymnasium, shower-baths, reading-room, restaurant and cinema. At Sidi 'Aich in the heart of Kabylia, on a fifty-acre plot, they are laying out an industrial and agricultural school. Similar work is carried on at Constantine and Tunis.

The Rev. Percy J. Smith is the leader, as Miss I. Lilias Trotter was the pioneer, in preparing literature for North Africa. There is a growing demand for Christian literature along all lines, especially in colloquial Arabic and French. Here would be the opportunity of a lifetime for some one of literary ability to use the French language for evangelizing the educated classes by means of the printed pages and popular addresses.

The North Africa Mission and the Christian Missions in Many Lands work along the lines of personal evangelism, and the Plymouth Brethren who conduct their work are men of earnest faith and great devotion.

The Roman Catholic Church is also in evidence, and their work is far from negligible. We were privileged to visit the central establishment of the Pères Blancs at Maison Carée, about ten miles from Algiers. In company with the Rev. E. F. Frease, D.D., of the Methodist Episcopal Mission, we spent an afternoon inspecting their schools, church, printing

establishment, library and museum. From their published reports, and monthly magazine, we gather that the work begun by Cardinal Lavigerie (who dealt a blow against the slave-trade) has developed until Roman Catholic missions extend from Algiers to Uganda. Their work has not been fruitful in permanent results among Moslems. Neither their methods nor their teaching appeal to the Kabyles and the Arabs.

As for missions in Morocco there is not yet a single strong church society in the field. On the other hand the total number of independent and semi-independent workers is considerable. In North Morocco, the North Africa Mission has two workers, single women, at Laraish, six at Tangier, seven at Tetuan. In South Morocco, the Southern Morocco Mission founded in 1888, headquarters at Glasgow, has twenty-one workers located at Marrakesh, Mazagan, Safi and Mogador. The Gospel Mission Union of Kansas City has three or four workers at Kremisset and Meknes. If we add together all these workers, with a few of independent Jewish societies, the total is eighty. Fifty-eight of these are single women, and of necessity a considerable percentage of the whole force is annually absent from the field. There is no mission press in all Morocco and only one missionary hospital with full equipment, namely, the Tulloch Memorial Hospital at Tangier. No educational missions are carried on except ordinary day schools and kindergarten work. There is no provision for the production or distribution of Christian literature except the work of the British and Foreign Bible Society. South and east of Marrakesh the entire country is unoccupied. The great city of Fez, for example, has two women workers and one native convert. The Southern Morocco Mission has done noble pioneer work. Mr Nairn, of that mission, although not a medical missionary, has a clinic open every day except Sundays, with about eighty patients daily. This type of medical work is winning Moslem hearts and should be greatly multiplied. But generally speaking the workers in Morocco are underpaid,

overworked, without cognizance of each other's plans, or programmes, and too many of them are dependent on free-will gifts from societies or committees which themselves have no definite plan, but follow the leadings of Providence in the hearts of the workers. The three cities that are strategic and offer a wonderful opportunity for immediate occupation by some strong mission are the capital cities of Fez, Rabat and Casa Blanca. Meknes is destined to become a great railway and industrial centre and should also be occupied by a regular mission. If anyone would be convinced of the splendid heroism and yet the sore need of greater co-operation among the workers, let him visit Morocco.

One could not but admire the brave, patient, persistent self-denial of these lonely workers, all so faithful at their God-given task, doing the work of pioneers and blazing a trail for others to follow, but one longed for the day when a united front of all the forces would face the task.

There is now nothing to show for the splendid work done by Dr Robert Kerr for twenty-five years—no hospital or dispensary—only a lonely grave at Casa Blanca.

The Southern Morocco Mission is well organized, and with adequate reinforcements of men and means should be able to occupy the whole south-west. But the great central plateau, with the tribes eastward and north-east, offers a splendid opportunity for strategic advance if the present forces could unite in well-thought-out plans and were backed by strong support at home.

SAMUEL M. ZWEMER

SOME GENERAL PRINCIPLES OF CHURCH EXTENSION[1]

A RECORD OF COUNTRY EXPERIENCE IN CHINA

By WATTS O. PYE

I HAVE thought that possibly a brief review of the general principles and some of the methods whereby the church work of the station is being developed might be both interesting and worth while. We are still making changes and various improvements as new light breaks upon us from experience.

The Division of Labour

THE TASK OF THE MISSIONARY.—A missionary should do his work as if he were to have no successor other than the Chinese leaders whom he develops, and to whom he resigns responsibility as rapidly as possible. In all of this our Lord Himself is our best example. He did not make His main task the preaching to the crowds around Him, nor did He concentrate on the rank and file of believers. He centred His efforts upon twelve men selected 'that they might be with Him.' He sought to build His life and character into them, so that through their own rich, full personality, they might truly represent Him, and become men to whom He could safely entrust His cause when He laid it down. So to-day it is not wise use of the missionary's time and effort to give himself to preaching to the masses of the people who gather at fairs and markets or to the pastoral care of the rank and file of the church membership. By doing this

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he is spreading himself over so much ground that his influence is too thin to count for much anywhere. This work should be done by the Chinese, who, knowing their own people and language, can do it better than a foreigner can. It is a principle worth remembering that he who does the work is not so productively engaged as he who multiplies the doers. We should by this time have Chinese leaders; if we have not, we should lend every energy to developing them. By the personal touch of his life—which by reason of Christian experience and background should be richer and fuller than that of country Chinese leaders yet can be—by much time in personal conversation with them, by summer conferences and retreats, the foreign missionary should help the Chinese leaders to grow and deepen and mellow. The more we can give to our men in these personal ways, the more they in turn will be able to give. We can do much by enabling them to see and read the best books and religious papers. One of the most helpful things in our own work has been a pastoral letter which I have sent to the men once or twice a month, which brings much help, inspiration, courage and comfort to those in lonely, isolated stations, and binds the hearts of all together.

The task of the missionary then is to develop leadership, enrich and deepen its life, and guide and suggest in careful, tactful ways as the men enter upon their work. His problem is to know just when he has given enough and yet not too much supervision, supplying the guidance needed and at the same time leaving freedom for initiative and original thinking, and the development of work along Chinese lines.

The Task of the Preachers.—Here again it is not so much to the task of actually winning new converts that the preachers should lend themselves. In the early stages of church work this is, of course, necessary in order to spread the gospel knowledge and create an atmosphere. But after the first little group of Christians has been won, the preacher finds more than he can possibly get done in the pastoral care of the Church, and in the instruction and training of

the new converts whom the rank and file of the church members win. I think it is extremely important that we help both preacher and church members to live and work in a spirit of expectancy. Our great task is to eradicate the sceptical attitude, the spirit of indifference, the expectation of small results. When Jesus went to Capernaum He could perform no mighty works because the people of that region had little faith. We must have an expectancy similar to that of the early Christians. 'It is only in an atmosphere of expectancy that we can work the alchemy of faith.' It is impossible for anybody to overrate the importance of this psychic background. It is not enough that one or two men outline a plan of work and have a vision of what might be accomplished. It is important that every one connected with the little group of leaders in a given church shall have this common spirit of expectancy, and of genuine faith that God is willing and waiting to give them large results if only they can put themselves in touch with Him.

The Task of the Christians.—The Christians should be so trained as they come into the Church that they are steadily bringing in new people. The congregation ought to be the missionary agent, not only in the sense of supporting the work, but as themselves bringing new people into the Christian life. 'Every Christian a missionary' is the motto. The ideal church service will be when the minister preaches in the morning and every member goes out and carries the message in a man-to-man canvass during the afternoon. Christian work is the cure for spiritual maladies. Service makes the difference between spiritual dwarfs and men. To try to extend the faith is the easiest way to defend and enjoy it. Even the Christian religion does little for him who does little for it. Pure religion and Christian lives are best maintained by Christian work. I am hoping it may become the unwritten creed and standard of each congregation that it be considered unworthy to have no share in Christian work. With the timid, inactivity is

like a nightmare, its spell is broken the moment one makes the slightest movement.

The objection might be made that many of the church people are not suited to such work. The reply is that in that case they ought to be trained both theoretically and by practical experiment until they are able to do it. We must not foster that ' malady of the ideal ' which is so afraid of doing things imperfectly that it ends in doing nothing at all. Some of our churches are coming to ask that before a man is received in baptism, he shall have led at least one person into the Christian life. The determinative element in our work must be that all believers have their work. They are God's witnesses, God's workers, His intercessors, the labourers in His harvest field, the fishers of men on the coasts of time. This going out to seek others makes the people of a community understand that the Church is alive. The power of the Church is felt for it makes an impact on the community. In some instances the Christians may not know a great deal, yet I am convinced this is the best way to teach the common people, many of whom would not yet enter a church even if the evangelist could preach like an angel, but they will listen to one of their own people, whose language, though faulty, is theirs.

Points we are Emphasizing in our Work

We are trying to get each preacher and church to make a detailed survey and carefully map the field, taking care that by conference with the adjoining outstation centres all towns and villages on the border shall be included in the definite plans of one church or the other so that no place shall be left out. We try to occupy solidly as we go. It is also good, in this connexion, to list the number of families in each town. The methods of survey will vary greatly with the character of the district, but the map and register are indispensable. They are the plan and outline of the desert that is to become in the hands of the Church the

garden of God. Each church should in accordance with this survey map out a plan for the conquest of its entire field, and not merely for the town in which the chapel may be located. There is a proverb which says, 'Better to plough a small field than to scratch a whole acre.' The prose of that poetry is just this territorial system laboriously worked. I think we must help the men to interpret the work of the pastor in a large way. The position of a preacher in China is very different from one in America. In America at the present day a man is called to the pastorate of a congregation, a small section of the community. Several other pastors are over other congregations in the same town, and a number more in every town and village on all sides. The situation in China is quite different, more like America in colonial days when a man was called to be pastor of a whole community. He was alone in a community which sometimes included a township and sometimes a whole county and had a pastoral relation to every man, woman and child. Our preachers are not only the one preacher in their towns but are the only preachers in from fifty to five hundred other towns and villages about them. For all of these they have a pastoral responsibility. It is important that they be trained to take care of the frontiers. The eyes of the missionary and the preacher, like those of the explorer, must always rest on the horizon.

If, as mentioned above, the preacher has a pastoral relation to a great community which may include several hundred towns and villages, some with a large population, he must not be tied to his central station. If his main centre is a market town, he will probably be there on market days, but apart from those he moves from town to town where there may be inquirers or Christians, spending from four to ten days in a place. In this way he not only instructs the Christians and inquirers but he comes to be known to all the people of the town, and can do much visiting and enrol a goodly number of inquirers. A preacher who stays constantly in his central station waiting for inquirers to

come to him often waits in vain; sooner or later he grows discontented and discouraged and feels that the people of that district are hardened and difficult to reach, or he deteriorates to the point where he regards his work as a mere formality and his position as a means to make a living. Our Lord did not rent a chapel on the main street of Jerusalem and then send word to Judea and Galilee that the people must come to the chapel once a week to church service or they would be open to discipline. He carried the Gospel to them. In the beginning stages of the work and for all new converts we must do the same. When a man has grown in the Christian life there is no longer any difficulty with regard to his attendance at a regular church service, however great the distance may be. But that comes later.

It is important that the Church shall be given definitely to personal work, the task of winning new people. It sometimes happens that this is not easy to begin. One method that has been tried with considerable success is that of Cornelius in the tenth chapter of Acts; namely, to encourage the people to invite the preacher to their homes on a certain day, and then invite their friends, relatives and neighbours also. The preacher thus has an opportunity to meet many, while the Christian, though perhaps not very strong or able to do much effective personal work himself as yet, can render a real service and be the means of bringing new people in. While the preacher talks to those whom his host has invited, the latter can add a word now and then. The health of any congregation does not depend upon its numbers, but upon the active Christian spirit that breathes through its members, and upon their united efforts for the spread of Christ's kingdom among their fellowmen.

I think it is important that, as indicated above, local centres or preaching places should be established for gatherings of Christians. In many towns and villages the little group of Christians must be encouraged to provide a small building to be used as their house of worship. It may be

a building belonging to one of the church members and in his courtyard, which he lends for this purpose. The little group either furnish the labour or contribute funds sufficient to whitewash and paint and provide the furnishings and equipment. For example, on a recent visit to the field of one of our outstation churches, I found a certain village with four Christian families just preparing their own preaching place. One of the families, all the members of which had become Christians, had turned over its ancestral hall to be used as the church. The other Christians, who chanced to have a few trees on their property, were cutting down two or three trees each, out of which the seats, tables, and such like were being made. This was their meeting place. Here they held evening meetings, led by one of themselves in turn. In other cases, if the distance from the church is too great for the women to attend church service on Sundays, or if there are those who on a given Sunday cannot attend church, they have service in the preaching place. When the preacher visits them, he stays here and holds meetings or station classes. It is a religious centre for that particular village and costs the mission no money. It not infrequently happens that some of these preaching places in time develop into full-fledged churches. Indeed we hope that ultimately all may do so. We have nearly two hundred of them in our field at present.

One of the difficult tasks is that of getting an entrance into a new town or village where as yet there are no Christians. The principle running all through our work is for the preacher or for the Christian message never to go anywhere unintroduced by some one who is known to the people of that place. Most of our men inquire who among the Christians is acquainted with the new town or village to which he seeks an entrance or has relatives there, and then suggests that some day when he has time they should go to the new place. In this way the introduction is made through one whom the people of the village know, and so at once breaks down prejudice or opposition of any sort.

When a new man is brought in by the Christians and the preacher receives him, it is important that he be looked after at once. Experience in scores of our out-station centres shows that the most critical period in the life of the person newly interested in the Christian message is the first month. It is important that the preacher shall find ways of visiting the man in his home several times during that time. We have the Lord's Prayer and the Ten Commandments printed on separate sheets. When a new man is received as a probationer, he promises to learn these as the starting-point in his study of Christian principles. But the preacher does not give them to him the day he is received. Two or at the most three days after his reception, the preacher goes to his home and reminds him of his promise to learn the Lord's Prayer, and making this occasion his visit, produces the sheet and leaves it with the new man. This gives him an opportunity to give some definite personal instruction in Christian truth. After a week he visits the man a second time, this time making the occasion of his visit the bringing of the other sheet with the Ten Commandments. This gives him two visits to the man's home, two opportunities to present Christian teaching; thereafter the preacher needs no further excuse for going.

Another big problem in a field which is large and in which the number of Biblewomen is small, is the reaching of the women. Some of our preachers have been using a method which has proved fairly successful. When the preacher visits the home of a Christian he asks that the wife and children shall be gathered in for a meeting. With the husband present it is possible for him to meet the women and children. Gradually acquaintance and friendship grow and the preacher comes to be a family friend. In this way the women can become intelligent Christians and be taught to pray and be prepared for church membership, though they may live so far from the church centre as to make attendance upon its services impossible. One of our churches has four hundred members, probationers and baptized,

from but little over a hundred families. In almost all instances the women as well as the men have come into the Church and through the pastoral visits are receiving quite full and definite instruction.

As the number of villages containing Christians increases in any given outstation church, the men are dividing the field into districts with a voluntary assistant in each district. For example, our Chou Chia Chien Church now has some 600 Christians scattered in 127 villages within a 40 li radius. There are 231 villages in the field of this church which are still without Christians. The church has divided its field into twelve districts with voluntary workers located in each. Each worker looks after the people in his district, keeps in touch with them, helps them. If there is any trouble they report to him; if he cannot settle it he takes it to the preacher. He urges the people to lead others to Christ and sets the example himself. If the preacher has any notice or message that he wants to get out to all the people, he sends it to each of the twelve officers, who are responsible for seeing that it gets to all the members in their care. When the preacher visits a given district, the voluntary worker in that district accompanies him and can be of great service in gathering the people of the villages visited. A study of the history of the Church in Ireland is the source from which this splendid suggestion for our work has come. In old Irish Christianity there were devout persons known as 'soul friends' who gave advice to anxious inquirers, pointed out to them their duty and admonished the careless. They were the sympathetic persons of the community, so confidences came to them and they had a genuine share in bearing the burdens of distressed men and women. 'Soul friendship,' as it was called in this early Celtic Church, is a solemn duty. This is what is involved in the practical working of our plan.

'The Village for Christ' Movement is getting under way in our field and has for its goal the making of the entire village Christian. This, of course, is more easily accom-

plished in mountain districts, where the villages are many but smaller, than on the plain where they are fewer but may contain from 1000 to 3000 families. Each of the churches which is especially emphasizing this point has in its chapel a map of its field. Those towns and villages which have a single Christian are indicated by a certain colour. When the number of Christians in that village reaches five, the colour is changed. At ten it is again changed to a different colour, at twenty to another, and at fifty to still another. Each change of colour is the occasion for special mention in the general church service, and frequently for a special meeting in the village concerned, when the campaign for the next mark is inaugurated. Some simple thing like this is a great help in stirring up the ordinarily unresponsive farmers to action. For others, perhaps, it is not needed. In the chapel of one of the churches which is emphasizing this point hangs a board. When any village attains its goal, its name is placed upon this honour roll with a special service of praise and prayer. This service can be made a time of solemn spiritual power.

In some of the churches where the membership is still small practically all the instruction and training of the new converts is done by the preacher himself. In others, as the numbers increase so that it is impossible for him to accomplish the work alone, he is assisted by the more earnest Christians of the church. He selects from two to a dozen of the most spiritually minded Christians, men who have some qualities for teachers. They come into the central church for three weeks or a month's special instruction in the courses which the preacher has already selected as the ones to be given to the new converts. After this period of instruction, which is usually given while the people are busy getting the autumn crops in, these men scatter to the central villages, there to repeat to the people the course of study they have recently completed with the preacher. The preacher passes from one group to the other, making suggestions and bringing help and inspiration.

In the early Scotch and English Churches a method was used which proves very helpful and of which the above is an adaptation, namely the holding of 'cottage readings' during the winter season. These 'cottage readings' may be held in various villages belonging to the outstation churches where there are Christians. Many non-Christians will come too. The people gather together once or twice a week, some book of the Bible is read through consecutively under the guidance of an older Christian and prayer is offered at each meeting. In these small groups the people may be reached more individually and dealt with more closely than can be done in brief church services. The church services alone are utterly inadequate to meet the special needs. The preacher should have a special training class in the fall for selected church people from all over the field, people who can conduct such Bible readings during the winter months. It is in a great measure due to these outlying preaching points, station classes and cottage readings scattered all over the field, in addition to the work steadily carried on in the church itself, that the people are being steadily prepared for church membership.

The great task is the preparation and training of volunteer workers. That preacher who can prepare and gather around him the largest number of volunteer workers is the man who can build the largest and the strongest church. He may be only one but he will be doing the work of five, ten or fifteen men instead of that of just one. The great need of the Chinese Church is for leaders, 'great captains of spiritual industry' who can handle men wisely and effectively. The secret of the success of the whole church enterprise lies in training. I constantly tell our people that the church which receives but one person during the entire year of 365 days, and fails to train him, has received too many people. But if the new converts are trained thoroughly a thousand is not many.

I think it is important that we try to get each preacher and his church to map out some sort of definite

plan for the conquest of the field allotted to that church, a plan which reaches through several years, if possible, and then let the carefully planned work of each year, each month, and each day be making some definite contribution to that end or goal. To work haphazard without a clear vision of the goal or end in view and without a known plan is to waste a lot of effort and time. We must have a conception of the work. It is no use to grope about at random. There must be strategy in the campaign; there must be proportion and horizon in the outlook; there must be some clearness of vision of the work to be done and the best way of doing it.

Method, however, is after all but a minor item in our work. As we see it, the great secret of future success lies in our ability to help our fellow-workers really to get a vision of what we are trying to see accomplished in this field. The view that the apostles had of God's great process so thrilled and conquered them that accomplishment became more nearly commensurate with purpose than ever before. The breadth and depth of adventure for God were unfolded before their eyes. Once the position our men hold as leaders is filled to the brim with vision, it has in their eyes dignity, permanence and effectiveness. This is the thing I am striving to get across to them, that their ideals and vision and expectation may steadily expand. Without exception these men who are now our preachers have themselves come up out of paganism, they have not the Christian background and centuries of Christian experience which lie behind us. But we must help them to catch both this vision and the spirit of expectation that God will accomplish great things through them. The strength of the Church will be largely determined by its zeal for expansion from within. The Chinese is not missionary by temperament, so that it is all the more to his credit that he gives himself as faithfully and as fully as our men are doing. Their lot is by no means an easy one, but here as everywhere, the man who most

nearly approaches success is he whose spirit is not broken under pressure, whose faith is not quenched by clouds, whose purpose from first to last is not deflected by either threat or allurement. High aspiration always and anywhere leads into the thick of trouble, but part of the test of vocation is that, having seen and pondered over the cost, we are prepared to pay it. This, I think, our men realize to a considerable extent.

WATTS O. PYE

THE WORK OF A LINGUISTIC MISSIONARY IN THE DUTCH EAST INDIES

By Dr N. ADRIANI

In the history of Protestant missions in the Dutch East Indies it is instructive to note the gradual development of view with regard to the study of native languages. In searching for the most efficient means of bringing the Gospel to these islands, and as the knowledge of the people to be evangelized increased, the importance of the use of the vernacular became more and more evident. It was feared that insistence on the use of native languages would increase the difficulties already existing in missionary work, but when the principle was laid down and the consequences faced in the right spirit, it was found that these difficulties proved not insurmountable.

In the beginning of the eighteenth century the whole Bible was translated into Malay for the use of the Christian communities in the Moluccas, the Sangir Islands, and Minahassa, the northern peninsula of Celebes. This was not, however, because Malay was the vernacular in these parts—they are even at a great distance from the area where Malay is spoken—but because at that time mission work was carried on under the auspices of the Dutch East India Company. As Malay was the only language used in the Company's commercial transactions, it followed that the same rule had to be observed in religious undertakings. Mission work in those days was looked upon as 'instruction in the true doctrine'; the pupils had to adapt themselves to their teachers, who did not trouble to make themselves familiar with the pupils' vernacular and had only acquired a knowledge of Malay.

The futility of this practice, however, became more and more apparent. Experience plainly teaches that the way to a man's heart is through his mother-tongue. But workers were not at first prepared to accept the consequences involved in this self-evident truth, and to face the laborious task of studying difficult languages.

When the Netherlands Missionary Society in 1863 sent out two missionaries to start work in Western Java they were accompanied by a teacher, Mr G. J. Grashuis, who was to assist them in their study of the vernacular, Sundanese. At an earlier date, in 1826, in connexion with the work in Central and Eastern Java, the Netherlands Bible Society had sent out Dr J. F. C. Gericke, followed by Mr J. A. Palm and Dr C. J. van der Vlis for the study of Javanese, and by Dr W. H. Engelmann for the study of Sundanese.

When in 1890 the Netherlands Missionary Society sent Dr Alb. C. Kruyt to start work in Central Celebes, the Netherlands Bible Society decided to send me with him for the linguistic side of the work, the ultimate object being the preparation of a translation of the Bible in the native language. In 1895 my wife and I arrived at Posso, on the southern side of the Gulf of Tomini. Dr and Mrs Kruyt had preceded us by a few years and were able to give us a start in our study of the language.

The first question that came up for decision was: How large is the area in which this language is spoken and by what number of people? The name by which it is known is the Bare'e language, from the negative *bare'e* = No. To our great joy we found the area covered by Bare'e to be very extensive, but as Central Celebes was not yet under direct government control and the country was little known ethnographically and geographically, it was impossible as yet to gauge the number of Bare'e speakers. Under such conditions it is impossible for a linguistic missionary to ascertain when the time has arrived for Bible translational work.

A European is apt to over-estimate his knowledge of an oriental language. As soon as he perceives that the

people catch his meaning he fancies he has expressed himself correctly. When we notice, however, in our daily intercourse with the natives that we cannot yet follow their conversations with each other or see the point of a joke, when we are not ready at the spur of the moment with an effective reprimand, we have as yet no reason to be proud of our linguistic attainments. When judging from the effects of our communications we come to the conclusion that we have made ourselves understood, we are inclined to overlook the fact that this is probably more due to the natives' ingenuity in guessing our meaning than to our capacity for expressing it. We may be able to carry on a conversation on topics of everyday life, or on things to which we can point if the words fail us, but when we attempt to impart a knowledge of spiritual things, we do not make the desired impression without a command of the proper vocabulary.

The inhabitants of Central Celebes are generally called Toradjas, 'People of the Interior.' At the time of our arrival they lived in a form of animistic paganism, the chief feature of which was the cult of ancestors. There were no traces of sacred writings to sanction their religious practices; the arts of reading and writing were unknown. Old legends and tales were quoted in support of the validity of these practices and ceremonies, which also served to maintain certain rights, or a claim to a piece of land, or to explain peculiarities of certain people or animals. They took the place of irrefutable and sacred texts.

The following may serve as an illustration.

The Toradjas possess an account of the Flood. The only human couple which survived it saw a bunch of rice hanging from the branch of a tree, after the waters were dried up. They begged a mouse to bring this bunch down to them that they might sow the seeds. The mouse agreed on condition that as a reward part of the crop should be his. Ever since the mice come at harvest-time and claim their share of the people's rice. They are not to be denied, as this story is a convincing proof of their claim.

According to other legends, villages were submerged as a punishment for ridiculing animals. One village, for instance, was destroyed because a woman had made fun of a cat; she had decorated it with beads, put it to sleep in a cradle and played with it as if it were a baby. Hence it is forbidden to laugh at animals or to mock them.

A Toradja chief gave valuable assistance to another tribe and expected a reward. 'What shall we give you?' they asked. 'Slaves? But they will die, and so will buffaloes and pigs. Cotton goods will perish, but a piece of land will keep its value unto all generations.' This was agreed to; therefore his tribe is entitled to a stretch of land beyond its original borders.

The Toradjas have many similar narratives, which to them have the value of documents. They are as a rule willing to believe even the most wonderful tales. Only legends which have a definite purpose, like those just mentioned, have acquired a permanent form. But there are a number of other stories, told only for amusement, which, apart from being a contribution to ethnology and folklore, are valuable for the study of the missionaries who have to lead the future development of the people's literature. The missionary whose object it is to give the people the Bible in their own language must collect and study these stories. A knowledge of the existing literature gives him an insight into the style adopted by the people in their narratives, e.g. the personages introduced do more talking than acting. If the tale is told of a prince travelling to a far country, the whole programme for the journey will be discussed in detail with his companions, and finally the story will close with the statement that everything was successively carried out as had been agreed upon. If the story deals with some festivity, the details of the preparations are minutely discussed, and from this the hearers draw conclusions as to the actual proceedings of the feast.

In the second place a knowledge of their literature at once raises a missionary's prestige among the natives. It

is obvious that knowledge which is valued among Europeans has no meaning for them. What they appreciate is his superiority in what in their eyes is knowledge. The man who shows proof of being versed in their literature is sure to find the message he brings more readily accepted.

My method for preparing myself for translational work in connexion with the evangelization of Central Celebes was the following. After having acquired sufficient knowledge of the language to be able to take down a story told by a Toradja, and having decided questions of spelling, I began to write down their narratives. This was no easy task. The story-tellers did not understand that writing was a process that could not keep up with their rate of speech. I dare not interrupt them for explanations or for repetitions of unknown or missing words, as this would have put them off the track. To make them speak slowly would have spoilt the style ; a story-teller must proceed as he pleases ; if he gets annoyed he will cut his story down to a dry account of events and the object would be completely missed.

As soon as I became more or less acquainted with the people's literature, I ventured to make my first attempts in telling Bible stories. The older people as well as the children used to listen with great pleasure ; although they could not at first make out what the stories meant, they would sometimes find their own applications. After listening attentively to the story of the Tower of Babel a man remarked : ' Now I see that God has been working in this country long before you came, because we have had a number of languages since time immemorial, but I could never understand how this had come about.'

In course of time schools were opened and a generation began to grow up that could read and write. The time had arrived for bringing the Bible stories into book form. Among an illiterate people like the Toradjas a Biblical Reader must precede the translation of the Bible itself. The stories must be told in a way comprehensible to the people, the style must be fluent and show literary taste and

reflect as much as possible the spoken language. Reading is a laborious task to a Toradja ; he may enjoy reading a well-known story, but he prefers to hear it read or told. The pupils in the schools were not yet able to write down Bible stories from memory, but they helped me in doing this. I used to go to the school when the teacher (a Christian native from Minahassa, in North Celebes) made them repeat the stories they had heard the previous day. The children did this in a characteristic way, using illustrations and idiomatic expressions which were of great use to me. Six years after my arrival in Posso a Reader for the New Testament had been printed, two years afterwards one for the Old Testament was brought out.

The Toradjas show a great respect for written or printed matter and greatly appreciated their Bible Readers. These books promoted uniformity in the evangelistic and educational work in schools and villages, and provisionally took the place of, and prepared the way for, a translation of the Bible.

I shall not mention my first premature attempts at this work, which I fortunately distrusted too much to have them printed. I began with St Luke's Gospel. The liberties I had taken in preparing the Bible Readers could not now be allowed. I cannot venture to say that I gave a literal version of the Greek text. It was my basis, but any thoughtful reader will understand that, for instance, the intricate phrasing of the introduction to St Luke's Gospel, ch. i. 1–4, could not be verbally followed. I am much indebted to recent translations in Dutch, French, English and German for furnishing examples of a more fluent style. Dr Moffatt's admirable translation had not then been published, but the Twentieth Century New Testament was of great service to me. The introduction to the Gospel according to St Luke has been rendered as follows :

> Many people have already tried to frame a narrative containing all the events which we know for certain have happened among us, according to the reports of the people who themselves saw the Word of Life and have made it

known to us. Therefore, dear Theophilus, I thought that I would write all this out for you in correct order, because I have first made careful inquiries, so that you may now have certainty concerning the things you already knew from what people had told you.

The work of a translator is fraught with difficulties. I should not like to entrust it to an intelligent Toradja. As a rule a translation into English should be made by an Englishman; but even supposing that a Toradja had a sufficient knowledge of Malay—the only possible language he could use as a basis for his translation—he would not be able to see his way clearly between a literal version and an unduly free paraphrase. I have often made the experiment but never with any satisfactory results. Assistance from the natives must be used wherever possible, but the difficulty is to make the exact meaning of the original clear to them and then to select the most suitable out of the versions proposed.

It is therefore advisable not to start too soon. A mistake made in ignorance is not easily detected after it has got fixed in the mind. It is not desirable to make radical alterations in a second or third edition of a Bible translation, as this would tend to give the text an instability which would be liable to create a wrong impression. It may even be necessary to adhere to an incorrectly used expression after its meaning in this particular sense has been firmly established. As an illustration: the Bare'e language has no word for 'to bless.' Paraphrases such as 'to give prosperity or success' would only do in a few cases, for it is anything but a Christian idea to identify 'blessing' with 'prosperity.' There is a custom among the Toradjas when someone has safely returned from a journey or has escaped from some danger; they place their hands on his head and press them down with the expression of a good wish. But the object of this laying on of hands is to prevent his 'fluid of life' from escaping through the crown of the head, thereby keeping him in good health. When the story is told of Isaac blessing Jacob and Esau the expression denoting this

custom is now regularly used. I avoid it and prefer a paraphrase, but I cannot keep the people from using it, and can only hope the word will gradually lose its animistic meaning. Where the word ' blessing ' is used in a general sense without the laying on of hands a paraphrase is given in accordance with the context.

Another question which frequently presents itself to the translator is : When is the introduction of a foreign word justified ? The foreign language from which Bible translators in the Dutch East Indies borrow for lack of an equivalent in the native language is Malay. This language is taught in the upper forms of the mission schools in Central Celebes and is as a rule easily picked up by the Toradjas. There is no objection to the occasional introduction of a Malay word into Bare'e, but it must be remembered that a foreign word may only be used in a Bible translation when the native language lacks the equivalent, the idea expressed being unknown, for it does not follow that the correct meaning is introduced together with the word. In Bare'e the Malay word *tempo* is now used for ' time,' there being no equivalent. The Toradjas express their notion of time in terms of measurements, meaning the distance which the sun has travelled. But curiously enough this word ' tempo ' is now used as synonymous with ' measure,' and people will say : ' He does not time his words,' ' His manners exceed all time.' Their language has been enriched with a word but not their minds with an idea. A sick man does not know much more about the nature of his complaint when the doctor calls it by its Latin name. If we give the Toradjas the Malay word *ampun* for ' forgiveness,' it will mean to them ' retribution,' and the idea of forgiveness has not been acquired.

A verbal translation must occasionally be sacrificed for the sake of lucidity. When our Lord in John vi. calls Himself the ' Bread of Life,' the Malay word *roti*, ' bread,' cannot be used, for bread is unknown to the Toradjas except in the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper ; it is not their daily food, but a dainty. As ' bread ' is used in John vi. in the sense

of ' food ' it should be translated by the Bare'e word for ' food,' which in the first instance means to them ' rice,' and in verse 33 ' the bread which gives life to the world ' will best be rendered by ' the life-giving rice ' (food). It is essential in a Bible translation that the use of foreign words be as strictly limited as possible.

Though only St Luke's Gospel has been printed, several other books of the Bible have been translated into Bare'e. They are studied in the training school for native teachers, and notes on the lessons are given in the form of a commentary, which is a great help to the students in their evangelistic work. Every teacher is provided with a typed copy of all the books that have been translated, as well as of the notes ; members of the congregations who are able to read possess the Bible Readers and St Luke's Gospel.

There is as yet no great desire to learn to read. The art is so far confined to those who have passed through the schools ; no adult has yet expressed a desire to be taught. It is a sacrifice to the parents to spare their children from agricultural labour, and they are afraid that going to school will give the children a dislike for work in the fields. Except when parents themselves have been at school, a good deal of persuasion is required to make them send their children. At present the translations are only of direct use to the missionaries and the teachers, but even this is an important result. The books give uniformity and consistency to the preaching of the Gospel and are the means of creating a Christian language. Scriptural knowledge is handed down in a form which fixes itself into the memory and gradually becomes the property of the Christian communities. Several parts of Scripture are ready for the press when the need for their publication becomes apparent, and the Netherlands Bible Society undertakes the publishing at a moderate price.

Besides the books mentioned, the congregations possess a hymn-book in Bare'e and several readers and a book of songs have been prepared for school use. All these form the nucleus of a Christian literature. The scholars enjoy

reading their books with the help of their teacher, but after they have left school agriculture takes up all their time and very few keep up their reading. Their further scriptural knowledge is gained chiefly through religious services. The existing literature meets the present requirements.

The Netherlands Bible Society sends out its linguists with instructions to prepare a grammar and a dictionary in addition to Bible translational work. When these have been completed and published it will be possible to meet future demands for more Christian literature. The existing translations will, I hope, prove useful in showing the lines on which such literature should be produced. The introduction of St Luke's Gospel in Bare'e in 1913 was not a sensational event among the Christian congregations in Posso; it was hardly noticed except by the small number who at that time were able to read it. We know, however, that in the Kingdom of God such events work like leaven. It is little use to ask the Toradjas whether they appreciate the fact that a translation of the Bible is being prepared for them; love for the Bible cannot arise until the Bible is there. It is a privilege to be instrumental in awakening this love. The work of a linguistic missionary brings him into close and vital contact with the people and he gains an intimate knowledge of their character. A casual observer finds little to attract in the Toradjas; their appearance is dirty, their houses are primitive and poorly furnished, their implements elementary, but their language is rich and beautiful; they are keen linguists, and their literary taste is a surprise to one who would judge them only by their appearance. There was a time when they clearly showed an aversion to the preaching of the Gospel, but even then they were helpful in preparing the way for it. They were always willing to give information on the language, to recite their stories and songs and riddles; in fact, they unconsciously did all they could to prepare the Bible translator for his work. The translations are to a great extent their own work, and although they do not yet reach out longing hands for

the printed books they are most eager for their contents, having already experienced their influence in their own hearts and lives.

We can quietly wait for the time when the translations now in manuscript will be printed. We are as little desirous of forcing the Bible on the Toradjas as we were to force Christianity upon them. The work of Bible translating teaches us patiently to wait till the mustard-seed has grown into a tree, and the leaven has leavened the meal.

N. Adriani

REVIEWS OF BOOKS

RECENT BOOKS ON BUDDHISM

Buddhist Philosophy. By Berriedale Keith, D.C.L., D.Litt. Oxford: Clarendon Press. 10s. 6d. 1923.

Gotama Buddha: A Biography. By Kenneth J. Saunders. Heritage of India Series. Calcutta: Association Press. R. 1.8. London: Oxford University Press. 2s. 6d. 1922.

Buddhism and Buddhists in Southern Asia. By Kenneth J. Saunders. New York: Macmillan. $1. 1923.

Dr Keith in this book lays bare before us the double-peaked mountain of Buddhism. Few reviewers will be in a position to challenge the contours delineated. But happily there is another method by which the value of such a work may be gauged. The mountain may be known from those who live upon its sides. It is from the vantage point of a practical understanding of Buddhists rather than from expert Sanskrit and Pali knowledge that the following review is written.

The work is a compendium of all the philosophical theories of the many schools within Buddhism. For every statement there is a reference to original texts or other books. It is a veritable mine of information for the advanced student, who will find discussed here all the various opinions and shades of opinion held progressively by differing schools about the essential and subsidiary doctrines of Buddhism. Origins are traced and successive stages marked. The arrangement is orderly and there is a good index. It is a book to buy and keep for constant reference, as its value lies in cold facts and not in any striking presentation of Buddhism which can be assimilated at a first reading. One looks in vain for any general summary and it is in keeping with the nature of the book that there should not be one. Certain points however emerge clearly: The impossibility of accepting early dates for the Pali canon; the necessity of studying other schools than those regarded as orthodox if one wishes to understand the psychology of the people amongst whom Buddhism arose; the invalidity of reading present-day ideas into the religious productions of the past.

There are four main sections. In the first the canon is examined and the elemental characteristics of Buddhism set forth. The developments in the Hinayana and Mahayana respectively occupy the second and third; and the fourth treats of Buddhist logic. In the first part, evidence is marshalled to show that Buddhism was not at first an idealist philosophy but on the contrary treated life as very real. The Buddha himself, it is claimed, was treated as a divinity and the whole rationalistic trend of thought is late. The place allotted to intuition from the beginning confirms this. To understand all the logical weaknesses and contradictions of Buddhism one must grasp that not metaphysics but a practical salvation from the misery of a very real existence was the objective. In fact the vast majority of metaphysical points are relegated to the indeterminates which do not affect salvation. In one of the many touches of humour with which the book is shot through it is pointed out that this attempt of the Buddha to eliminate discussion has been the very cause of endless controversies! It is shown that the doctrine of the act is not intended to cover all that happens to us but only a small part and has therefore no cosmic significance. The Hinayana and Mahayana schools with their subdivisions are examined in detail. The differences are fundamental. The Hinayana never loses hold of reality within the restricted limits of life. The Mahayana can only be understood if the central truth of the absolute void is realized to underlie all. The Hinayana is essentially a self-centred doctrine devoid of the idea of solidarity. The Mahayana, curiously enough, from a basis of the void builds up an altruistic, grace-imparting, self-sacrificing philosophy. In the last section Buddhist logic is brought into the limelight and found wanting till a thousand years or so after the Buddha's death. Here and throughout the book there is constant reference to the inadequacy of the Buddhist treatment of the fundamental problems of the self, memory, volition, consciousness and rebirth. Scholastic enumerations replace hard thinking.

I can only speak for Ceylon, but what strikes me is this: Here is an author who from a minute examination of the books has produced a picture of things as they are which is extraordinary in its accuracy. Fifteen years among the people have convinced me that their religion and thought are truly of the type set forth in this work. The author may only see from a college window but his window looks on to the street of life below him and not into a hazy and unreal distance.

The trenchant distinctions (which arise quite incidentally) made

between Buddhism and Christianity just where there are apparent similarities show true insight and clear thinking. I refer specially to such ideas as love and compassion, altruism and generosity, sin, the moral criterion, grace and transference of merit, meditation and mysticism. These distinctions affect the Mahayana schools as well as the Hinayana, not only in detail but fundamentally, as every apparent similarity is turned into a vital difference when it is remembered that the void and not a loving Father is behind all. One could not help being struck at the three main points emphasized by the Mahayana school apparently from the first or second century, namely intuition, the Trikaya, and the preaching of salvation. It is tempting to attribute the rise of these ideas at least in part to some unknown Christian influence, with its truth of the Spirit, the Trinity and the Saviour of the world. What little is said about women is typical of the general attitude. Prayer naturally finds no place in the index. The exact meaning of ' taking refuge ' in the Buddha is not dealt with. The expert opinion of the author on this point would be valuable.

From time to time reference is made in the book to the tendency to deify the Buddha. As regards Ceylon, I may say that during long years of close touch with the people I have never come across any deification of the Buddha. He is not regarded as a god, dead or alive. He is to the people a dead superman and no more. The desire for gods finds ample satisfaction in the worship of and praying to Hindu deities whose shrines usually adjoin the Buddhist temple. In Ceylon at least, whatever deification may appear in the books does not seem to have become part of the people's thought.

Students who wish to find a really accurate and yet sympathetic description of the Buddha and his teaching, and wish to enter into the mind of the people, will be repaid by a careful study of Professor Berriedale Keith's masterly book.

Mr Saunders is always interesting, and his style is simple, clear and vivid. These books give a delightful picture of the Buddha and those who bear his name. But in doing so the author falls into the very errors away from which Professor Berriedale Keith specially warns us.

Buddhism must be judged by its fundamental doctrines. These attempted to cut away the natural human instincts for an absolute, for prayer, for recognition of personality, and for a sense of human solidarity. The attempt has proved to a large extent ineffective

and these various human demands have forced themselves forward. Thus later Buddhism now contains much that cannot be justly claimed as Buddhist, and a true appreciation of Buddhism proper must not take these concepts into account. Their presence is a sign of the weakness of Buddhism proper and not of its strength. Though one is forced to use English terms in the attempt to convey Buddhist ideas, the greatest care should be taken to obviate what must otherwise happen, namely, the reading of later and Christian meanings into terms that have an entirely different content. Yet in these books such words as righteousness, morals, faith, sin, etc., are freely used of things Buddhist without the careful safeguarding which is necessary when these words are going to be read by people who will naturally interpret them in a non-Buddhist sense. The writer's desire to view the subject sympathetically has carried him away and he fails to urge the distinctions which he duly recognizes with the same vigour as he presses the points of apparent similarity. Mr Saunders warmly depicts the Buddha and his life in glowing colours, comparing him now to a St Francis, now to some Hebrew prophet, and he describes Buddhism as similar to Christianity in so many points that deep impressions are formed which a colder last chapter, though it clearly points out the deficiences in the system, does not suffice to eradicate.

And yet those differences (to us defects) are so fundamental and overwhelming that even apparent external similarities can scarcely be regarded as such any longer. How can similarities be more than skin-deep when we realize that in Buddhism there is no God, be He Father, Creator, Saviour, Comforter or Friend, no personality, be it in God or man, no true solidarity and thus no true altruism? Moreover, man's own endeavour is made the foundation of all, and the whole structure is raised on a fundamentally one-sided view of life as sorrow. For love there is no true place, in fact on p. 60 of the second book we read: 'Love and lust are not distinguished as they are in Christianity.' The author might have gone further and quoted from pp. 210–16 of his translation of the Dhammapada to show that they are equated as both producing grief and fear, and happy is the man who is free from both. How glorious in contrast is the word 'There is no fear in love, for perfect love casteth out fear.'

One would wish that Mr Saunders' persuasive style and power of picturesque expression might be used to convince men in East and West of the fundamental distinctions between Christianity and Buddhism with as much skill and sympathy as here they have been

used to emphasize the external superficial similarities. Such a work is needed to establish a right judgment in this matter, which is of great importance, and Mr Saunders is well fitted to write it.

J. Paul S. R. Gibson

Peradeniya, Ceylon

THE RELIGION OF BANTU PEOPLES

The Religion of Lower Races as illustrated by the African Bantu. By Edwin W. Smith. New York: Macmillan. $1. 1923.

This interesting little volume is one of a series on 'The World's Living Religions,' projected in 1920 by a committee of the Board of Missionary Preparation in North America, and intended to furnish accurate and trustworthy accounts of the religions practised outside Christendom. That such a series supplies a very real need is beyond doubt, and if all the books maintain the standard of the volume before us they can be readily commended to the careful consideration of missionary candidates. It is obvious that the very difficult and highly technical work of a missionary requires special training, but, until recently, an adequate theological knowledge with a university degree or its equivalent was considered the *ne plus ultra* of missionary preparation from the intellectual side. It has now become increasingly clear that to this general mental equipment must be added some knowledge of the customs, beliefs and psychology of primitive people in order that the European missionary may get 'at the back of the blackman's mind.' Christianity cannot be cut off as with a knife from the history and development of non-Christian ritual and belief.

It is now placed beyond dispute that a religious consciousness is not the peculiar and special equipment of any one faith. The history of religion is an exemplification of the great truth that God is not far from each one of us, the record of a universal search after God by every tribe and nation of men, 'if haply they might feel after Him and find Him.' Christianity is therefore best regarded as God's reply to the yearnings of men's hearts in all ages—the completion of the religious education of the human race. It is for the missionary to realize this, to remember that God has spoken 'by divers portions and in divers manners' as the very limited capacity

of the primitive mind has been able to comprehend, till, in these latter days, ' He has spoken unto us in His Son, whom He appointed heir of all things.' But the humblest human efforts in the way of religious practice and theory have much light to throw upon the more complex developments ; throughout there is a permanent element of truth, and, in consequence, it behoves the missionary to understand the native point of view.

Mr Edwin Smith, who was born in South Africa, the son of a missionary, has a thoroughly competent knowledge of the life, language and religion of the Bantu peoples, and therefore he is well equipped to illustrate the religion of lower races by an account of their cult. Addressing himself to missionary candidates, he makes no pretence at writing an anthropological treatise. The anthropologist is usually concerned chiefly with questions of origins, and his interest in primitive people centres in the nature of the culture and the light it throws on the early history of mankind. But it would not be right to seek here for a discussion of problems interesting to the anthropologist, as, for instance, of the question whether Bantu culture is simple or compound ; for such issues are foreign to the leading purpose of the inquiry. Nevertheless, it would have been an advantage if Mr Smith had followed the scientific method and defined religion at the beginning of his essay. This would have obviated the somewhat misleading remark on page 21, that ' we may hardly like to call dynamism a religion.' Something vaguer than Tylor's ' belief in spiritual beings ' constitutes the ' minimum definition of religion,' since, as Mr Smith shows, the outlook of primitive man is primarily towards the sacred as characterized by a mystic impersonal force or energy (called by the Melanesians *Mana*) imminent in awe-inspiring objects. If he had taken this conception of the sacred, which covers the whole body of magico-religious beliefs and practices, as a minimum definition, he would have found no difficulty in placing in their proper category the various phases of ' pre-animistic ' cult (now usually described as animatism rather than dynamism). But these are small blemishes in a useful and accurate popular account of the religion of lower races as illustrated by the African Bantu.

E. O. James

Oxford

THE ABRIDGED EDITION OF 'THE GOLDEN BOUGH'

THE GOLDEN BOUGH. By Sir J. G. FRAZER. Abridged Edition. London: Macmillan. 18s. 1923.

EVERY missionary, I would venture to suggest, ought to possess Sir James Frazer's epitomized version of *The Golden Bough*, at any rate if he have to do with people approximating to the social condition and mental outlook of wild-folk. The book will serve him as a sort of Bible of natural religion in its earliest phase. He may indeed encounter the term 'magic' more frequently than 'religion' in these pages; and may himself be inclined to use 'superstition' to cover everything described. But that is a question of words. There is strict historical continuity between this first decipherable chapter of the record of man's age-long effort to obtain help and comfort from the Unseen and that later chapter which relates to the coming of Christianity. Again, though human progress has its ups and downs, and some of the practices and beliefs here studied may be in part the product of degeneration, there can be little doubt that on the whole there is development in an upward direction. Those who dislike the associations of the word 'evolution' need not use it in this context. Let them regard the process of change, if they prefer to do so, as the unfolding in the natural man of a latent capacity for enlightenment and goodness amid conditions that had gradually to be mastered by means of a self-educative struggle with evil. Our own ancestors were once in much the same plight as regards the external circumstances of their life; so much is plain to any one who is in touch with the results of modern archæology. Can it be supposed, then, that the inner man was in their case any more exempt from a sort of original sin, a mass of inherited instincts such as were liable to discharge themselves blindly and in many a fatal direction so long as self-discipline and self-control had not been acquired?

That the savage has an explosive temperament, that he gives way easily to orgies of cruelty and lust, we know, just as we know that similar tendencies are latent in ourselves. But we may not be quite so well aware that a primitive society, when its institutions are in working order, and have not been reduced to chaos by injudicious interference, disciplines itself by means of a system of repressions—of *tabus*—which, however arbitrary they may be in respect to the injunctions that they enforce, have at least the effect of instilling

a wholesome respect for law. *The Golden Bough* brings out very clearly how all authority in primitive times is wielded by some sort of theocracy, the sanction of human power being reinforced by the even more dread sanction of the power that moves the universe. Nor does the savage ruler use his divine right merely in order to 'govern wrong.' That normally he feels the full responsibility of his position comes to light in the fact that he is expected not only to practise many abstinences in order to fortify the 'grace' that is in him, but likewise even to die for the people—a death, it would seem, willingly undergone by the victim. Thus self-sacrifice is a principle recognized after a fashion, if by no means fully grasped, by primitive religion. Again, other rites of which an account is here given appear to implicate the notion of communion. Altogether, from first page to last, evidence is amassed that shows the natural man, by the uncertain aid of his own faculties, and through sheer need of coping with the dangers and difficulties of life, to have puzzled out the rudiments of religion. The missionary's business is to meet this nascent religion half-way—not to suppress and snub it, but, after careful study of its possibilities for good and evil, to bring to fuller development the promise that is in it. But I apologize for saying what every good missionary already thoroughly realizes. But he may not realize without being told that *The Golden Bough* has been compressed from twelve volumes into one, and remains as illuminating as ever.

R. R. Marett

Oxford

'THE GLEAM'

The Gleam. By Sir Francis Younghusband, K.C.S.I., K.C.I.E. London: Murray. 12s. 1923.

This is a book upon which it is difficult to pass judgment. It has certain qualities that give it value. It is the work of a soldier, traveller, diplomatist, whose wide experience of men and of affairs has never, it appears, interfered with, but rather has enriched, his primary occupation with the things of religion. Further, his family's hereditary relationship with India has given him special opportunities of understanding its people, of which, as this book makes plain, he has made full use. He has thus special qualifications for

the task of interpreter to the West of the deepest mind of the East. It is in this that the interest and value of the book consist. But when that has been said it has to be said also that it is difficult to be confident that the book is quite what it claims to be. It is the record of the religious experiences of a Panjabi gentleman to whom is given the fictitious name, Nija Svabhava, that is, 'his real self.' With an almost excessive abundance of language the story is told of how he 'followed the Gleam' and of the final discovery of joy that he made in God and that he desires others to share. The story is told with a glow and a rapture that greatly attract the reader and that reach their climax in the closing chapters in a kind of solemn, rhythmical chant. For its testimony to the intense religious passion of the oriental spirit as exhibited in Nija Svabhava's quest and attainment the book is valuable and deeply interesting. This, which is its main theme, is supplemented by brief accounts of the Bab, Ramkrishna Paramhamsa, and Keshub Chunder Sen.

The doubt that lingers in one's mind is as to how far the portrait of Nija Svabhava is really genuine, or how far it is, perhaps unconsciously, a composite production to which the sympathetic spirit of Sir Francis Younghusband has contributed a large share. We are not told whether this seeker throughout thirty years was originally a Hindu or a Mohammedan, though the indications point to the former. It is strange that throughout he uses, as far as can be observed, no phrase and makes scarcely an allusion that disclose any debt to his Indian heritage. Darwin and Herbert Spencer and Bergson and even Bertrand Russell come into the argument, but no hint from the Upanishads or the Gita. No quest in India to-day would be typical if it was marked by such omissions, and this fact makes Nija Svabhava's spiritual autobiography of less value for to-day. The only point where it touches the experience of to-day, as well as of yesterday, in India is when it touches Jesus and at once is moved to reverence.

The summit of Svabhava's 'revelation' is reached in his discovery of God as a corporate personality and in his experience of world-love. God is for this soldier, and perhaps for his soldier-interpreter, to be conceived of not merely as a Father or a Mother, but as a Personality, to them, apparently, higher than either—that of a regiment or a nation which awakens passionate loyalty and affection. 'Love of God is of the same kind as love of country, though higher in degree.' This world-love is 'the new and divine quality which is

emerging in the human race as its summit of achievement.' We may not agree that this is so high a summit and yet appreciate the sincere and passionate longing with which this seeker has climbed to it.

There is much in this book to cause one to marvel anew at the ardours and despairs that mark the journey of the soul to God. But certain facts emerge at its conclusions : one, that the glow of these ardours and the depths of these despairs do not prove that the journey has been in the direction of that goal which is truth and goodness ; another, that to all sincere seekers it has been made known that the heart of the child is the heart that finds, but the heart of the child is hard to win ; and a third, and the chief one, that there is no greater discovery of God than of His Fatherhood and that Jesus Christ is still the one sure Way that leads men there.

N. Macnicol

Poona

DIVERSITIES OF GIFTS AND ONE SPIRIT

David Jones : Dauntless Pioneer. An Epic Story of Heroic Endeavour in Madagascar. By Ernest H. Hayes. London : The Livingstone Press. 1s. 1923.

F. W. Baller. A Master of the Pencil. By Marshall Broomhall. London : China Inland Mission. 1s. 1923.

Alexander Duff, Pioneer of Missionary Education. By William Paton. London : Student Christian Movement. 5s. 1923.

Allnutt of Delhi : A Memoir. By Cecil H. Martin. London. S.P.C.K. 3s. 6d. 1922.

Robert Henderson : The Story of a Missionary Greatheart in India. By J. Sinclair Stevenson. London : James Clarke. 3s. 6d. 1923.

The first impression which this group of biographies of British missionaries arouses in a German reviewer is the feeling of deep regret that at the present time, owing to the difficulties of producing books in Germany, friends of missions in that country are almost cut off from such a fountain of the water of life. The life of every missionary contains such riches and one feels the importance of giving friends of missions in the homeland a share in them by means of vividly written biographies such as these.

Ernest Hayes takes us in his biography of David Jones into the early days of missions in Madagascar. We can never forget the

tragic beginnings of this mission and the terrible difficulties in even reaching Madagascar. How many sacrifices it cost before the sole survivor of the pioneers, helplessly ill himself, after having lost wife and child and seeing his colleague and his wife sink into the grave, was at length able to enter the capital. And how discouraging was the relapse into heathenism after the hopeful beginnings in the capital, the apparent victory over the slave trade, the satisfactory results in the school for chiefs' sons and the first efforts to translate and print the Bible. The story is read with breathless interest and the heroism of the missionaries is realized afresh, as they dared to stand up against the outbreaks of fury on the part of heathenism and risked their life again and again so that they might not leave the young, heroic band of potential martyrs in their little community. David Jones did not go through the worst time of persecution himself, as he was obliged to return home ill, but when he went back, only partially restored in health and in a very short time again succumbed to fever, the reader feels that all these sacrifices and privations cannot have been in vain. The beginning of missions in Madagascar belongs to the most thrilling chapters in the history of modern missions and the story of this tragically beautiful life has brought it to mind in a vivid word-picture.

Marshall Broomhall gives us a glimpse into the history of the China Inland Mission in his biography of F. W. Baller and proves himself anew a master of descriptive narrative. Sketched in the form of eight finely-drawn pictures, the life of a learned, soulful, humorous missionary is before us. From his seventeenth year until his death in August 1922 his whole life was given to the conversion of China. We see Hudson Taylor greeting him as a youth and initiating him into Chinese life: then follows his unselfish pioneer work, entailing incessant travelling, till at length he was appointed professor in the training home for men at Anking. He was thus given an opportunity of utilizing his great learning and also his unique educational gifts in training young missionaries and in literary work, and as editor of the Anglo-Chinese dictionary and translator of the Bible. A short sketch of his life and a fine appreciation of his character bring the little book to a close. It should certainly gain many new friends for the work of the mission.

The other three biographies are concerned with India. The most important, both as to contents and size, is that of Alexander

Duff by William Paton. For several reasons I regard it as among the most valuable which I know. Every reader of the history of missions in India knows that Duff brought about a new departure when he, as a very young missionary and against the convictions of his older colleagues and the consensus of general opinion, insisted that a general conversion of India to the Christian faith was only possible by means of a common language, and as no Indian language—Sanskrit, Bengali or Urdu—was then suitable, the language must be English. In this way Dr Duff was the founder of the English educational policy for mission schools which is still largely in force. But one must be familiar with Duff's life and thought in order to understand that he was solely influenced by missionary motives. One cannot but admire his tolerant, broad-minded spirit, which was willing to grant free play to all research because the truth which is from God was bound to endure, so that in the last resort all work for civilization served him as a means for missionary propaganda. This biography brings us face to face with one of the most difficult missionary problems, the connexion between missions and civilization in the practical work of the missionary, and we are able to discriminate clearly between what is right and what is risky in Duff's policy. It is also marked by a delicate characterization of this great missionary. Further it helps us in understanding the split in the Scottish Church, which really led to a great increase in Scotland's missionary forces, instead of weakening them, because it was inspired by religious motives. We not only follow up an interesting bit of missionary history in reading Duff's life but an episode in church history at the same time. The author shows exceptional skill in the way he sustains the reader's interest to the end, although the critical period of Duff's life was really in his youth, when the conviction of the value of his new method in missionary work came to him, his later life only serving to develop and to justify his youthful inspiration. There is no doubt that students will read this book with interest. I count the study of it as a great gain for myself.

Allnutt was one of the outstanding personalities of the Cambridge Mission in Delhi. In him we have an entirely different type. He was a man gifted alike for learned study and for jest and mirth and friendly intercourse, and yet through all his life runs the keynote of self-denial, gladly and humbly accepted. To the German reader, to whom the atmosphere of the Cambridge Brotherhood is unfamiliar, there is a good deal which strikes an unaccustomed note, and yet in

Protestant missions too, the keynote has always been self-denial. But the reader is soon attracted by self-denial clothed in such persuasive form, and follows the lanky, lovable man through his varied career as a missionary, as professor in the college and as director of the whole mission. One loves him as a man who, even in advanced age, retained the quality of welcoming new ideas, and of standing back humbly and unselfishly in order to allow the younger missionaries, and above all the Indian Christians who were rapidly becoming ripe for more independent action, more freedom and responsibility in the work. He was called to his rest in December 1917.

Robert Henderson, whose life J. Sinclair Stevenson gives us, is like Allnutt, a modern Indian missionary. To my mind his great strength was his power of using his active mind, reading aright all the signs of the times, and employing all the most up-to-date methods of civilization and education quietly and unobtrusively in the service of missionary work. He achieved an immense amount of work: he supervised the building by his Indian Christians of four churches, three schoolhouses, four workmen's houses, two or three orphanages, between 140 and 150 dwelling-houses, 120 stables and much besides. He exhibited unusual gifts of organization during the famine and marvellous skill in training the lads in carving and mason's work. The doors and windows of the church in Borsad are a memorial of his gifts. He developed with wonderful care small farming colonies, drawing together the native Christians and educating them to industrial and Christian independence. Yet in all the varied occupations which Henderson followed in Borsad and Surat, the impression is retained of a deeply spiritual personality, to whom all work for social uplift is only a means of drawing near to men's hearts and of helping them forward in their Christian life. Even more than in his work for others, we must admire Henderson for the quiet work of self-discipline in which he never faltered. Only so could he have retained to an advanced age his simple childlike faith in spite of weary years of suffering at home.

These biographies show us five men of very different stamp; coming as they do, from different generations, working in different countries and districts, endowed with varying gifts, they are yet one in their broad objective. They all have an open mind for jest and harmless mirth, for where Christ's spirit reigns there joy reigns too. But they all possess the deep seriousness of men who are responsible to God and who place all their gifts and all their strength

at the service of their Master: and they all regard it as an honour and a foregone conclusion that they should give their life to forward the Kingdom of our Lord on earth.

M. Schlunk

Hamburg

THREE GERMAN MISSIONARIES

Christian David. (1690–1751.) Der Erbauer Herrnhuts. Von Th. Bechler. Mit Abbildungen, einer Karte und zwei Handschriftendrucken. Herrnhut: Missionsbuchhandlung. 1922.

Sechzig Jahre in der Mission unter den Falashas in Abessinien. Selbstbiographie des Missionars Johann Martin Flad. Giessen und Basel: Brunnenverlag. 1922.

Theodor Oehler. Ein Lebfn in Glaubensgehorsam. Von August Oehler. Basel: Missionsbuchhandlung. 1923.

Though these three lives were far removed from each other in point of time and circumstance yet they have much in common. They present excellent examples of much that is individual and significant in the older type of German missionaries, because in one way or another they are all closely connected with German pietism, and bear its stamp in themselves. A tenacious and passionate devotion to the work which God had given them to do, and which no disappointments could shatter or weaken, made up for a certain lack of far-sighted planning and organization of their work which is noticeable.

On the other hand there are differences which reflect the historical development of mission work. Christian David, the leader of the Moravian settlers at Herrnhut, is a perfect example of the enthusiastic type of the earlier pietism. Endowed with an unusually strong and even stormy nature, he wandered restlessly from country to country in order to spread the Gospel according to the tenets of the Moravians. His activity as leader of the first Moravian missionaries to Greenland (from 1733–35 and again in 1747–48 and 1749) is only an incident in his incessant travels, which led him through wide tracts of Germany to Holland and Lapland. He says himself: 'I do not feel it to be my mission to stay long in one place. My work is to evangelize—to arouse and to lay foundations. Once I have set a piece of work going, I gladly leave it to others.' His

work in Greenland was largely of a pioneer character and must be regarded as unimportant when compared with that of laying the spiritual foundations of the Moravian Mission in Europe. The great importance of Bechler's book from a missionary point of view lies in the fact that from hitherto unprinted archives he has been able to give valuable glimpses into the state of mind and conditions which led to the growth of the Moravian missions.

Flad and Oehler were both strongly influenced by Swabian pietism which has been of vital importance to German missionary life. This connexion was specially close in Martin Flad's case (1831–1915) as the decision to take up missionary work was simultaneous with his conversion. In 1855 he met Dr Krapf on the Abyssinian mission field, where the Church Missionary Society had been trying ever since 1826, with the help of Basel missionaries, to bring about a revival of the ancient Christian Church. Political events soon placed insuperable obstacles in their way, but in 1858 Flad was able to make a beginning among the coloured Jews of Abyssinia, the Falashas. A report sent by him to the London Society for Promoting Christianity among the Jews caused them to take up work among the Falashas and, in spite of many difficulties, to carry it on up to the present time. After great persecution, Flad was forced to leave the work in 1868, on account of political complications, but the mission to the Jews which he had founded proved so full of vitality that it was carried on under native direction. After fifty years, 17,000 or 18,000 baptisms, including children, were registered. Flad entered the service of the London committee and kept the management of the mission in his own hands. He placed his unique knowledge of the language at their disposal and kept in touch with the native workers by several journeys as far as the frontier of the country which was closed to him. In 1876 the Khedive of Egypt asked him to take over the government of his territory on the Abyssinian frontier and this testifies to the wide knowledge of the country and people which Flad had acquired. The way in which the offer was declined shows the delicacy of his conscientious scruples and this is noticeable in every page of his biography. What is wanting in distinctness and terseness is supplied by the foreword from the pen of his son, who succeeded him as the capable leader of the mission to the Falashas.

Theodor Oehler (1850–1915) had never read a missionary magazine regularly when he was called in 1884 to be the Director of the Basel

Mission. In spite of this he not only gained the confidence of the committee by his personal qualifications in very difficult circumstances, but he acquired a unique grasp of missionary matters, fostered by years of varied experience and by many visits of inspection to the mission field.

The value of his biography lies chiefly in its presentation of Oehler's views on the theoretical side of mission work, for the record of his thirty years as Director of the Basel Mission is one of quiet and steady growth. Up to the outbreak of the war the number of European mission workers on the field rose from 175 to 450, that of the native workers from 400 to 2000, the number of baptisms from 17,000 to 72,000.

As President of the Kontinentale Missions Konferenz and as Dr Warneck's successor in the chairmanship of the Deutscher Missionsausschuss his varied experience was of great value to wider circles of leading men among missionaries, and on several occasions he was able to take decisive action in matters of colonial policy as affecting religious questions. The self-imposed restraint in all such activity which is so noticeable in his case is typical of German missions in the older generation, when minds were concentrated on the inner life rather than on matters of outward organization.

ERICH STANGE

LEIPZIG

DOCTORS IN THE MISSION FIELD

MEDICAL PRACTICE IN AFRICA AND THE EAST. Edited by H. H. WEIR and HUGH MARTIN. With an Introduction by STEPHEN PAGET, F.R.C.S. London: Student Christian Movement. 4s. 1923.

IF any one is in the slightest doubt as to whether medical missions are worth while, he or she should read this extraordinarily interesting, inspiring and valuable little book. It is in the form of a series of open letters on professional subjects from doctors in the mission field to their colleagues at home. The letters come from all parts of the field and although primarily they are meant for doctors and medical students, there is much in them which will prove of profound interest to the non-medical reader and bring home to him the truth of the statement of one of the contributors that 'medical work ploughs the soil and prepares it for the sowing of the seed.'

These letters are the outcome of a meeting held in Oxford, the object of which was to present a true conception of medical missionary work, to state plainly what the mission field had to offer to medicals. The object has been more than fulfilled, as the various letters throw a real light on the subject although, to be quite honest, they are the letters of real enthusiasts who ignore the dangers, the hardships and the privations of their twice noble calling. Above all, they make it plain that the mission field does not want 'duds,' the men and women who are failures at home. 'The physicians and surgeons who are needed for our mission hospitals to-day are the men and women the homeland cannot give without feeling its loss.' That this demand is no over-statement is abundantly shown in this little book. In the mission field there are out-patient departments which put those of our great hospitals in the shade. Take, for example, the details given about Shikarpur in Sindh with an out-patient department through which passes, for six days a week, 500, 600 and even 700 patients a day, where 2600 major and minor operations (mainly eye-work) were done in the course of twenty-nine days. Or we can turn to the study of tropical disease, malaria for instance, as in the hospital at Ranaghat with its 70,000 to 80,000 out-patients a year and in the malaria season with as many as 1800 *new* patients in a single day. Or if the interest is in infant welfare, take Uganda, for example, where infant mortality is stated to reach the terrible figure of 75 per cent. Think of it: only one out of every four surviving, and in this country a rate of 25 per cent would almost certainly lead to a public inquiry. Or still again we can turn to hygiene and child welfare and read the pitiful account of the conditions among the little carpet weavers of Kerman in Persia. And finally, there is a very special field for women amongst the women of the East. As one of the writers has well stated, 'no department of medical work is richer in missionary results than that of gynæcology and obstetrics, for a heavy burden rests on womanhood in the non-Christian lands.'

I have perhaps over-emphasized the medical aspects of the work to the exclusion of the spiritual, but the little volume, as I read it, is meant to bring home to readers the medical aspect. To quote again, 'How can we ever hope to represent His infinite care for suffering humanity unless we are offering in His name the finest professional service that modern medicine has placed at our disposal?'

The harvest is a rich one but the reapers are few. No other

department in the whole of the missionary enterprise can do such valuable pioneer work in new fields. Medical missionary work certainly does ' demonstrate that the gospel message is an eminently practical one.'

I can recommend this little book heartily to all who desire to know what medical missionary work really means and what it has to offer.

E. P. Cathcart

University of Glasgow

THE REPORT OF THE NATIONAL CHRISTIAN CONFERENCE OF CHINA

The Chinese Church as revealed in the National Christian Conference, held in Shanghai, May 2–11, 1922, being the Report of that Conference. Shanghai: Oriental Press. $4 Mex. London: Edinburgh House, 2 Eaton Gate. 10s. 6d. 1923.

Some books are like a well-appointed table with only dainty trifles for the guests, while others are like a board groaning beneath substantial fare unattractively spread. If one must choose between the two—which should not be necessary—the latter is to be preferred, and it is of such a table this Report reminds us. Here is strong meat for the hungry, but not much to attract those who lack a healthy appetite. To change the figure, the book appears at first sight like a trackless deep, instead of a fair garden where one may wander along clearly marked paths and feast on the tempting fruit.

When we first received the volume we turned to the Index (though unhappily it hardly deserves that name) to find Commission III. We found the word ' Commission ' and read :

' Commission I, Report of, pp. 78–242.
Commission II, Report of, pp. 243–354 ; V, 606–642.'

That was all. There was no reference to Commissions III or IV, and the ' V, 606–642,' put on the same line as Commission II inappropriately referred to Commission V. Perplexed, our eye descended the page, and under ' D ' found ' Discussion of Commission III, pp. 238–239.' Evidently, then, Commission III was to be found somewhere, but it seemed strange that there was no reference to discussions on the other Commissions. Of all the Commissions, Commission III was least discussed and yet is the only discussion indexed.

Knowing Commission III was entitled ' The Message of the

Church,' we turned to the letter 'M' and found 'Message of the Church, Report of Commission III, page 499.' To our delight, on page 499 we found a full page title reading 'The Message of the Church, Report of Commission III, etc.' This was distinctly hopeful and suggested a clear division of material, but to our surprise we found that the four pages preceding this title belonged to the Message of the Church, though from their location they appeared to belong to what had gone before. This is the case with each Commission Report. To add to the difficulty some of the page numbers given are incorrect.

If the reader opens the book at random there is nothing to indicate where he is. The top left-hand page throughout is headed 'National Christian Conference,' and the title on the right-hand page is little more than the subject of that particular page. There is no indication as to whether the reader is in the region of Commission I or Commission II or Commission III, or even what the main subject under discussion is. Why should the valuable space of the left-hand heading be 'National Christian Conference' from the beginning to the end of the volume? It is as though a traveller to England were, after landing, to find every station on the railway marked on the one side 'England,' and on the other side the name of the street in which the station was, instead of the name of the city or town through which he was passing.

There is no doubt that the busy editors have had an exacting and laborious task in condensing a vast amount of material; and condensation, as all who have attempted it know, is by no means easy. But it is regrettable beyond measure that the landmarks and index so essential to a volume of this nature should be conspicuous by their absence or inadequacy. The very value of the volume emphasizes this regret. It will be found, however, upon closer investigation, as the preface states, that the material has been grouped around the five Commission Reports. But it has been massed rather than clearly classified. Though compelled to express these regrets, we must not neglect to express appeciation of the labour bestowed by the editors in their general work of editing. It is a task from which most men would have shrunk. But it is just that 'little more' which is missing, and 'how much it is.'

But to return to our first figure, here is a substantial feast for all who will sit down to the task of reading and study. Behind the five Reports, as we are told in a very helpful Interpretative Introduction

by one of the editors, there is not only the massive volume *The Christian Occupation of China*, but the eight annual Reports of the China Continuation Committee with all their careful investigations. It is impossible to over-estimate the importance and value of these Reports, which collate the thinking of the Christian Church in China on its responsibility and task. Never before has any mission field been so thoroughly surveyed and reported on as China, with its survey volume *The Christian Occupation of China*, which took four years to prepare, and now with the reports of these five Commissions in which the views of the Chinese Church and of the missions have been thoroughly canvassed. They are the result of more widespread collective thinking than China has received upon any previous occasion. Many who cannot read the substantial survey volume can find in the Report of Commission I its marrow and fatness condensed.

It is obviously impossible adequately to review such a volume, for treasures of information and inspiration will be found on almost every page. No one, for instance, can read the Chairman's opening address without having his heart stirred to its depths with thanksgiving that God has given to the Church in China a man with such breadth of vision and wisdom of expression as is revealed by Dr Cheng's utterances. In him and in others the reader cannot fail to see, if he had not known it before, that God has already given, and is giving, strong and able leaders to the Chinese Church ; and God's greatest gift is always men. For this reason we are sorry that, despite all the difficulties in the way of romanization, the names of the Chinese delegates in the English version of the Report should be only printed in Chinese character. This has only been done after deliberate consideration : none the less it will be a deprivation to many a home reader.

No summary can be attempted of these more than seven hundred pages of condensed material dealing with the Present State of Christianity in China ; the Future Task of the Church ; the Message of the Church ; Leadership ; and Co-ordination and Co-operation. The chaotic condition of the world to-day, and of China included, is at times apt to discourage, but no one can honestly study this volume without having his mind dominated by the conviction that despite all the signs of man's misrule among the nations, the sovereign hand of God is surely, though it may be slowly, working out His purposes and establishing His Church. Any one who will glance over reports of the previous conferences in China, the conferences of 1877, of 1890,

and of 1907, and then turn to this last of all, will see that much for which the missionaries of past generations have striven has already been attained. China, it is true, is not yet fully evangelized, but the Chinese Church has been born. It has also realized itself, made its voice heard, and accepted its responsibilities. This volume may not inaptly be regarded as its Birth Register.

MARSHALL BROOMHALL

LONDON

CHRISTIAN LITERATURE IN MOSLEM LANDS

CHRISTIAN LITERATURE IN MOSLEM LANDS: A Study of the Activities of the Moslem and Christian Press in all Mohammedan Countries. New York: Doran. 1923.

THIS volume has been issued by a joint committee appointed by the Committee of Reference and Counsel of the Foreign Missions Conference of North America and the Committee on Social and Religious Surveys. It is the latest addition to the series of reports which originated in the general Survey of Christian Literature on the Mission Field undertaken by the Continuation Committee of the Edinburgh Conference. The volumes on China and India have already been published, and one on Africa is now appearing concurrently with this on the Moslem World.

It is unnecessary to describe here the methods adopted in gathering and sifting and setting in orderly array the mass of information this book contains. It is sufficient to say that no trouble has been spared to secure accuracy and to represent the situation up to date by enlisting the help of field committees in the twelve areas into which the Moslem world is divided. We congratulate all who have contributed of their time and thought on the excellence of their work. The book is itself 'literature,' thanks to Miss C. E. Padwick who has been mainly responsible for the authorship, and it is rendered more attractive and useful by its excellent illustrations, maps, charts and index. The appendix contains invaluable statistics on the census of Moslems; for the compilation of these facts we are specially grateful to Dr S. M. Zwemer.

The justification for a literature survey which cuts right across other surveys of geographical areas like those of India, China and Africa, lies in the unique character of Islam, which stands for 'a

unity of religious conception, a unity of political theory and of ideals of civilization as well as religion.' Further, Islam is a book religion with a literature of its own and peculiarly open to influences which reach it through the printed page.

The first chapter therefore dwells on the spirit of Islam, the growing, and rapidly growing, literacy of its peoples, and the types of literature produced by Moslems themselves in the old world and the new. The inclusion of a study of the present activities of the Moslem press affords a striking and necessary background to the consideration of how, through Christian literature, we can best help Mohammedans to see and to love Jesus Christ. The second chapter deals generally with the wider aspects of the problem of providing specific Christian literature for Moslems. Existing literature is reviewed with appreciation that is both just and discriminating. That it is altogether inadequate is not the fault of those who have laboured in the past. To these be all honour. There is no shadow of doubt, however, that vastly more literature is needed, literature written with the Moslem mentality ever in view, written if possible by writers racy of the soil, and written always, not in a spirit of superiority and controversy, but of brotherly love in Christ. Eight chapters are devoted to the conditions and needs of local areas, linguistic or geographical—in Arabic, for Turanian and Balkan Moslems, for Persian-reading Moslems, for Indian Moslems, in Malaysia and the Philippines, in China, in African languages and in the languages of Europe. The first of these covering Arabic-speaking people is the most important, and the last on the languages of Europe is the most striking. But every chapter is full of interesting matter, and deepens the conviction of need for literature which aims 'to bring every thought into captivity to the obedience of Christ.' The cumulative effect of the whole brings the missionary administrator, or the missionary himself who neglects Christian literature as a means of propagandism, under a condemnation from which there is no escape. The closing chapters, except one on newspaper evangelism, cover the wide problems of authorship, publication and circulation. The last is emphasized, for what is the value of literature stored on the shelves of book depots ? Business men with any knowledge of the art of publishing will appreciate the wealth of practical experience and wise suggestion in this section of the volume.

'The next steps'—these words are practical, and form the fitting title of the last chapter. The whole task is reviewed, and

the minimum of staff and organization for its fulfilment is set forth. A budget of the cost is appended in a footnote, but obviously it is only a suggestion upon which more accurate estimates may be based on further consideration. The financial needs are not excessive. Many a rich man could easily provide for them, but the responsibility is on the whole Christian Church. It is admittedly a difficult task to evangelize and Christianize Moslems, but the difficulty does not account wholly for the slowness of the progress of the Kingdom of God in the Moslem world. The failure—if we may use the word—is at the home base. The Christian Church has sent out comparatively few missionaries to Moslem fields, and they have often been left almost unaided—voices crying in the wilderness. This volume opens up a neglected line of approach to the Moslem heart and constitutes a new challenge to the Christian Church. No one interested in the well-being of Moslems can do without it, and surely no one not interested can read it, and remain indifferent. 'The next steps'—here they are plainly set before us. Will the Church take them?

JOHN H. RITSON

LONDON

THE MAKING OF JAPAN

CREATIVE FORCES IN JAPAN. By GALEN M. FISHER. New York: Missionary Education Movement. West Medford, Mass.: Central Committee of the United Study for Foreign Missions. 75 cents. 1923. [A British Edition is being issued by the U.C.M.E.]

THE days of missionary work based upon sentimental reasons have passed away. The Christian task, like any other to be efficient, must be built on real knowledge of the country and the people; for knowledge is mother of sympathy and breeds friendship and service. If any one wants a fresh, readable book on Japan let him procure *Creative Forces in Japan*, by Galen M. Fisher. Mr Fisher treats in a masterly and scientific way all the important aspects of modern Japan in relation to social, industrial, educational, political, and religious life. He has lived long in the country. He loves and is loved by the people. He belongs to the small number of foreigners who understand and think like the Japanese. Though he is a friend of Japan, he does not try to show the bright side merely, but he reveals and criticizes unreservedly some of the dark side and the shortcomings of the people, whether in the Church

or in the Government. Incidentally he also reveals the weakness of England and America too, as a true friend should do.

The book is full of brilliant sketches of real situations and of the careers of some of the prominent leaders of the present-day national life. One such is the Hon. M. Ozaki, the most influential liberal in parliament, who during a tour on behalf of disarmament was aroused from sleep one night by a flashlight held by a desperado waving a sword above his head. He coolly and civilly accosted the intruder, turned on the electric light and then invited his astounded visitor to sit down. The man left, after two hours' conversation, fully converted to Ozaki's views, begging to be pardoned for his intrusion. A little later attention is invited to factory girls who after twelve hours' hard toil, tired and depressed, crawl into barrack-like dormitories, dark and dismal, without any ventilation. Two or three girls sleep together on the floor on one large mattress with their day clothes on, in order to keep them warm in winter. Again, the reader may hear a song sung by a procession of strikers in streets of Kobe, Osaka, or Tokyo :

> Workers of Nippon, awake, awake!
> Old things are done with and passed away.
> . . . . . .
> You who drop sweat to get bread we call,
> Honours now for sons of toil.

Later, he is introduced to a young Y.M.C.A. teacher of English who came to a commercial high school in a rural town. The number of his student converts aroused opposition and cost him his post ; he turned to architecture for support. Afterwards he married a Japanese lady of noble family and is now surrounded by seventy men and women fellow-workers, mostly Japanese, engaged not only in building goodly structures all over the empire, but pre-eminently in building Christ into the lives of the farmers and village folk of a province. The biographical sketches of prominent Christian leaders are admirably done. Mr Fisher has obtained some rare first-hand material ; such as the story of Mr Kagawa, the 'Saint of the Shinkawa slums,' and of Pastor Uemura, who is so reticent that no sketch of his life has hitherto appeared.

Along with other modern nations Japan is confronted with perplexing problems. 'Democracy' is the slogan among the people, freedom, conscience, a new valuation of human life, the equality of all—men and women, the old and the young—these are cries heard

everywhere in modern Japan. 'Emancipation' is the watchword uttered not only by labour but also by women. Where can we find a real creative, emancipating power in a nation? 'Is it not as clear as day that no vital liberalism worthy of the name can long prevail without Christian conviction and character . . . Jesus Christ was the world's first great Liberal, and His increasing sway in Japan is the only sure guarantee of her becoming and remaining a liberal state.' The creative forces have already been set in motion, though they are often unnoticed as they run under ground, beneath flowery fields, wooded hills and entangled bamboo roots.

The illustrations are well selected. In contrast to those found in ordinary books on Japan, we have Mount Asama, a living volcano, in place of Mount Fuji, an extinct one; not a Buddhist temple, but a Buddhist Sunday school; not a jinrikisha, but a textile mill; and not pioneer missionaries, but Christian leaders of the younger generation and the like. One correction should be made on the page facing 216; the Rev. Shoichi Imamura (lower left), 'Religious Education Director, Reinanzaka Church' should be 'General Secretary of the Japan Sunday School Association.' The Religious Education Director of Reinanzaka Church is Mr Iwamura, but not Imamura.

Tokyo, Japan — Y. Chiba

THE FUNCTION OF EDUCATION IN CHINA

Christian Education and the National Consciousness in China. By James B. Webster. New York: Dutton. $2.50. 1923.

This volume is particularly of value when read with the report of the China Educational Commission in mind. The latter dealt both with general principles and with specific recommendations for local, regional and national situations. This volume by Dr Webster deals primarily with general principles. The author comes to his task well equipped. He has taught in China for more than ten years, and while without technical training in the field of education when he went out, he has since acquired it through experience, reading and graduate study. His attitude is that of the Christian missionary and of the educational expert trained in the American school of Professor Dewey and his associates.

The book opens with a statement of the purpose of Christian missions. This the author conceives as being the realization of the

world-wide Kingdom of God. He then points out that Christian educators in China have seldom stopped to define their aims, and that when they have done so they have very infrequently stated them in terms acceptable to the technical educator. He next gives what he believes to be the proper aims of Christian education in China—the development of the Chinese along their own lines, the adequate and effective expression of their natural powers in social relations and the recognition of the cultural element. He goes somewhat at length into the ideals and history of classical education, which he holds to have been primarily for the individual and to have been aristocratic in its trend. This classical ideal he maintains has been dominant in education in Great Britain and the United States, and so, by natural transference, in missionary education in China. He next defines what he calls 'social education,' which is democratic in its scope, is for the many rather than the few, and is not so much for preparation for life after school as for the guidance of growth during school. He points out the chief characteristics of the older Chinese education, which he describes as being classical with a certain social trend. About half of the book is given to a discussion of the needs of China, economic, recreational, cultural, social, moral and religious, and of the relation of Christian education to them. He concludes with a description of the huge educational task which confronts China and of the distinctive contribution which China may make to racial development.

With much, perhaps most, of what Dr Webster says, one finds oneself in hearty accord. Even where one differs there is a stimulus to thinking, for the issue is not so much one of fact as of interpretation. It is obvious that Christian education in China has reached the stage where we must think through its function. Agreement cannot be expected, for too many of us are Protestants for that. We can, however, aid each other by discussion, and to this Dr Webster has made a real contribution.

Yale University K. S. Latourette

A SWEDISH PROFESSOR ON THE STUDY OF CHINESE

Sound and Symbol in Chinese. By Bernhard Karlgren. London: Oxford University Press. 2s. 6d. 1923.

Dr Karlgren, Professor of Sinology in the University of Goteborg, is an authoritative guide to students of Chinese, and his work on the

phonetics of that language is known far and wide. This volume of 112 pages is an adaptation of a book published at Stockholm in 1918, and all who are interested in the training of students of the fascinating language of China will bless him for it. He deals with the varied aspects of the evolution, diction and construction of Chinese sentences, with many hints of pitfalls to be avoided and sane guidance into the wealth of the treasure-house of Chinese speech. His illustrations are almost always fresh and enlightening; though some of them are familiar already, all are necessary to the understanding of the full presentation of his theme.

One or two criticisms may be permitted. The first is the use of phrases which are to-day quite out of date, as, for instance, the references to 'the one who costs money,' 'stupid thorn' or 'stinking wife' on page 110, referring to daughters and wives. The writer has spent four decades in China and mingled with people of all classes, but has never once heard these phrases used, though they are the stock-in-trade of those who desire to show off the idiosyncracies of the Chinese. Perhaps, however, Dr Karlgren can produce evidence that he is right, based on his experiences in other than the northern parts of China. Certain references on page 105 might well be omitted without loss of continuity.

The author writes that 'the most fashionable variety of Mandarin is that of the capital, Peking, and Europeans generally base their dictionaries upon the dialect of Peking as a kind of High Chinese.' This, all will admit, is the truth, but one would have wished to see Dr Karlgren adopting the same system of writing in romanized forms, for he has ignored that so-called dialect throughout his book and has used a method of romanization which is exclusively used elsewhere. We do not quarrel with him about this, but, as he acknowledges the superiority of Pekingese as being the 'language of officialdom,' it does seem a pity that he did not follow it, for example is better than precept. Nor do we like his use of the letter Y as an equivalent for the Ti in Chinese, for in English it sounds strange to read 'learn manner-y,' and further, the Chinese means 'learn cunning, or skill, or cleverness' and not 'learn manners,' nor even 'learn manner-y' as Dr Karlgren has it. And surely, *kiao*—in Pekingese *chiao*—means not 'stumble' but 'foot,' though it is true the foot stumbled.

But the book is altogether to be commended. Simple and vivid, it is not too technical and is scientific and helpful through and through. We urge all those who desire a practical knowledge of the

Chinese language to buy this manual; they will benefit greatly from a careful perusal of it. We thank Dr Karlgren for this most valuable gift to students and teachers alike.

W. Hopkyn Rees

School of Oriental Studies, London

A STUDY OF ALGIERS

Algeria To-Day. By Gordon Casserly. London: Werner Laurie. 16s. 1923.

This is a series of interesting sketches and pen pictures of old Algiers of yesterday, new Algeria of to-day and a glimpse of the morrow. From preface to conclusion the author pays constant and deserved tribute to the achievements of France. He traces the history of the city of Algiers, once a nest of pirates which defied Europe for centuries, to its present position as queen city of North Africa linked to Casablanca on the West and to Tunis on the East by first-class railways and highways, a compact colonial empire stretching southwards across the Sahara to Timbuktu. Motor-cars have already crossed the impassable desert, traversing 1700 miles in three weeks. Otherwise interesting and attractive, the book is seriously marred by great carelessness in the transcription of Arabic names and words, e.g. 'Ali-ben-Ali-Thaleb,' '*Sheurfa*, in the singular *Shereef*,' 'Zenetes,' 'Ouahbite,' etc. There is a special chapter on the Moslem confraternities and on the Touareg. The latter are un-Mohammedan in their manners and their customs. The women are not only free and respected but their position compared with that in other Moslem lands is enviable. No reference is made to Christian missions; even the work of Cardinal Lavigerie and the White Fathers is unmentioned. French government education has established 1115 primary schools in Algeria with an enrolment of 108,000, and there are 18 primary superior schools, with an enrolment of 2260, 3 *lycées* with over 6000 pupils and a university at Algiers, with departments on law, medicine and science, numbering 529 students. The future of Algeria, says the author, depends on the continued predominance of France. 'The European race should hold first place, but . . . it is necessary that the European element in North Africa *should be from now on and before the lapse of ten years* much more important than it is. If not, the

disproportion between Europeans and natives will only grow greater and more dangerous.' But where assimilation fails, predominance will not prove permanent. There is a better way which this book does not point out. One may see it illustrated in the schools of the Pères Blancs and of the American Methodist Episcopal Mission.

S. M. Zwemer

London

TRIAL TRIPS

Contacts with Non-Christian Cultures: A Case Book in the Christian Movement Abroad. By D. J. Fleming, Ph.D. New York: Doran. $2. 1923.

While Professor Fleming's mission study text-book *Building with India* is still fresh in our minds, he has published another stimulating volume which leaves the younger generation of missionary students still more deeply in his debt. The book is original in conception and is manifestly the work of an expert educator, concerned with the development rather than the mere instruction of his pupils. A number of the practical problems—large and small—which beset missionaries have been collected at first hand, grouped so as to suggest their larger significances, and set in luminous explanatory matter with questions and notes to guide discussion meetings. Students either singly or in groups are invited to seek possible solutions of the problems recorded. They learn to locate and to define difficulties, to search for the data necessary for a solution, to weigh tentative solutions, and to test their ideas up against actual life. Obviously such a book is open to misuse. But we do not condemn an adult to eat with a spoon because the knife which cuts his food may by misuse cut his fingers. Dr Fleming's aim is not to lead the missionary recruit to arm himself with ready-made solutions of the problems which await him abroad. As a matter of fact, the book is a prophylactic against cocksureness and tends to discourage the hasty formation of ultimate judgments.

It augurs well for the future that such a volume is being largely used in young men's discussion meetings in North America.

G. A. Gollock

Wimbledon

SHORTER NOTICES

L'Islam et les Races. By P. J. André. (Paris: Geuthner. 2 vols. Fs. 25. 1922.) Captain André is a French officer who has served most of his time abroad, first in Algeria, then in journeys down the East Coast of Africa and to the adjacent islands, then in Morocco and finally in Cilicia where after the war he became governor of an important district. A student of oriental subjects before beginning his active career, he has used the opportunities given him to pursue at first hand his study of Islam. He is concerned primarily with the political aspects of the subject and his aim is to provide French administrators with information which will help them to determine their attitude and policy towards it. His principal thesis is that the Moslem world does not possess any deep or permanent unity. He traces the history of Islam with its great dividing line between the expansion of Arab civilization and the conquests and dominion of the Mongols and Turks, and its splitting up into sects and rival religious confraternities. He then studies separately the different regional developments showing that each has its own special and distinctive characteristics. In this world-wide survey the author is naturally better qualified to deal with those areas of which he has first-hand knowledge than with those which he knows only through books, more especially since the scanty leisure of a soldier's life affords little opportunity for exhaustive reading; the account of the present situation in India, for example, is sketchy and in some respects inaccurate. The author's conclusion is that in Islam as in Christendom national differences arising from climate and character and national egoisms and rivalries are disruptive forces and that there is no such thing as a common Moslem interest. The only thing that could create it would be the common fear of western economic and political domination. It is essential, in the view of the author, to distinguish clearly between the sense of Islamic solidarity, which is purely religious and is not dangerous, and the quite different movement, political in character, to rally Moslem peoples under Turkish leadership, or what would be still more dangerous, under the direction of a powerful and energetic nation like the Japanese, in opposition to the western powers. The political movement Captain André regards as a menace which needs to be watched. To Islamic civilization his attitude is sympathetic and he sets a high value on French colonial administration as an

educative force among Moslem peoples. The book is instructive as expressing the standpoint of one who is at the same time a student and a man of affairs practically engaged in dealing with questions of great moment to the future welfare of the world.

J. H. O.

Some Applications of Psycho-Analysis. By Oskar Pfister. (London: Allen & Unwin. 16s. 1923.) It is not without significance that Dr Pfister of Zurich devotes a portion of his recent book, which has just appeared in an authorized English version, to missionary work. The longest section deals with its application to Philosophy; besides these two, there are sections dealing with the relation of the analytic method to Art, to Peace and War and to Child Life. It is not an exhaustive treatise: it is 'not intended to be more than a hint, an invitation to the reader, to prove things for himself.' In the thirty pages that deal with mission work Dr Pfister gives psychology its true place as the child of religion. The human need and craving for God is shown as universal and all religious rites and ceremonies as attempts to express that need. Such an outlook gives something of that sympathetic attitude to non-Christian religions which is essential to all missionary workers. By suggesting a possible new method of work for the missionary these pages give food for reflection; the building up of a new creation in Christ Jesus is no sudden or simple task. Nor can we afford to practise missionary methods instinctively, but must use them with insight into individual and racial characteristics. The book presupposes some knowledge of psychology, and Dr Pfister hardly does justice to the practical difficulties of the task he outlines. None the less we are grateful to him, for with a touch of real genius he reveals the underlying unity of human life, and shows what is necessary for its harmonization.

E. A. M.

A Galilee Doctor: Being a Sketch of the Career of Dr D. W. Torrance of Tiberias. By W. P. Livingstone. (London: Hodder & Stoughton. 6s. 1923.) The author of *Mary Slessor* has grouped round the personality of a great medical missionary — David Torrance—the medical, educational and evangelistic work of the Sea of Galilee Mission of the United Free Church of Scotland. The book should do much to deepen sympathy not merely for missions to Jews but for the Jews themselves. Mr Livingstone affirms that

a nobler ethical spirit is beginning to rule the thoughts of men, and that there is a wider recognition of the divine significance and value of every human soul, embracing the Jew in its range. Dr Torrance with his thirty-nine years of toil in Galilee—not limited indeed to the service of Jews—and with his intimate knowledge of the Jewish mind, capacities and genius for religion, has contributed more than most men to the growth of this better spirit and to the removal of prejudices. The book as a study of Dr Torrance himself is scarcely satisfactory—the stories of living men seldom are; perspective is lacking; reticence is inevitable. But what he would choose in preference has been secured, namely, the vivid interest in the spot and the irresistible witness to the love of Christ which medical missions supply.

China and Her Peoples. By Lena G. Johnston. *In China Now.* By J. C. Keyte, M.A. (London: U.C.M.E. 2s. each. 1923.) If an enterprising tourist agent were about to conduct a party over the four million square miles of China, he could not do better than place Miss Lena Johnston's little book in his travellers' hands. They would derive from it that background knowledge, and withal that sympathetic understanding which the book sets out to give to boys and girls who in the homelands want to learn what China and the Chinese mean in the family of nations. In chronology and history gigantic leaps are taken and the art of China receives but slender notice; but these and other like omissions from the picture of China are due to lack of space. The essential features all are there—town and country, high and humble, the domestic, religious, human, and now the political life of China, with the Christian aims of Chinese Christians for their own awakening land. A brief list of books for further reading and a useful index are appended. Mr Keyte's book reflects the prevalent confusion which, defying analysis or classification, draws the observer to a patient study and a keen search for causes and results. Not least—perhaps most—will readers value the concluding chapter, 'The Home of All Good Men,' where the Chinese Christian Church and its relation to national life is treated with breadth, clarity and foresight. Facts of men and things, considerations too seldom weighed, are brought before the Christian Church of other lands, to supply still more material for prayer and service for the great republic of the East. Taken together these two small books are a worthy tribute to the absorbing

interest of the destiny of China, whose conditions, as Mr Keyte points out, offer a challenge to Christian statesmanship.

Building the City of God. (Toronto: Student Christian Movement, 604 Jarvis Street. $1. 1923.) The leaders of the first National Conference of Canadian students (December 28th to January 2nd, 1923) have done well to issue this volume. For one thing, the freshness and daring of the method adopted is full of suggestion for conferences elsewhere, the freedom and scope given to students both in speeches and in discussion being specially worthy of note. For another, the material on the world situation provided by senior speakers is of considerable significance. The main importance of the volume lies in the presentation of the Canadian view of the world's necessity, the courageous treatment of the internal problems of the great Dominion, and Canada's conception of her international responsibility. Any one reading this book will find a new place for Canada in the affairs of men. M. C. G.

Training World Christians. By Gilbert Loveland. (New York: Methodist Book Concern. $1.25. 1921.) This is a handbook on the development of the home Church in support of the missionary enterprise. A 'world Christian' is one who knows the mission fields and problems and devotes himself in all possible ways to the Christianizing of the world. Mr Loveland's discussion is based upon the church school as the place for training world Christians. His book contains twelve chapters which deal with organization, the objects of missionary education, and methods of training various ages represented in the school. It takes too little account of the content of missionary education, that is, of the 'knowledge' materials which pertain to the life of non-Christian peoples. It offers no criteria of judgment with respect to the fairness and accuracy of data used for education. It is excellent otherwise, and a valuable book for any school library and for any leader in missionary education.

J. C. A.

NOTES ON CONTRIBUTORS

Mr Basil Mathews is Director of the Far and Near Press Bureau of the Conference of Missionary Societies in Great Britain and Ireland, and editor of *Outward Bound*.

Dr Robert E. Speer is one of the secretaries of the Board of Foreign Missions of the Presbyterian Church in the U.S.A. and has recently visited the mission fields of his Church in Asia. He was unable to be present to read the paper he prepared for the International Missionary Council.

The Right Rev. E. J. Palmer, D.D., who was consecrated Bishop of Bombay in 1908, represented the National Christian Council of India at the meeting of the International Missionary Council.

The Rev. Frank Lenwood, one of the Foreign Secretaries of the London Missionary Society, was also a member of the British Delegation to the meeting of the International Missionary Council at Oxford, where he read the paper published in this number.

Mr J. Merle Davis went to Tokyo, Japan, in 1905, in connexion with the Young Men's Christian Association. He has made a special study of social and industrial conditions in Japan, and is at present working on the same lines in the United States.

Mr Soichi Saito, one of the Japanese delegates to the meeting of the International Missionary Council, is National General Secretary of the Young Men's Christian Associations in Japan.

The Rev. SAMUEL M. ZWEMER, D.D., Editor of *The Moslem World*, has recently returned from extensive travels in the Netherlands Indies and North Africa. His books on the Moslem situation are widely known.

The Rev. WATTS O. PYE, a missionary of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, went to China in 1907. He is stationed at Fenchowfu, in Shansi Province.

Dr N. ADRIANI went to Central Celebes in 1894, after having studied Indonesian languages at Leiden University. He is one of a group of distinguished scholars working with the Netherlands Bible Society.

The writers of book reviews are the Rev. J. Paul S. R. Gibson, F.I.A., Principal of the Ceylon Training Colony at Peradeniya, to which federated institution he has been lent by the C.M.S.; the Rev. E. O. James, author of *Primitive Ritual and Belief*; Professor R. R. Marett, Reader of Social Anthropology in the University of Oxford; the Rev. Nicol Macnicol, D.Litt., of Poona; Missionsinspektor D.Theol. M. Schlunk, Secretary of the Deutscher Evangelischer Missionsbund; Pastor Lic. Theol. Erich Stange, Editor of *Der Pastoralblätter* and leader of the Jugendbewegung in Germany; Professor E. P. Cathcart of the Physiological Institute of the University of Glasgow; Mr Marshall Broomhall, Editorial Secretary of the China Inland Mission; the Rev. John H. Ritson, D.D., Secretary of the British and Foreign Bible Society; President Y. Chiba, D.D., of the Japan Baptist Theological Seminary and Chairman of the Organizing Committee of the National Christian Council of Japan; Professor K. S. Latourette, Ph.D., of Yale University; and the Rev. W. Hopkyn Rees, D.D., Lecturer in Chinese at the School of Oriental Studies, London.

INTERNATIONAL MISSIONARY BIBLIOGRAPHY

In the preparation of the bibliography the Editors have the advantage of the co-operation of M. le Pasteur Allégret (Paris), Professor Harlan P. Beach, D.D. (Yale), Mr Marshall Broomhall (London), Rev. W. A. Crabtree (London), J. N. Farquhar, D.Litt. (Calcutta), Professor Arthur Jeffery, Ph.D. (American University, Cairo), Professor H. M. van Nes, D.D. (Leiden), Rev. Frank Rawlinson, D.D. (Shanghai), Professor Kenneth Saunders (Berkeley, Cal.), Rev. Fr. Schepelern (Denmark), Missionsinspektor Dr M. Schlunk (Hamburg), Eugene Stock, D.C.L. (London), Missionsdirektor M. Tarkkanen (Helsingsfors), Rev. S. H. Wainright, D.D. (Tokyo), Rev. Martin Westling (Stockholm), Canon A. Lukyn Williams, D.D. (Cambridge).

While the bibliography is concerned primarily with missionary literature, published matter on other subjects closely related to the progress of Christianity is included when it is of exceptional value.

Entries of magazine articles are distinguished by †.

Abbreviations of magazine titles are explained on p. 634.

Annotations in the bibliography do not preclude a subsequent review.

MAIN HEADINGS OF THE BIBLIOGRAPHY

I. History
II. Missionary Biography
III. The Home Base
IV. The Mission Fields
V. Works of Reference
VI. Theory and Principles of Missions
VII. The Training and Qualifications of Missionaries
VIII. Missionary Methods
IX. The Church in the Mission Field
X. Comity, Co-operation and Unity
XI. Christianity and the Non-Christian Religions
XII. Social and Political Relations of Missions
XIII. Hortatory and Practical
XIV. New Missionary Magazines
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ee also *544* (Biography); *620* (Travel); *633* (Religious Education); *644–6* (Church); *668–70* (Religion); *671* (Buddhism).

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(*General*)

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See also *539*, *542* (Biography); *647* (Church).

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V. Works of Reference

†BIBLIOGRAPHIE. M. Schlunk. EMM, 1923 (Juni), 152–6. *625.*

VI. Theory and Principles of Missions

†DASS ICH DES EVANGELIUMS TEILHAFTIG WERDE. Chr. Endemann. EMM, 1923 (Mai), 97–102. *626.*

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See also *633* (India).

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China

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IX. The Church in the Mission Field

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See also *608* (Kikuyu); *642* (China).

XI. Christianity and the Non-Christian Religions

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See *547, 551* (Modern Conditions).

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See also *563* (China); *573* (Java); *585* (Census); *587* (Tartar Peoples); *589* (Palestine); *593–7* (North Africa); *636* (Christian Literature).

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XII. Social and Political Relations of Missions

†Mission och kultur. K. E. Laman. SMT, 1923 (3, 4), 119–38. *692.*

†Nödvändigheten av vidsyn på missionsarbetet. J. Nyrén. SMT, 1923 (3, 4), 97–107. *693.*

†Propaganda och Mission. K. B. Westman. SMT, 1923 (2), 49–57. *694.*

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†Racial Bridges: The Bridge of Proverbs. T. E. Johnson. EW, 1923 (July), 278–87. *696.*

†De Alcoholbestrijding in Oost-Indië. Joh. Rauws. MZW, 1923 (LXVII[3]), 164–9. *697.*

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See also *547–51* (Japan); *558* (China); *580–1* (India); *588–9* (Palestine); *607* (Kenya); *610* (S. Africa); *651* (International Missionary Council).

ABBREVIATION OF MAGAZINE TITLES

AMZ = *Allgemeine Missions-Zeitschrift*
CMR = *Church Missionary Review*
CR = *Chinese Recorder*
EM = *Die evangelischen Missionen*
EMM = *Evangelisches Missions-Magazin*
EW = *The East and The West*
HF = *Harvest Field*
IRM = *International Review of Missions*
JE = *Japan Evangelist*
JIR = *Journal of International Relations*
MRW = *Missionary Review of the World*
MW = *Moslem World*
MZW = *Mededeelingen Tijdschrift voor Zendingswetenschap*
NMT = *Nordisk Missions-Tidsskrift*
SMT = *Svensk Missionstidskrift*
ZM = *Zeitschrift für Missionswissenschaft*
ZMR = *Zeitschrift für Missionskunde und Religionswissenschaft*

When other magazines are referred to, the full title is given.

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